A Study of Public Participation in Cato Manor *During* and *Between* elections (2018 – 2019)

By

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DECLARATION - PLAGIARISM

I, **Hleliwe Khumalo declare that**

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this study was to examine some of the realities that residents of Cato Manor are subjected to with regards to their participation experiences and expectations during and between elections. The literature argued that protests are exacerbated in the informal settlement and identified Cato Manor as one of the informal settlements. The study was based on qualitative research methodology, as it aimed to acquire the feelings and lived experiences of Cato Manor residents and the ways in which the mainstream media has written about the area.

This study has sought insight from the residents of Cato Manor to answer these research questions: a) what are the perceptions and attitudes of Cato Manor residents' on protest as a form of public participation? B) What are the perceptions and attitudes of Cato Manor residents' on voting as a form of public participation? C) What methods of participation do residents of Cato Manor prefer?

The findings of this study confirm that protest is a dominant form of participation in Cato Manor when it comes to engaging in the political process and expressing dissatisfaction with the lack of service delivery. The study has revealed that residents are aware of other forms of participation but resort to protest because they believe it to be the only language that the local authorities understand – formal structures of participation for them, takes time to produce the desired outcomes.

The shared experiences, expectations, and stories of the residents who were part of this study were analysed using the framework of Miraftab's theory on 'invited' and 'invented' spaces of citizenship. Miraftab (2004) argues that in 'invited' spaces, actions taken by the poor aim to make the poor cope with the existing social and political inequalities with no intentions of challenging the status quo. While in 'invented' spaces the poor often resist the dominant systems of oppression and exploitation. This theory provided the study with a meaningful explanation for the different forms of public participation that residents of Cato Manor engage in during and between elections.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0. Introduction

This study aims to examine some of the realities that residents of Cato Manor are subjected to with regards to their participation experiences and expectations during and between elections. The study was carried out in Cato Manor located approximately 11km from Durban Central Business District (CBD), with a population of around 90 000 people who are exposed to several challenges that are associated with the legacy of apartheid and deep poverty issues (Ngidi, 2020). The land was first settled by numerous African Chiefdoms from the 1630s – later in the 1840s, it was named after George Cato who was the first Mayor of Durban (South African History Online, 2020).

The population of Cato Manor consists of the African and Indian community who during apartheid migrated to the area in search of better jobs and proximity to the Durban CBD. However, the community is faced with socio-economic issues that affect its residents' wellbeing. Challenges such as a high rate of poverty and unemployment as well as issues of housing result in an increased number of informal shack dwellings (Ngidi, 2020). This has contributed to protests over poor housing and service delivery that has been on the rise in recent years.

This study drew on data from a research project carried out by the Centre for Civil Society (University of KwaZulu-Natal) in 2019 during the elections. The project was a collaboration between the Centre for Civil Society and the Centre for Social Change (University of Johannesburg). The study also represented data from mainstream (Daily Maverick and the Sunday Times) media for the period of 2018 – 2019 to understand protest between elections.

This study aims to contribute to the body of knowledge by highlighting some of the realities that residents of Cato Manor are subjected to with regards to their participation experiences and expectations during and between elections. This study can be used as a foundation from which politicians can draw an inference in understanding various reasons society such as that of Cato Manor engage in protests as a form of public participation in political processes.

This chapter looks at the background of the study and gives an outline of the problem statement of the study. It highlights the study objectives, states the research questions, and gives an outline of the chapters of the study.

1.1. Background of the Study

During the apartheid era, the participation of black people in the political processes was lacking and in most cases, it was mainly limited to compliance (Masango, 2002). This led to several protests during the 1980s which aimed to bring about change to the political administration of the South African apartheid government. The marginalization of the black population showed that the apartheid government was undemocratic and it gave a clear depiction of what happens if the majority is not represented. The frustration of the black populations manifested through public protests which was one of the only ways in which they could engage in public participation – as their contributions and opinions were ignored which made them lose hope in the government, generating anger and resentment (Masango 2002:54). This resulted in several protests as a form of public participation such as the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 and student protest of 1976 against the Bantu Education Act of 1953.

In post-apartheid South Africa, legislation and policies have been enacted to enhance democracy and public participation. Within a local level, the Municipal Structures Act (117 of 1998) (RSA 1998b) provided for the establishment of Ward Committees (WCs) so to ensure that the government is brought closer to the public and to ensure that there is no barrier between the public and the municipal council. Whereas, the Local Government Transitional Act (209 of 1993) (RSA 1993b) aims to locally transform local government from one that is racially segregated to a democratic and autonomous sphere of government. This legislation sought to racially create new democratic arenas that aim to include the marginalized in the decision-making processes (Cornwall & Coelho, 2007). Such policies and legislations were enacted so to enhance public participation and create platforms suitable for public participation.

Despite overcoming the apartheid regime and creating legislation to ensure that authentic public participation is present, especially at the municipal level, informal settlements such as Cato Manor are still faced with public protests. In fact, local protests have been on the rise in South Africa since 2004 (Alexander, 2010), where members of communities have taken to the

streets to demonstrate their frustrations about inadequate service delivery and lack of accountability from local government. However, protests in Cato Manor are not only based on the lack of service delivery, but on residents who feel ignored and disrespected by the ruling party (ANC), and are dissatisfied with the lack of meaningful participative democracy within the local government (Mottiar, 2014: 381).

1.2. Problem statement

Public participation mechanisms have given the marginalized a platform to voice their concerns whether through deliberation or demonstrations. Inclusive participation is often argued to be a foundation of democratic practice that acknowledges the agency of citizens as 'makers and shapers' rather than 'users and choosers' – participation must be active, meaningful, and free from manipulation and any tokenistic forms (Gaventa, 2002).

South Africa's daunting legacy of apartheid and the neoliberal policies post-apartheid together with the corruption of local municipalities has increased the gap of inequalities especially on resources and power – which enables those with power to suppress the concerns of those who are marginalized (Sinwell, 2012). This makes public participation a critical factor in our democracy.

Participation is based on citizens having an equal right to deliberate and resist dominant systems of exploitation. Demonstrations are often used as a way to challenge the status quo. Service delivery protests have been argued to be a rebellion of the poor in South Africa. These grass-root protests are against the lack of public representation of grassroots' service delivery needs and the quality of service delivery (Alexander, 2010). Service delivery protest is a lived reality in Cato Manor. This study seeks to understand public participation in Cato Manor through an examination of everyday social protest between elections and voting behavior during the 2019 elections.

1.3. Study Objectives

The objectives of my study are:

1. To examine how residents of Cato Manor engage in participation between elections through protest.

2. To examine how residents of Cato Manor engage in participation through voting.

3. To investigate which forms of participation residents consider most effective and why.

1.4. Research Questions

My study is guided by the following research question, the main questions are numbered, followed by specific research questions.

1. What are the perceptions and attitudes of Cato Manor residents' on protest as a form of public participation?

• Why do residents protest?

• What methods do residents use to protest?

• Do residents consider protest effective?

2. What are the perceptions and attitudes of Cato Manor residents' on voting as a form of public participation?

• Do residents turn out to vote?

• If so do they consider voting effective in terms of their socio-economic needs?

3. What methods of participation do residents of Cato Manor prefer?

1.5. Outline of Chapters

The study is structured into five chapters. Chapter one provides an introduction to the study, which is followed by the motivation and background of the study. It outlines the problem statement and the significance of the study. It lays out the study objectives and research questions to be answered by the study. Chapter two is based on the literature review that is appropriate to the study, it defines democracy and public participation, limitations of public participation, and the legal framework to public participation. It also discusses themes found in the literature such as elections, protest, and nature of protest in Cato Manor. The chapter also

discusses the theoretical framework used for the study which is based on Miraftab's theory on 'invited' and 'invented' spaces of citizenship. The third chapter presents an in-depth explanation of the research methodology that was chosen for the study, the selection process of participants, and explains how the data was collected. Furthermore, it looks at the qualitative method applied for the study. Chapter four provides the findings of the study by discussing themes that were collected through data analysis. Chapter five presents a discussion of themes identified, which is followed by the conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

Participation is imperative in a democratic state as it ensures that citizens have a say in decision-making, social, economic, and political aspects that affects their lives. This section reviews the literature on public participation as an important aspect of the democratization process. Firstly, the chapter will explore the concept of democracy and public participation. Secondly, it will discuss the concept of public participation by looking at how various scholars define the term. Thirdly, the study will highlight some of the limitations of the concept of public participation. Furthermore, it will discuss methods of public participation such as elections, protests, and the nature of protests focusing on the case study site Cato Manor, Durban. Finally, it will critically discuss the theoretical framework of the study, which is based on Miraftab's (2004) 'invited' and 'invented' spaces of citizenship.

2.1. Democracy and Public Participation

Lovan *et al.,* (2014) define the public as either a group of individuals or an individual, a political entity or an organisation – that is often referred to as stakeholders as their interest lies in the outcomes of a decision. Whereas, Masango (2002) defines the public as interest groups, individuals, members of the public and community groups who are interested and involved in particular issues.

Participation as a concept is ambiguous in nature and has different meanings and interpretations. Lorenzo (2011) argues that participation is an activity taken by individuals or groups who were excluded from partaking in the decision-making process by individuals or groups who were previously the only decisions makers. While for Socrates (2012) participation is an act of collaborating with others in a particular activity.

Bernard & Hersh (2010) define democracy as a system that avails opportunities for the public to have control over the government. Whereas, Zaleski (2008) defines democracy as choosing and replacing the government through elections that are free and fair and where human rights are protected through the active participation of citizens in civic life and politics.

The notion of democracy is defined in two ways, namely direct democracy and representative democracy. Direct democracy is when the government allows for political decisions to be taken collectively by all members of society as per procedures and rules – while representative democracy is a government where citizens are allowed to elect a government official who is mandated by the citizens to make decisions in accordance to their interests, as per the democratic system (Przeworski, 2006).

Representative democracy is relevant within the South African context as it is a multi-party representative democracy, within this form of democracy, citizens' interests are bestowed to the elected officials. This is because they vote an elected official into power, the elected official is therefore mandated to represent the interests and desires of its citizens. It, therefore, explains why the South African democratic government acknowledges public participation as a constitutional right and a cornerstone of democracy. One of the positive outcomes of democracy in South Africa especially after a horrendous past is that it can afford citizens a government that is based on the will of the people by adopting the people-driven and people-centred principle (Masango, 2002).

However, one can argue that representative democracy can be challenging if those elected into power do not live up to the promises and expectations of the public – this has been evident in the South African context which has resulted in the public losing confidence in government institutions. This has been demonstrated through violent and non-violent protests as a way of citizens regaining their misused power and displaying their dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs.

Chapter 1 of the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, outlines that the Constitution is the supreme law of the republic and that obligations stated by the Constitution must be adhered to across all spheres of government. The South African Constitution promotes public participation as section 17 of the Constitution clearly states that:

'Everyone has the right, peacefully and unarmed, to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket, and to present petitions.' Nonetheless, citizens have a responsibility of notifying local authorities before staging a protest to ensure that it is still in line with the law.

Therefore, public participation is significant and should be exercised in a manner that is collaborative and deliberative in nature – as it is a fundamental component of democratic governments and their engagement with the public.

2.2. Defining the concept of Public Participation

Public participation can be meaningful for both citizens and the government if done in a way that is inclusive and not tokenistic in nature. This section explores public participation in terms of how it is defined in the global context. It further explores the definition of the concept within South Africa to provide a better meaning and understanding of the context of the study.

Public participation is a process whereby an organisation consults with individuals – who can either be affected or interested, government entities, the public, and other organisations before making decisions that might affect them (Graham, 2003). Buccus (2007) further contends that public participation involves a two way collaborative and communication problem solving which aims to achieve more acceptable decisions. Public participation is important because it ensures that there is a fair representation of all the stakeholders involved, which reduces conflict and creates a space for meaningful deliberation.

Moreover, public participation is crucial in a democratic state as it is an instrument that gives people a right to participate in the processes of government and governance – which can be in a form of attending community meetings, protesting, marching, and most importantly, voting in elections.

However, Innes & Booher (2007) go beyond this definition. These scholars argue that we are trapped in viewing public participation as a dualistic approach – involving citizens on one hand and government on the other, which they argue encourages adversarial participation (participation of two sides). This dualistic approach ignores the pluralist system which includes the elites who often influence elected officials through their money, power, and access. This is evident in both developing and developed states where the elites often influence decisions that serve their interests at the expense of the poor. Innes & Booher (2007: 421-422) further contend that:

> The proposal here is that participation must be collaborative and it should incorporate not only citizens but also organized interests, profit-making and non-profit organizations, planners, and

public administrators in a common framework where all are interacting and influencing one another and all are acting independently in the world as well. This is not one-way communication from citizens to government or government to citizens. It is a multi-dimensional model where communication, learning, and action are joined together and where the polity, interests, and citizenry co-evolve.

In simple terms, effective participation is inclusive and cognisant of all the other actors that have an impact on who participates and how they participate. It involves collaborative interaction, makes way for meaningful deliberation, challenges the status quo, and poses difficult questions about things often taken for granted, and seeks agreement on shared knowledge (Lorenzo, 2011). However, it is imperative to note that participation differs within different contexts, as in some contexts it can mean direct involvement of citizens, whereas in another context it can mean representative participation. For example, direct involvement is in a form of attending community meetings, having input on policy decisions, voting, and protesting. Whereas, representative participation is electing a member or political leader who will represent the interests and decisions of individuals or groups on their behalf.

Barak (2006) challenges the concept of representative participation as it is of the idea of formal equality that hides the problematic and conditional access to citizenship for certain groups in society. As citizenship must be viewed as racialized (Brabham, 2009), gendered (Gaventa, 2002), and based around other ideologies of difference – such as sexuality, disability, and age, that influences how one will have access to such spaces and the legitimacy of considering all voices (Brabham, 2009).

In essence, representative democracy is problematic because it assumes that all individuals are represented equally – which turns a blind eye on the power relations at hand which stands to not benefit the majority who are often marginalized in terms of their social status, race, gender, and disability. Therefore, this affects the legitimacy of participation if certain groups in society are side-lined.

Arnstein, as cited by Scocpol (2003) argues that citizen power is acquired through citizen participation, as it is the redistribution of power that enables the marginalized who have been continuously excluded from the economic and political processes, to be intentionally included in the future. Therefore, citizen participation plays a crucial role in ensuring that the have-nots

can have a say in social reforms that affect their livelihoods by taking into consideration their concerns and contribution.

Arnstein further asserts that participation is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless if there is no redistribution of power – as it allows those who hold the power to continue to benefit from the system that maintains the status quo. For Gaventa (2002) participation is a way in which the poor exercise their voice through consultation, deliberation, or mobilisation developed to inform and influence institutions and policies.

Innes & Booher (2007) identified most of the claims that are often used when defining participation. The first is when decision-makers investigate preferences of the public to include in their decisions, second is to incorporate citizen's views and knowledge when improving decisions. The third claim of public participation is to advance justice and fairness, the fourth purpose is about getting legitimacy for public decisions. While the fifth defines participation as something that public officials and planners do mainly because the law requires it. It is worth noting that most of these purposes are mainly based on the powerholders 'inviting' the public and not working with the public, it is based more on participation that Arnstein argues is there to 'educate' or 'cure' the participants and is problematic.

Therefore, a new purpose for participation is needed that will be built around civil society terms (Innes & Booher, 2007) and not that of government terms, a definition that gives more power to citizens, that centres participation around them – through meaningful collaboration, deliberation and making decisions that do not compromise their livelihoods. Furthermore, Socrates (2012) gives a more inclusive definition of the term that looks at five principles of public participation that are to inform, consult, involve, collaborate, and empower – as a means of having meaningful public participation. However, one of the major challenges of public participation is that it is time-consuming, a lengthy process (Wouters *et al.,* 2006), and sometimes expensive.

2.3. Limitations of Public Participation

Cooke & Kothari (2001) in their seminal work, contend that participation has failed to address issues of power. As participatory development programs in practice tend to reproduce existing 'dominant power structures' – which are based on the concept of invited spaces of citizenship.

Kothari (2001) contend that participatory development programs emphasise 'empowerment' and social inclusion by inviting the marginalized into the development process only to bind them to structures of power that they are unable to question. They further assert that participatory development should be based on a bottom-up approach and implemented at the grassroots level without input and influence from donors and NGOs – to ensure that citizens can take active roles in empowering the poor and alleviating poverty.

Lindeque & Cloete (2005) note that there are challenges in applying the concept of public participation into the reality of everyday interaction between the public, the state, and the organization – as some decisions require, and are based on technical and scientific information. Another significant limitation of participation is that participation can be highly unequal amongst individuals due to differentials of power, expertise, and access (Lindeque & Cloete, 2005).

This often leads to limited public participation – as members of the public get discouraged and do not find participation as meaningful if their interests and voices are not supported. This discouragement is also witnessed from the government's lack of feedback on grievances raised by community members who are at times not provided with sufficient knowledge on how they can participate, especially in local government. This dissatisfaction results in other forms of participation such as protests and demonstrations.

The differentials of power often dictate how participants partake and whose knowledge and contributions are more valued than others. This argument is based on how power and knowledge cannot be separated, because these two concepts reproduce each other. This is what Foucault in his work titled *The History of Sexuality* (1976), alluded to. Foucault argued that power permeates every aspect of life. He further argued that power is always a function of knowledge, and knowledge as an exercise of power. Even though he did not only view this relationship as constraining but power/knowledge concept can be constraining in civil society if it is exercised by the government and not the citizens.

For instance, the government and organisations such as NGOs often exercise power because of their position of knowledge in society. This form of knowledge breeds power over the public, which explains Arnstein's argument on power holders wanting to 'educate' the public. This is

however challenged by individuals or members of communities who invent their own spaces of participation to counter the power/knowledge discourse that is evident in other forms of public participation.

2.4. Legal Framework to Public Participation

South Africa as a parliamentary democracy has parliamentary institutions at national and provincial levels. At the national level, there is bicameral parliament that (consists of the National Council of the Provinces (NCOP) and the National Assembly) and selects the head of state, the government, and the president who is then responsible for selecting the cabinet (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2014). At the provincial level, South Africa has nine provincial parliaments which differ in sizes – this is where provincial premiers are selected, who then select provincial cabinets, who are referred to as executive councils (Roger, 2005). The election terms for both the National Assembly and the provincial legislatures occur concurrently every five years (Lodge, 2014).

Municipalities form the third local tier of government and local government elections are also held every five years. South African municipalities fall into three categories, namely metropolitan municipalities, local municipalities, and district municipalities. All forms of elections are done by eligible citizens who are over the age of 18, and council elections also occur every five years where voters cast ballots in metro elections for ward councillors and in local elections for municipal – level closed party lists (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2014).

In 1998, there was a reform on an existing municipal map that established the responsibilities, structures, and electoral systems of municipalities across the country (Brown, 2006). This was a way of ensuring that all municipalities adhere to the structure and responsibility of the reformed electoral system. Duncan (2009) argues that municipal governments lead the 'development crusade' in South Africa, as the Municipal Structures Act of 1998 outlines the goal of overturning apartheid's legacy of uneven development and poverty – by providing 'highly valued' local public goods like electricity, water, health, and education.

The Municipal Structures Act, 117 of 1998 provides for the establishment of municipalities, defines categories of municipalities, regulates internal systems, and provides for an appropriate electoral system (Municipal Structures Act 1998). While the Municipal Systems Act, 32 of

2000 provides the processes and mechanisms that are necessary for the social and economic upliftment of local communities and ensures access to essential services that stand to benefit all members of society.

Acts play a fundamental role in the local government as they provide a mechanism for local-level participation. For instance, the Municipal Structures Act of 1998 section 72(3) states that the role of a ward committee in local government is to improve participatory democracy and ensure representation of diverse interests. While the Municipal system Act of 2000 highlights the development of a culture of community participation, section 16(a) encourages the local community to participate in municipal affairs and section 16(ii) points to ward councillors fostering community participation.

The role of the ward councillor is to serve their respective ward by ensuring that concerns expressed by community members of the ward are represented on the council. This highlights the local government's aim of creating a culture of public participation in municipalities. Therefore, local elections can be argued to be an effective way of enhancing public participation as citizens participate in choosing government representatives who are meant to serve their interests.

Lorenzo (2011) looks at two ways in which elections help in maintaining the government in any given society. Firstly, he argues that no matter how complex the government can be in understanding its citizens, having elections will give a clear indication of the majority's preference. Secondly, having elections offers orderly succession in government for the transfer of authority in times of new rules or failure of the previous government. Elections can be seen as a 'sanctioning device' (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2014) that compels the elected officials to represent the voter accordingly.

Elections are an important aspect of public participation as they serve to hold the government responsible for its actions – which creates a relationship that is based on accountability as voters have an opportunity to choose the best possible party on offer. However, it can be argued that elections are no longer an effective accountability mechanism in South Africa, especially in local government. This is because there has been an overall decline in electoral participation,

due to the failure of providing adequate service delivery such as water, electricity, and housing (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2009), which has resulted in the rise of protests across the country.

The ANC is a dominant party in South Africa that has been in power since the beginning of democracy in 1994. As a dominant party, one can argue that it has become unresponsive to the concerns and challenges expressed by the voters. Bratton *et al.* (2005) argue that an extended period in power engenders arrogance, complacency, and corruption in the dominant party, further asserting that parties become ideologically entrenched and unresponsive when they no longer fear the outcomes of elections.

This has been evident within the ANC as former President Jacob Zuma proclaimed in a conference in 2008 that the ruling party will remain in power 'until Jesus comes back' (Southall, 2017), which loosely translates to eternal rule. This can explain voter apathy especially amongst the youth of South Africa. Therefore, one can argue that voters no longer see elections as an effective tool for participation because they have lost faith in the ANC, due to its failure in reducing socioeconomic challenges (Mzimake, 2010).

2.5. Elections as a form of Public Participation

Warren (2011) defines the term 'election' as a democratic process where a vote is held in electing a candidate to hold office, these elective officials include members of parliament, ward councillors, governors, and other representative officials. Whereas, Kostadinova (2003) contends that elections or voting is a complex and administrative operation that is one of the largest activities organized in a democratic government that is implemented within an intense political setting. Elections in any democratic state is an important instrument as it enables participation of the public in matters that affect their livelihoods. Some common synonyms for election include: 'vote', 'ballot', 'poll', and 'referendum.' In order to understand elections in the South African context one has to first understand the different levels in which elections take place, such as national, provincial and municipal electoral levels.

2.6. Protest

A protest is a way of allowing the public to express dissatisfaction publicly, which can either be violent or non-violent in an attempt to influence government policies or public opinion (Fung & Wright, 2001). A protest is a powerful weapon, an instrument, a voice that is against exploitation, oppression, segregation, injustice, and denial of rights (Thompson & Nleya, 2010). There are two types of protests namely, violent and non-violent. Violent protests are protests that are outrageous, inflict injury and often cause malicious damage to property – while non-violent protests are defined as an approach for social change that does not include the use of physical violence (Fung & Wright, 2001).

South Africa has a long history of protests which dates back to the apartheid era, during the emergence of protests against white rule in the 1970s, student protest in 1976 against the Bantu Education Act of 1953, to the hashtag FeesMustFall movement of 2015 against university fee increments and to service delivery protests that continue to rise exponentially in modern-day South Africa.

According to Alexander (2010), South Africa has had a massive increase in local protests since 2004, where members of communities have taken to the streets to demonstrate their frustrations about inadequate service delivery and lack of accountability from local government. A study on protests and gatherings in South Africa's seven municipalities looked at municipal records of protest notifications which showed that the number of protests has doubled between the year 2009 and 2012 (Southall, 2017).

The country is described as a protest capital of the world, which is not surprising given the fact that it is also the world's most unequal societies with the highest Gini coefficient (0.65 in 2015) in the world (Alexander *et al.,* 2018). Protests within the municipal level are often described as service delivery protests, which are reported to be worse due to low productivity, poor service delivery, poverty, poor communication, unemployment, and poor participation of residents in decision-making processes as a result of corruption and mismanagement by elected officials (Mitlin & Mogaladi, 2013).

Sinwell (2012) argues that forms of participation such as service delivery protests in social movements are often not based on class struggles but rather on the poor fighting over limited

resources. The point he is making is that protest does not present a counter-hegemonic challenge even though it is a reaction to the hardships brought on by neoliberal policies which increase inequality and deepen poverty. He unpacks the precondition of neoliberalism and the impact it has had on widening inequality and the limited resources that the poor have access to, such as jobs and housing. Social protests are driven by the government's inability to provide residents with sufficient resources.

Service delivery protests are exacerbated in informal settlements because unemployment and poverty are constantly on the rise. It can be argued that protest is another form of participation that the majority of residents in poorer local communities often use as a way of expressing dissatisfaction and fighting injustices. Therefore, it should not always be viewed in a bad light as it is one of the effective ways in which the marginalized are 'seen' and 'heard.'

2.6.1. Nature of protests in Cato Manor

Cato Manor is an exceptional example of the phenomenon rebellion of the poor (Alexander, 2010), with some residents being classified as the poorest of the urban poor. It is known as a 'hotspot' for protest in Durban (Mottiar, 2014). Cato Manor was selected for this study because it is known for service delivery protests as residents often use this form of participation in pursuit of demanding better living conditions and provision of basic service delivery – to bring about social change by democratizing society from below.

Residents of Cato Manor do not only protest for service delivery issues such as housing, electricity, and water. They engage in protests due to a lack of transparency and accountability from local authorities, they feel 'ignored' and disrespected by the ruling party (ANC) and they are also unhappy with the lack of meaningful participative democracy (Mottiar, 2014).

Furthermore, procedural channels of formal participation often do not yield good results as residents have experienced too many disappointments in ward meetings (Lodge & Mottiar, 2017). Therefore, it should be of no surprise that residents use protests as a form of participation and as a way of communicating with local authorities. Residents of Cato Manor understand protest as a democratic right since it has the potential to transform and empower their lives.

Cato Manor has recently partaken in political participation (elections) as a way of taking an active role in bringing about change to the community. Cunil (1991) contends that political

participation is mostly associated with indirect participation and representative democracy, where actions of local citizens influence decisions taken by public officials – which can be through voting, campaigning, protest, and group action.

This form of participation took place in Cato Manor in 2019 when the community had an opportunity to vote in the national and provincial elections. According to Singh (2019), voting in Cato Manor got off to a slow start at several poll stations, as police thwarted an attempted protest during elections in 2019. In an interview with the Sunday Times, five residents of Cato Manor expressed their dissatisfaction with the current state of their community (such as issues of proper housing and service delivery), asserting that they will not participate in elections because, for them, elections are not an effective form of participation (Singh, 2019). It is clear therefore that participating in elections is not the only form of participation in Cato Manor and protest has to be understood as a significant mechanism of participation by residents here.

2.7. Theoretical Framework: 'Invited' and 'Invented' Spaces of Citizenship

A theoretical framework is a structure that describes and introduces the theory which outlines why the research problem exists (Brabham, 2009). The study applied Miraftab's theory on 'invited' and 'invented' spaces of participation as it provides a meaningful explanation for the different forms of public participation that residents of Cato Manor engage in.

Miraftab (2004:1) distinguishes between two types of spaces which are 'invited' spaces of citizenship and 'invented' spaces of citizenship. 'Invited' spaces are defined as spaces that are occupied by grassroots and their state legitimized actors such as NGOs and donors. Whereas, 'invented' spaces are defined as spaces occupied by grassroots-based on the collective actions of the marginalized that aim to confront the authorities and contest the status quo.

Cato Manor is an exceptional example of the 'invented' spaces of participation because members of the community do not conform to government interventions from 'invited' spaces instead they collectively create their own informal spaces of participation from below. In this sense, protest is seen as an alternative informal space to participate in when the formal spaces such as the ward committee space are viewed as ineffective or when ward councillors are unresponsive to the concerns expressed by residents.

What makes these two spaces mutually exclusive is that in 'invited' spaces actions taken by the poor are not as progressive, as they aim to make the poor cope with the existing social and political inequalities with no intentions of challenging the status quo. While in 'invented' spaces the poor often resist the dominant systems of oppression and exploitation – through the use of informal channels such as protests, demonstrations, and picketing (Miraftab, 2004:3).

However, it is also worth noting that the grassroots can take advantage of both these spaces of citizenship as forms of participation to avoid what Miraftab (2004:3) calls a 'rigid conceptual barrier' between the two spaces of participation. For instance, citizens can make use of the formal channels of participation (invited spaces) such as voting in elections, and attending ward committee meetings. While on the other hand, they can make use of informal channels of participation (invented spaces) which can be based on strategies of resistance such as protesting for basic service delivery and decent proper housing. In the past years, Cato Manor has been experiencing a decrease in 'invited' spaces of participation and an increase in the 'invented' spaces of participation. Which explains why it is known as a hotspot for protest in the Durban area (Mottiar, 2014).

Gaventa (2002) conceptualizes citizenship by arguing that the definition of citizenship should not be centred around the state but through the agency of citizens themselves – as citizen's rights only become real if citizens are given a platform to engage in the decision-making process that affects their lives. He further argues that participation leads to deliberation which makes it imperative for the poorest people to participate in the decision-making process so that they can fight poverty from below. It also acknowledges how power and knowledge shape discourse that influences the dynamics of who participates and whose knowledge and voice is heard.

This theory is relevant for this study because it conceptualizes citizenship that emphasizes the poor taking part in the decision-making process that affects their lives. It assists in unpacking the concept of citizenship within the context of Cato Manor and how the residents have been able to make use of their rights by creating spaces for deliberation that are relevant and inclusive of the marginalized.

Cornwall (2002) contends that arguments of participation and accountability must be based on a conception of rights in a development context as a way to strengthen the status of citizens from one of a beneficiary to one of the legitimate claimants. Further arguing that effective participation is based on ensuring that people have access to information for purposes of deliberation and mobilization.

Therefore, this theory is useful for this study because it acknowledges 'informal' spaces of citizenship such as protest that is often led by the marginalized and not always recognized by mainstream media and the government. It also helps understand how 'formal' spaces of citizenship such as the ward committee spaces and engagements with ward councillors offer residents limited participation and outcome opportunities. This theory helps in analysing how these two types of spaces of citizenship play out in Cato Manor and how they influence the participation of residents.

2.8. Conclusion

For public participation to be effective and meaningful, citizens must be viewed as the part and parcel of the decision-making process – this is imperative within a democratic state as it ensures that the power does not only lie on the government but also on the citizens, especially the marginalized who are often silenced or excluded from the decision-making process. It is also worth noting that public participation can take both informal and formal forms of participation and can still be meaningful, given the context. This chapter discussed the relationship between democracy and public participation.

It conceptualized public participation by outlining how various scholars define the concept and looked at the fundamental role played by the Municipal Structures Act and Municipal Systems Act in setting up mechanisms for local-level participation. Furthermore, it highlighted elections and protest as forms of public participation that are pertinent within a democratic state, and gave context to the nature of public participation in Cato Manor. Moreover, it discussed Miraftab's theory on 'invited' and 'invented' spaces of participation, Gaventa's concept of citizenship, and Cornwall's argument on participation and accountability.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter presented literature on public participation and highlighted public participation as an important aspect of the democratization process, it discussed different forms of public participation and the nature of protest in Cato Manor. This chapter provides an in-depth explanation of the research methodology that the study is based on. A research methodology is defined as an organized process of conducting research, it specifies the techniques of how the data can be captured by the researcher, which is determined by the scope or nature of the research (Patton, 2000).

The purpose of this research is to attain improved results by ensuring that the research methodology used is logically applied. This study employs qualitative research methodology as it is a suitable methodology for this study and presents the appropriate sampling methods. Furthermore, this chapter discusses how the data for the study was collected and analysed by defining in detail the various forms of collecting and analysing data. Moreover, it will highlight ethical considerations, quality criteria, and limitations of the study.

3.1 Research Methodology

A research methodology is defined as an organized process of conducting research, it specifies the techniques of how the data can be captured by the researcher, which is determined by the scope or nature of the research (Phillips & Burbules, 2000). Creswell (2014) states that research methodology allows the reader to evaluate the overall validity and reliability of the study by looking at how the data was collected and analysed. This is done after the researcher has developed the research topic, aims, and objectives of their research study.

Bernard (2012) argues that research methodology is a 'systematic way to solve a problem', it is a study of methods by which knowledge is added; a science of studying how research is conducted, and a procedure where the researcher goes about explaining, describing and predicting phenomena. Research methodology provides various techniques that researchers can use when conducting research. This study was supported by the critical theory paradigm, which is based on structural and historical insights and looks at how reality is shaped by economic,

social, and political values over time. This paradigm has made me cognisant of the current discourses, power relations, and oppressive structures in society.

There are two main types of research methodology namely qualitative research methodology and quantitative research methodology. This study was based on qualitative research methodology, as it aimed to acquire reasoning, feelings, and lived experiences of Cato Manor residents and how the mainstream media has written about the area – that was best achieved through the use of qualitative research.

3.1.1 Qualitative Research Methodology

According to Braun & Clarke (2006), qualitative research methodology is concerned with the phenomenon that involves quality; it aims to get the description, feeling, and meaning of a situation; and applies reasoning and use of words. Silverman (2002) states that qualitative research is used to gain opinions, motivations, and an understanding or reasoning for a certain phenomenon – which assists in providing insights to the problem and helps develop hypotheses for the research.

Denzin & Lincoln (2003:1) state that qualitative research seeks to collect evidence; seeks answers to a question, makes use of a predefined set of measures to answer questions; and pursues to understand the topic/problem from the perspective of the population that it is based on. This research methodology was effective for this study as it intended to get specific information about the behaviours, opinions, and challenges of Cato Manor residents. The use of this approach was also relevant within this study because I aimed at getting rich complex descriptions that were not based on numbers but rather on human experiences of the research topic.

Qualitative research is a fundamental research methodology as it aims to provide information about human experiences, opinions, emotions, and beliefs about selected individuals or populations in society. This enables the researcher to get the first-hand experience of individual behaviour that produces unique and accurate data. Whereas, quantitative research is based more on statistics and numerical data. Qualitative research enables one to get a better understanding and interpretation of complex reality; it is effective in identifying intangible factors such as religion, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and gender roles (Phillips & Burbules, 2000).

In qualitative research, the relationship between the participant and researcher is often less formal, as participants are given the freedom to elaborate their responses in detail through the use of open-ended questions – which present an opportunity for the researcher to respond immediately to the answers produced by the participant by asking probing questions.

Data in this research method is collected from in-depth interviews, focus groups, participant observation, documents, records, and observation. According to Lincoln *et al.* (2011), qualitative research is effective in obtaining information about behaviours, values, opinions, and social contexts of particular populations – it provides information about the "human" side of the issue. Therefore, this method was effective in ensuring that the aims and objectives of this research were achieved.

One of the main advantages of qualitative research is that it makes use of open-ended questions and probing – which allows participants to respond to questions in their own words rather than fixed responses. According to Marshall (2003), qualitative data gives the researcher the flexibility to probe participant responses – which enables the participants to generate further explanation from their answers. Open-ended questions are capable of evoking responses that are unanticipated by the researcher, explanatory in nature, and are culturally salient and meaningful to the participants (Marshall, 2003: 20). However, because qualitative research focuses more on experiences and meaning, it could possibly leave out the contextual sensitivities which shape these experiences and meaning – furthermore, this research method tend to generalise the whole population from the sample size of the study (Lincoln *et al.* 2011).

3.2 Study Area

The area studied in this research was Cato Manor, an informal settlement located approximately 11km from Durban Central Business District, with a population of around 90 000 people who are exposed to several challenges that are associated with the legacy of apartheid and deep poverty issues (Ngidi, 2020:1). The population of Cato Manor consists of the African and Indian community who during apartheid migrated to the area in search of better jobs and proximity to the Durban CBD. The community continues to be faced with socio-economic issues that have a great impact on the wellbeing of residents. There is a high rate of poverty and unemployment, issues of housing remain very high, resulting in an increased

number of informal shack dwellings (Ngidi, 2020:2). This has contributed to protests over issues of housing and service delivery that has been on the rise in recent years (Mottiar, 2014: 372).

3.3. Sampling Methods

Sampling is one of the most significant aspects of research design, it is defined as the process of choosing a sample from a defined population, in order to achieve an understanding of the phenomenon of the entire group (Guba, 2015). This is why in qualitative research the researcher collects data by sampling the subset of the population, irrespective of the study – this is better than collecting data from the entire population as the process can be time-consuming and lengthy (Brynard & Hanekom, 2006).

This study drew on data from a research project carried out by the Centre for Civil Society (University of KwaZulu-Natal) in 2019 during the elections. The study was a collaboration between the Centre for Civil Society and the Centre for Social Change (University of Johannesburg). Only the quantitative aspect of the study has been published. The qualitative data comprises twenty-seven interviews of the Durban case study with Cato Manor residents which have been made available to me with permission from the Centre for Civil Society Director.

The participants for this project were sampled randomly: every second voter exiting the polling station was asked if they would be willing to participate – those who agreed were interviewed. The interviews took place beyond the Independent Elections Commission barriers and all participants were kept anonymous. These interviews assess Cato Manor residents' participation experiences and expectations during elections.

In order to assess Cato Manor residents' participation between elections such as protests, this study also drew from mainstream (Daily Maverick and the Sunday Times) media for 2018 – 2019. This involved accessing online archival material for the period and sampling articles by applying relevant keywords.

3.4 Data collection

Data collection techniques includes observation, interviews, focus groups, questionnaires and surveys (Berg, 2006). For this study it involved accessing the Centre for Civil Society project transcripts, which were based on interviews. An interview is defined as a one-on-one conversation between the researcher and participant, where a researcher asks questions to the participant who provides answers (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). In qualitative research, various types of interviews can be used as a form of collecting data, such as structured interviews; unstructured interviews, and semi-structured interviews (Berg, 2006). This study conducted semi-structured interviews. This form of interview is one that is very flexible because the participant's response can determine new questions to be asked by the researcher throughout the interview (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Furthermore, the transcripts included responses from both men and women in various age groups and comprised a sample of Cato Manor voters in the 2019 elections.

Data collection also took the form of gathering newspaper articles from the archives of two mainstream newspapers. The time frame was for the years 2018 and 2019, I have collected twenty articles for each year, and accessed online archival material, and sampled by applying keywords such as 'Cato Manor voting', 'Cato Manor elections', 'Cato Manor protest', and 'Cato Manor participation'. The secondary data was obtained through thorough scrutiny and in-depth analysis of the mainstream newspaper (Daily Maverick and the Sunday Times), as they are a reputable and reliable source of information in South African media.

I reviewed and analysed how both the newspaper outlets have written about the participation of residents between elections through protest. Daily Maverick is an information and news website that is based on investigative journalism, it is listed as the least biased and high factual reporting due to clean fact check record and proper sourcing (World Press Freedom Rank, 2019). While the Sunday Times is reported to be mixed when it comes to factual reporting due to poor sourcing (World Press Freedom Rank, 2019).

3.5 Data Analysis

In qualitative research, data analysis is defined as a process of analytically searching and arranging observation notes and interview scripts that the researcher has gathered in order to

better understand the phenomenon (Berg, 2006). The study has applied thematic analysis in analysing the transcripts provided with permission from the Centre for Civil Society Director and has used document analysis in analysing the newspaper archives.

Thematic analysis was applied in analysing the transcript. Thematic analysis is a flexible qualitative method that Fereday & Muir-Cochrane (2006) assert should be learnt as it provides core skills that are significant for conducting different kinds of analysis – as it is not tied to a certain epistemology. It was based on Braun & Clarke (2006) six steps to thematic analysis, which includes familiarization, coding, theme searching, theme review, defining themes, and report writing.

In Braun & Clarke (2006) six steps, during familiarisation the researcher must have got an understanding of the content through engaging with the data at hand; the second step is based on the researcher identifying preliminary codes which are features of the data and indicates the context of the conversation; the third step looks at relevant themes which are extracted from overarching themes; the fourth step ensures that themes are coherent and are distinctive from other themes; while the fifth is based on an ongoing analysis of the identified themes. The final step is where the researcher interprets the themes through the use of meaningful extract examples that relates to the research questions and themes.

These steps are guidelines that should be used in relation to the available data and research question, they should not be used as linear and prescriptive when analysing data (Bowen, 2008). Through thematic analysis, I was able to identify themes from my qualitative data by organising, noting certain patterns, and unpacking the data in detail – which enabled me to create themes from the patterns that I have recorded which will be used to address the research.

The newspaper articles were analysed using document analysis. According to Bowen (2009) document analysis is a systematic procedure which is used to evaluate and review documents (can be electronics or printed documents), it requires that the data be examined and interpreted in order to gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge of the data. Atkinson & Coffey (1997) define documents as 'social facts' which are made, shared, and used socially. Documents include brochures, journals, books, and newspaper archives that this study has used. I chose to use document analysis as a means of ensuring that my work is credible, by

examining information through different methods which gave me findings across different data sets, reducing the potential of biasness that could be possibly found within a single study. This is what Denzin as cited by Bowen (2009) called 'triangulation' – which is 'the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon.' Triangulation ensures that the study breeds credibility by exploring information that is collected through different methods.

Some of the advantages of document analysis are that it is an efficient method as it is not time-consuming; it is cost-effective since data is already gathered; documents are stable since they are not influenced by the researcher's presence; documents provide an overarching coverage, and the exactness of names and references included in documents makes documents suitable for repeated reviews (Rapley, 2007).

However, there are several limitations when it comes to using document analysis, such as low retrievability, the possibility of documents being intentionally blocked, insufficient details on documents created outside of a research agenda (Wild *et al.,* 2009), and 'biased selectivity' (Yin, 1994:80), where documents produced aim to serve a certain agenda.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are crucial in research as they form part of the norms and standards for conduct which highlights the difference between what is right and what is wrong, ethics also helps in determining behaviours that are acceptable and nonacceptable (Rapley, 2007). Researchers must adhere to the ethical standards as a way of ensuring that their research has followed the appropriate steps especially with regards to sensitive topics such as those that include minors, people with special needs, human rights, animal welfare, and compliance with the law (Wild *et al.,* 2009).

What makes ethical consideration more important is not only because it provided new knowledge but it is because it prevents falsifying and fabrication of data – which forces the researcher to produce work that is honest, credible, and trustworthy.

Since this study drew on data from a research project carried out by the Centre for Civil Society during the 2019 elections, I did not have to seek ethical clearance from the University Ethics Committee as the project under which the research was carried out had already obtained ethical clearance. Instead, I applied for an ethics exemption which was approved. I applied for

exemption online through UKZN's RIG (Research Information Gateway) system – this is an ethics application site, where researchers need to be granted ethical clearance before conducting research. I was granted permission by the Director of the Centre for Civil Society to use the project transcript for my study.

3.7 Credibility, Confirmability, Transferability, and Dependability

This study has not accounted for validity, reliability, and rigour because it was not based on quantitative research. The study was based on qualitative research, hence credibility, confirmability, transferability, and dependability are the four quality criteria that were used to ensure that the research is trustworthy.

According to Lincoln & Guba (1985) credibility is based on the true value of the data, if the research findings can represent the original data that has been communicated by the participants to the researcher. Credibility is very important because it assesses if the data is true and complete which is one of the most important aspects of qualitative research. Whereas, transferability refers to the applicability of findings to respondents from different contexts. For example, this has assisted me in analysing if participation challenges are unique to Cato Manor or if they can be found in other settlements.

Sim & Sharp (1998) contend that the difference between dependability and confirmability is that dependability is based more on consistency, ensuring that the way in which observations have been done is consistent with the way that the data has been observed. Whereas confirmability is based on the neutrality of the researcher, since qualitative research falls more on interpretative worldview – the researcher's experience should not overshadow the experience of participants.

3.8 Study Limitations

Berg, as cited by (Bowen, 2008) states that when researchers are choosing their methods and procedures for their study, they have to be aware of some challenges that may arise among certain research groups, specific research settings, and unique research circumstances. Hence it is imperative to consider the limitations of any general or specific study.

One of the main challenges was that the project transcripts are not my primary data, I could not get a true sense of the participants' expressions and emotions because I was not part of the interviews – this could have given me more data on the perceptions and expectations that residents' of Cato Manor had for elections.

In resolving this, I spoke to the Director of the Centre for Civil Society, who assisted in terms of answering questions I had about the interviews and clarifying what I had found to be unclear. This gave me a depiction of the participants' expressions and perceptions aside from looking at the transcript.

The transcript that I have used does not include views of Cato Manor residents who did not vote in 2019, it only includes views of residents who have voted. This was a limitation because had residents who did not vote been included, I would have been able to gain insight on why they chose to refrain from this form of participation and if it was by choice or not. I believe this could have provided my study with a rich description of understanding the complex challenges that exist in Cato Manor. This challenge was resolved by reading relevant current literature on Cato Manor based on voting trends and voter turnout – with an aim to understand various factors that influence residents' to refrain from voting.

Using Daily Maverick and the Sunday Times as the mainstream media limited me from covering other media sources that could have possibly written more about Cato Manor than the mainstream newspapers. I could have looked at documentaries, news, social media, and reports on Cato Manor. This could have expanded the data for my study. However, I noted that the mainstream media was more reliable compared to other media sources since fake news and misinformation is more common among these sources compared to the mainstream media that I have chosen.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the research methodology and accounted for the qualitative research method that was employed for this study. The chapter gave an overview of the study area with an attempt to give context to the study. It highlighted the sampling methods used for the study by addressing where the study drew the data from and explained why those methods were suitable. Furthermore, the chapter gave an in-depth explanation of how the data was collected

and analysed. In addition, it discussed ethical considerations, four quality criteria in qualitative research, and study limitations pertaining the study.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0. Introduction

The previous chapter presented the research methodology, which provided a framework from which data was generated. This chapter presents data on how residents of Cato Manor engaged in public participation *during* and *between* elections in the years 2018 - 2019. In order to gain a clear understanding of the participation of residents, the study employed a qualitative research methodology based on semi-structured interviews from an unpublished study from residents of Cato Manor, which were made available with the permission of the Centre for Civil Society Director. The study also made use of online archival newspaper material that drew from the mainstream media (Daily Maverick and the Sunday Times).

Miraftab's concept of 'invited' and 'invented' spaces of citizenship has been used as a theoretical framework through which the results of the study have been analysed. The data collected was analysed using thematic analysis and document analysis techniques. These techniques have ensured that data is presented coherently and logically.

The information presented in this study is based on interviews and archived newspaper material that assessed Cato Manor residents' participation experiences and expectations during and between elections. This study aims to contribute to the body of knowledge by highlighting some of the realities that residents of Cato Manor are subjected to with regards to their participation experiences and expectations during and between elections. This study can be used by politicians to draw an inference in understanding various reasons society such as that of Cato Manor engage in protests as a form of public participation in political processes.

Therefore, interviews were conducted to assess their participation *during* elections, and newspaper archives from the Sunday Times and Daily Maverick were used to assess their participation *between* elections. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the main themes which were identified from the interview findings and the newspaper archives with an intention to confirm the themes identified in the literature review.

4.1. Themes

This study has used data that has been derived from the transcripts of the study participants and from the newspaper archives from the Sunday Times and Daily Maverick. The interviews had already been transcribed when I received them from the Director of the Centre for Civil Society (CCS). I have analysed the data by highlighting and searching for common themes from both the transcript and the newspaper archives.

4.2. Research findings

4.2.1. Background Information of the study sample

The findings for this study were attained from the experiences and expectations of twenty-seven participants. It was conducted by two research assistants from the Centre of Civil Society (NM=13 and NK=14), initials represent their names and the number represents the number of study participants interviewed. The study findings were also attained from the newspaper archives as secondary data. The Centre for Civil Society study used a semi-structured interview guide as a research tool.

The study participants for the interview compromised thirteen females and fourteen males, all of which were Africans and between the 18-39 and 40-75 age group. They all reside at Cato Manor. For the newspaper archives, I used the search icon to attain residents' participation experiences and expectations between elections from the Sunday Times and Daily Maverick websites. Keywords such as 'Cato Manor elections', 'Cato Manor voting', 'Cato Manor protest', 'Cato Manor experiences' and Cato Manor participation' were used to gather the data. I gathered twenty articles from each year, though not all articles were used as some were not relevant for the study. The Sunday Times had several articles on Cato Manor around the period of 2018 and 2019, this explains why the study had more data on the Sunday Times compared to Daily Maverick.

4.3. Participation through voting and voter experiences

There seem to be conflicting evidence from the interviews and the media archives concerning the residents' perceptions on the difference voting have on their livelihoods. From the

interviews, study participants expressed that they had a good voting experience – whereas, in the newspaper archives most residents no longer participate in elections.

The study participants shared similar sentiments when it came to their voting experiences, for most, this was not their first time voting and overall their voting experience was good – as there was no intimidation or violence. The participants also felt that their vote will make a difference in terms of adding to the count of overall votes and in terms of how the elected officials will represent their needs. There is only one study participant that was unsure if their vote will make a difference. Some participants explained that their vote does make a difference because they believe that the ruling party (ANC) does deliver on their promises. This is what three of the study participants had to say when asked if they think their votes make a difference:

> Participant NM3: *'Yes because ANC does the work.'*

> Participant NM12: 'Yes, *the current party [ANC] has been effective enough and feel my vote will contribute to change.'*

> Participant NK2: *'Yes, it will the elected representatives will represent my interest and correct all the mistakes and wrongs done.'*

What is clear is that the majority of the study participants are loyal to the ruling party and its current system, their displeasures and concerns do not aim at countering the status quo but are directed at local level leadership. This is what some of the residents had to say about their voting experiences which showed that they are loyal to the ruling party and they do not intend on changing the status quo:

> Participant NM9: *Yes, ANC, been voting for it ever since. Took us out of Apartheid.*

> Participant NM10: *Yes, ANC, I will always vote for it. Still happy with it.*

> Participant NM11: *Yes, ANC, ever since I started. I have issues with it though it is not delivering on their promises.*

In the newspaper data the same can be argued, the displeasures seems to be directed at local level leadership and not the system. Residents seem to not be interested in changing the system, they want a platform where they can engage with the local level leadership in hopes that their

displeasures will be addressed and attended to. This is what one resident from Cato Manor said in the Sunday Times article written on the 6th of November 2018:

> *'...all we ask is for an engagement with them. They should at least want to hear what we have to say' Zinzi Dludla, 28.*

According to Oyedemi & Mahlatji (2016) voter abstention is an understudied phenomenon in South Africa, which is often viewed as a result of voter apathy and institutional barriers especially among young people. The HSRC voter participation survey (2014: 25) shows how voter apathy and administrative barriers are some of the common reasons as to why some citizens choose not to vote. One can assert that this is taking place in Cato Manor, as some residents have no interest in voting, which is not entirely based on administrative barriers but rather on dissatisfaction with the ruling party – which results in residents refraining from voting rather than voting for an opposition party (Runciman *et al.,* 2019).

In an interview conducted by Orrin Singh of the Sunday Times on the 8th of May 2019, five residents of Cato Manor expressed discontent in terms of their voting experiences. The five residents decided to not participate in the country's sixth elections due to their previous voting experiences and expectation outcomes. The residents are unhappy with the ruling party (ANC) for not fulfilling the promises it made building up to the 1999 elections and it was during that time that they decided that they will no longer be voting. Even though the residents could have opted to vote for another party aside from the ANC. This is what two of the residents had to say:

> *'I last voted in 1999, after that I was done. Who do I vote for? Anyone who comes into power - the DA, EFF, IFP - they can tell you what you want to hear, but when they get into power they will all become corrupt. The ANC have been promising since 1994 and they are still promising. There's no hope for this country, if I had the money I would leave, but I can't because I don't.'*
>
> -Zolani Nxusawa.
>
> *'I had just turned 18 and cast my vote in 1994, I felt it was important for me to do so. I was hoping they (ANC) would make a difference as I was unemployed and there were promises of a new South Africa with greater opportunities for employment.'*

-Zodwa Ngobese.

What is evident is that for these residents, voting makes no difference in their livelihood because they have not yet received the promises made by the ruling parties in the past, hence they believe that voting is ineffective because it does not change their socioeconomic standing. In an unrelated article written in Daily Maverick by Nomfundo Xolo on the 6th of November 2018, one resident of Cato Manor stated that they are only good for votes and nothing more, as their homes often get demolished and burnt yet when it comes to elections, ballots are always available. This is what one of the residents, Wiseman Buthelezi said:

> *'They kick us out like dogs. They don't even recognise us as humans. They even destroy the food we cook and throw sand everywhere. Without even engaging with us they demolish and burn our homes and leave. We are only good for votes, nothing more. We have no jobs and no land.'*

A number of residents felt that they were used as 'voting fodder' by political parties, further arguing that the ANC has failed to deliver houses since the advent of democracy. Furthermore, it is safe to say that residents' voting experiences in this case have not been pleasant as they argue to be still waiting on promises made in the 1999s to be fulfilled – as they believe to have 'danced to the tune of empty promises.'

4.4. Expectations from the voting outcomes

The study participants were asked about the changes they would like to see in their community, such as better services delivery and better local governance, and this is what some had to say:

> Participant NK6: *Employment, skills development and better service delivery.*

> Participant NM11: *More job opportunities, better local governance even after elections, corruption.*

> Participant NK10: *Service delivery, poor services and facilities, skills development, employment and end patronage.*

The main change that the study participants would like to see in their community from the voting outcome is better services in terms of water, electricity and housing. They are hopeful

that from their votes these changes in their community will materialize and uplift their living standards. What I have gathered from the study participants is that they are all aware they have a challenge when it comes to service provision. Hence, from partaking in elections they are expecting their voting outcomes to yield positive results when it comes to provision of water, electricity and decent housing. This is what some of the study participants had to say about the provision of services:

> Participant NM3: *Better services, such as water and electricity and provision of housing.*
>
> Participant NM9: *Housing provision, infrastructure development such as roads, electricity.*
>
> Participant NM10: *Better services such as sewerage, housing provision.*
>
> Participant NM2: *Better services: water and electricity issues, housing*

Some of the study participants even went as far as calling for job creation, youth employment, free education and business development programs – as changes that they would like to see taking place in their community. This is what they had to say:

> Participant NK2: *Better skills development, free education, business development.*
>
> Participant NM13: *I would like the authorities to focus on youth development.*
>
> Participant NK11: *Youth empowerment, better education and skills development.*

It is worth to note that the study participants have faith that their votes will bring about change in their community and they are positive that it will yield positive outcomes and changes especially when it comes to the improvement and betterment of their community with regards to provision of better service delivery, job creation, skills development, youth empowerment and decent housing developments.

4.5. Participation through formal methods: Ward Committees and Ward Councillors

The study respondents were asked if they have participated in protest, not only within their community but also in a workers' or students' protest – for residents who might be employed and for those who might be students. Out of the twenty-seven participants only eight said they

have participated in protest – one participant said they have participated in both community and student protest, only two have participated in community protest, two in student protest and – three in workers' protest.

The participants were also asked if they attend ward committee meetings in their community and if they do when last did they attend – and if they do not attend, they were asked to provide a reason. This is what some of the study participants had to say:

Participant NM2: *No. Never interested in them.*

Participant NM9: *Yes, committee member. Last month.*

Participant NM11: *No, because they fulfil their own agendas.*

Participant NM13: *No, because the things discussed there never get implemented anyways so I am demotivated.*

Furthermore, the study participants were asked if they knew who their ward councillor was and to elaborate on whether or not they were effective and if not effective – were they hoping for a new councillor. Only four study participants stated that they do not know the ward councillor, the rest knew him but had different views on whether or not he was an effective ward councillor. These are some of the different views the study participants had:

Participant NM3: *Yes, Mzi Ngiba. He is very effective. No change needed.*

Participant NM13: *Yes, Mzi Ngiba. I have not seen how extreme he is. I would like to see a new councillor to introduce change.*

Participant NK1: *Yes, He is potentially effective but would love to see new councillor.*

Participant NK3: *Yes, not effective and hoping for a new ward councillor.*

The study participants expressed different views when it came to formal methods of participation. Some participants were not interested in attending ward committee meetings and some knew their ward councillor to be effective but yet hoped for a new ward councillor. In the newspaper data, residents of Cato Manor displayed dissatisfaction with regards to the formal methods of participation. Residents felt that even though formal methods of participation can be useful, it is however limited because there have been a number of

complaints and grievances directed to the ward councillor and yet nothing was done to ensure that residents' grievances are met (Bhengu, 2019).

Furthermore, residents felt that ward committee meetings are a limited form of participation due to the politics around these meetings. Some residents have argued that they are unhappy about how these meetings operate, as they often only benefit those who are close members of the ANC. Further arguing that such meetings do not come up with tangible solutions that are beneficial to residents but often favour a few. Residents have also complained about the ward councillor being corrupt, ineffective and self-serving. These challenges have limited how residents of Cato Manor participate in the formal methods of participation which explains why residents view protest as a permanent feature of political participation (Mottiar, 2014: 377).

4.6. Participation through informal methods: Protest

The sourced data from the Sunday Times and Daily Maverick provided more clarity on protest as a form of participation in the political process and may well reflect Cato Manor residents who did not turn out to vote providing a fuller picture of sentiments in this area. This has been one of the main themes that has been dominant in my secondary data.

Residents of Cato Manor who were interviewed by the Sunday Times felt that they were not included in the political processes of their community, except for protest. According to Runciman *et al.* (2019) community protests have frequently increased during the period between 2014 and 2019 where there have been four community protests a day.

What I have concluded is that residents of Cato Manor engage in protest due to the two main reasons, a) formal methods of participation limit resident participation which results in the grievances of residents not being met, b) residents believe protest to be the most effective form of participation when it comes to the local authorities delivering on their needs, such as basic service delivery. Residents view protest as effective because it causes a disturbance and it often gets the attention of the local authorities such as the ward councillor and the eThekwini municipality.

The data has also shown that residents of Cato Manor protest due to the lack of basic service delivery such as water, sanitation and decent housing. Furthermore, shack demolition has resulted in a number of residents losing their homes, which has also led to resident protests.

Their protests methods include barricading main roads, burning tyres, setting municipal bus alight, and damaging water pipes. Other methods included a march to the Department of Public Works to hand over a memorandum of demands.

The residents believed protests to be the only form of communication that they can fully participate in and believed it to be effective because it is the only language that the local authorities understand. In an article featured in Daily Maverick on the 6th of July 2018, where a group of protesters were asked why they chose protests instead of other formal channels, this is what one resident had to say:

> *'Whenever we try have meetings with the local authorities it is not successful because they don't listen to us, but instead keep saying things will change but they don't. But when we go to the streets and block the road with burning tyres, they listen to us and do something about our concerns because of the disruption and chaos. That is the only time they listen to us, when we take to the streets to cause chaos and when everyone is affected. This is why we find protest to be important than other channels of participation, because they don't work for us here.'*

In the Sunday Times article written on the 6th of November 2018, one resident of Cato Manor had this to say:

> *'The councillor came here two weeks ago and demanded that we leave immediately. He was accompanied by the land invasion unit and the police, he witnessed our shacks being burnt to the ground. He said we had no right to be here. Teargas and rubber bullets were shot without care for our children,' Maphiwe Dladla, 26.*

In an article written on the 8th of June 2019 by Daily Maverick, Abahlali BaseMjondolo spokesman, Mqapheli Bonono had this to say:

> *'The residents of eNkanini have suffered greatly because of the eThekwini municipality. They have been arrested, shot and their houses have been destroyed. The residents of the informal settlement near Cato Manor marched to the Department of Public Works in Mayville to hand over a memorandum of demands, including the provision of electricity and sanitation. Residents said they had been promised this months ago by MEC of Human Settlement and Public Works Ravi Pillay, but he had not delivered.'*

From the gathered data, I would argue that residents of Cato Manor see protests as an effective option in participating in the political processes. This is reflected in the Sunday Times article written on the 25th of June 2018 where protesters set a municipal bus alight and threw debris onto a busy Durban freeway:

'Metro police spokesman Senior Superintendent Parboo Sewpersad said the protest was in response to shacks being demolished in the Cato Manor area, outside Durban, on Friday. Traffic was backed up after the N2 northbound had to be temporarily closed, while debris that was strewn across the freeway was removed. The bus was torched in the Cato Manor area, close to where the informal homes were taken down.'

In a separate incident featured by the Sunday Times on the 19th of July 2019, Cato Manor residents woke up to flooded streets and damaged water pipes. This was another protest that took place in the area. The article stated the following:

'According to police, the group damaged water pipes and set a car alight after their informal shacks were demolished. Buckingham and Carlo roads are also blocked with burning tyres and stones. They also stoned houses in the area,' said police spokesperson Thulani Zwane.

4.7. Perceptions on social services

The study participants were asked if they receive social grants such as child support or pension grants, nine study participants said they receive a social grant, which means eighteen study participants do not receive a social grant. This is what the study participants who do receive social grants had to say, when asked if the grant is enough or should there be more grants and how would they use that extra money:

Participant NM1: *It's enough because it's free.*

Participant NM4: *It's not enough because I don't have anyone else to depend on and my living expenses are increasing.*

Participant NK5: *Not enough to cater for the children needs.*

Participant NK12: *Not enough for all the needs.*

The study participants were also asked whether they stay in formal or informal houses and if their water and electricity services were from the municipality, informal plumbers or IziNyokaNyoka. Informal plumbers are different from IziNyokaNyoka because they provide water illegally to some of the community members, while IziNyokaNyoka provide illegal electricity connections. The majority of the study participants live in formal houses, most of which are 'RDP' houses that some are renting, and others did not specify. This is what some of the study participants had to say when asked about who provides them with water and electricity services:

Participant NM5: *Informal plumbing and iziNyokaNyoka*

Participant NM9: *Provided by the municipality*

Participant NK2: *Informal plumbing and iziNyokaNyoka*

Participant NK12: *Municipality*

The secondary data that I have sourced from the Sunday Times elaborates on the perceptions that residents of Cato Manor have when it comes to social services. In an article written on the 19th of July 2019, many of the residents showed despair, disappointment and pain when it came to the delivery of social services. This is what one of the residents had to say:

'People have been staying in those tin shacks since I was in school - nothing has been done to date. I saw a photo of Dubai [informal settlement] recently comparing what their city looked like in 1999 to what it looks like today. We are not even close in terms of growing our infrastructure. Just look at the roads in this area, look at the dirt left unattended to on the verges.'

This is what was featured in an article published by the Sunday Times, on the 19th of February 2019:

Fed up with the slow pace of housing delivery, hundreds of people have invaded vacant state land earmarked for a low-cost housing project in the informal settlement in Durban.

A local community leader Thulani Ndlovu told the Sunday Times journalist Bongani Mthethwa in an article written on the 19th of February 2019 that even though he was against illegal land grabs, there is not so much that he can do as residents have been waiting and complaining for years regarding inadequate housing but nothing was done. The eThekwini municipality made promises of building 75 low cost units but there are still delays. He further went on to say:

> *'At the end of the day, we end up with a situation like this because those things that are supposed to be done, have not been done for more than five years. And what do you do when people have been complaining about this issue? Some people even die complaining about the same issue.'*

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to present the findings of the study that were accessed through CCS interviews and secondary data. The purpose of this qualitative study was to examine residents' participation experiences and expectations *during* and *between* elections in the years 2018 and 2019. This chapter presented four themes that were relevant to this study. The themes were identified by analysing the statements given by participants from the transcripts and the secondary data on their expectations and experiences. Analysing this data enabled me to gain an understanding of some of the experiences that Cato Manor residents' go through during and between the election periods. Some of the major challenges that residents are faced with are empty promises made by local authorities, which manifest as lack of service delivery and inadequate housing and lowers expectations from the voting outcomes, and agitate for protests. Chapter 5 will discuss the key themes that the study has identified in conjunction with Miraftab's theory on 'invited' and 'invented' spaces of citizenship.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.0. Introduction

The main purpose of this study was to examine some of the realities that residents of Cato Manor are subjected to with regards to their participation experiences and expectations *during* and *between* elections. Through analysing the transcripts and gathering my secondary data, I was able to gain insight into some of the hardships and challenges they face as a community in the urban informal settlements.

The literature review of this study included some of the themes that were identified in the findings. The literature argued that protests are exacerbated in the informal settlement, it identified Cato Manor as a 'hotspot' (Mottiar, 2014) for protest in Durban and it acknowledged that participation in elections is not the only form of participation that residents use – however, they understand protest to be a significant mechanism of participation. The findings of this study therefore confirm that protest is a dominant form of participation in Cato Manor when it comes to engaging in the political process and expressing dissatisfaction with the lack of service delivery.

The decision to use a qualitative methodology for my study has enabled me to gather important data from the experiences and expectations of the residents of Cato Manor. My data has been analysed by using interviews that were made available by the Director of Centre for Civil Society and by the secondary data obtained in the mainstream media. The data conducted and analysed addressed the following questions:

1. What are the perceptions and attitudes of Cato Manor residents' on protest as a form of public participation?

• Why do residents protest?

• What methods do residents use to protest?

• Do residents consider protest effective?

2. What are the perceptions and attitudes of Cato Manor residents' on voting as a form of public participation?

• Do residents turn out to vote?

• If so do they consider voting effective in terms of their socio-economic needs?

3. What methods of participation do residents of Cato Manor prefer?

This chapter critically examines the findings of this study through the lens of Miraftab's theory on 'invited' and 'invented' spaces of citizenship, and will also apply Cornwall and Gaventa's concept of citizenship. Finally, this chapter will provide a conclusion that will sum up the main findings and note the study's contribution.

5.1. Discussion

Residents of Cato Manor are exposed to several challenges that continue to impede the community's growth and wellbeing. Challenges of basic service delivery and provision of decent housing development have resulted in some residents refraining from taking part in the elections due to promises not being fulfilled by the ruling party. Residents do not believe that their vote will make a difference. This has resulted in an increased number of protests and land invasions as residents take matters into their own hands (Mthethwa, 2019).

Most residents have refrained from taking part in formal participation channels such as attending ward committee meetings or engaging with their ward councillors because they have experienced too many disappointments (Lodge & Mottiar, 2017). According to Marcel (2016), community members refrain from participating in formal channels due to the lack of trust between them and the government. Power and influence wielded by the local authorities often undermine community participation which results in members of the community refraining from taking part in the formal participation channels.

Hence Anastasia (2016) argues that in poor communities, informal participation can serve to inform and conscientize the marginalized about public institutions and community issues. Therefore, it must be noted that it is not because residents do not know or understand procedural channels of formal participation in the community – but it is because they do not find such channels to be as effective as informal channels – such as protesting when it comes to addressing some of the challenges that poor communities are exposed to.

The same can be argued about land invasions. Residents have been waiting on the eThekwini municipality to deliver promised low-cost housing, which was not delivered – as a result, residents invaded the land and started building shacks which got the attention of the municipality. These are some of the ways in which residents of Cato Manor have been trying to bring about social change by democratizing society from below (Lodge & Mottiar, 2017) – these forms of protests have worked for residents because it gets the attention of the municipal agents, politicians, and the media. This is why residents of Cato Manor find protest to be a significant mechanism of participation – therefore, protests should not be viewed in a bad light as it is one of the effective ways in which the marginalized get to be 'seen' and 'heard.'

The findings of this study bring to light some of the challenges that residents are exposed to, their expectations, and experiences on participation including voting. It also considers why residents engage in other forms of participation such as protest. Having this information available to the public and the society as a whole is important in trying to bring awareness and understanding of some of the challenges that people who reside in the informal settlements of Cato Manor endure – which might relate to other informal settlements as well. However, it is important to note that challenges in informal settlements are not identical. The study can also be used as a foundation from which politicians can draw an inference in understanding Cato Manor, known as a 'hotspot' for protest in the city of Durban.

The shared experiences, expectations, and stories of the residents who were part of this study were analysed using the framework of Miraftab's theory on 'invited' and 'invented' spaces of citizenship and with reference to Cornwall and Gaventa's concept of citizenship. The study has made three major conclusions a) Cato Manor residents who vote are still hopeful that their vote will eventually bring about change, while some residents have refrained from voting as promises made were not fulfilled b) residents are aware of other forms of participating in the political process but find it to be ineffective, hence they participate more in protest c) residents of Cato Manor do not receive adequate basic service delivery, as a result, this leads to protests.

5.2. Voting experiences: voting participation and expectations from the voting outcomes

Miraftab's (2004) theory is based on two forms of participation, which are 'invented' and 'invited' spaces of participation. She asserts that 'invented' spaces are occupied by people at the

grassroots level who use these spaces to confront those in power and challenge the status quo. Whereas, 'invited' spaces of participation are occupied by the legitimized donors, NGOs, and government interventions.

What has been evident from the findings of the study is that residents of Cato Manor make use of both these spaces of participation, in this case, residents have used 'invited' spaces in terms of attending ward committee meetings and participating in elections. But use 'invented' spaces when they confront local authorities by protesting, having rallies and marches – as they believe this to be the only language that the local authorities understand.

The findings of the study suggest that the CCS interview respondents were still hopeful that the party they vote for will fulfil their promises by bringing the needed change in the community of Cato Manor. This is confirmed by the voting expectation outcomes that the interview respondents who voted had when they were asked about the changes that they would like to see. Some of the interview respondents believed that voting would bring about change such as job creation, better service delivery, and decent housing.

Residents who were interviewed on the 25th of June 2019 by the Sunday Times displayed disinterest in elections. Some residents argued that promises made by the party they voted into power were never fulfilled, as a result, they decided to refrain from participating in the elections. In a separate interview by the Sunday Times published on the 8th of May 2019, a resident of Cato Manor, Zodwa Ngobese argued that promises made in 1999 were still not fulfilled as there have not been any drastic changes in their community for twenty years.

This has resulted in an increased number of protests in Cato Manor as some residents find this form of participation to be more effective in bringing about change to their community compared to voting (Singh, 2019). Therefore, one can conclude that while some residents of Cato Manor still have faith in the 'invited' spaces of participation in bringing about social change and improving their livelihoods – other residents have lost hope and have rather turned to 'invented' spaces of participation, such as protest.

Study findings from the secondary data suggest that residents who were unhappy with the party they had voted for refrained from taking part in the elections that followed. These findings confirm Runciman *et al.* (2019) analysis on voting preferences. Runciman *et al.* (2019)

concluded that voters who were dissatisfied with the ANC are more likely to decide not to vote at all rather than voting for an opposition party.

In the data gathered from the Sunday Times article on the 8th of May 2019, residents who were interviewed expressed similar sentiments about no longer voting due to the empty promises made by the ANC. Instead of the residents voting for another political party like the EFF, IFP, or DA, some of the residents decided to abstain from voting completely.

One of the interviewed residents, Zolani Nxusawa argued that he last voted in 1999 because, for him, any party that comes into power aims to serve their interests and will eventually become corrupt – he further argued that the ANC has been making promises since 1994 but there have not been any changes in their living conditions. It is evident that residents who have abstained from participating in the 'invited' spaces of participation have turned to the 'invented' spaces of participation – which could explain why protest as an 'invented' form of participation is prevalent within the Cato Manor community.

5.3. Participation in political processes, including protest

The descriptions and experiences shared by the residents of Cato Manor suggest that residents do participate in the political process at the local level. Looking at Miraftab's theory on 'invited' and 'invented' spaces of citizenship, one can assert that residents' of Cato Manor engage more on 'invented' spaces of participation, such as protest – this is because residents feel excluded and unhappy in terms of how the 'invited' spaces of participation operate (Mottiar, 2014: 377).

It is important to note that residents use the 'invented' spaces not to necessarily challenge the status quo, as Miraftab argued to be the case within 'invented' spaces, but in this context, it is to fight for the provision of service delivery and decent housing within the existing status quo. Commitment to the status quo is evident in continued loyalties to the ANC. This is reflected in the way those who voted for the ANC referred to the party as 'taking us out of apartheid'. Furthermore, the various 'service delivery' failures seemed to be directed at local level leadership – the municipality or ward councillors who failed to 'listen to us', but not at the system.

What I have gathered from the study is that even though residents of Cato Manor engage in the formal 'invited' forms of participation, they are not as active in those spaces. For instance, most

residents know their ward councillor but would like a new ward councillor who will introduce change. Likewise, interview respondents did not have much faith in ward committee meetings arguing that issues discussed never get implemented and that conveners are focused on fulfilling their agendas. However, when it came to informal settlements being demolished, residents engaged in 'invented' spaces of participation. One can argue that residents engage and participate in 'invented' spaces when they are directly affected by the changes imposed by the local authorities.

This explains why protest is prevalent within the Cato Manor community because residents use it more in pursuit of demanding better living conditions with an aim of trying to bring social change by democratizing society from below. This is why Thompson & Nleya (2010) contend protest to be a powerful weapon that is against oppression, injustice, and exploitation. Residents of Cato Manor are aware of this powerful weapon and they have used it to fight the injustices that they are exposed to as members of the settlement. Hence, it is imperative for one to not view protests as a negative form of participation – rather, one should try to understand why residents engage in protest as an 'invented' form of participation.

What is evident from the findings of the study is that residents of Cato Manor are aware of other forms of participation – within 'invited' spaces and 'invented' spaces of participation. In 'invited' spaces they are aware of the ward committee meetings, ward councillors, and electoral politics – and in 'invented' spaces they are aware and they know their social rights when it comes to protests, rallies, and demonstrations.

The findings from the secondary data and the literature reviewed highlights that Cato Manor is an exceptional example of the 'rebellion of the poor' (Alexander, 2010) and a 'hotspot' for protest (Mottiar, 2014: 375). Therefore, one can argue that some residents of Cato Manor consider protest to be an effective 'invented' form of participation in ensuring that their demands are met.

In an article published by the Sunday Times on the 25th of June 2019, residents of Cato Manor embarked on a protest where they threw debris onto the Durban freeway and set a municipal bus alight which was in response to their shacks being demolished by the municipality. The forms or spaces of participation that residents use depends heavily on the outcomes they aim

to achieve. For instance, residents would rather protest for the provision of basic services because they understand that if they were to block the main road with debris and burning tyres, the local authorities would respond immediately compared to complaining about such issues during ward committee meetings where their grievances are not dealt with. Residents of Cato Manor are what Cornwall & Gaventa (2001) call active citizens who are 'making and shaping' social policy and not citizens who are 'users and choosers'. They understand that their collective action is a powerful force that can fight challenges of housing, basic service delivery, and infrastructure, by fighting to be part of the decision-making process at the local level.

5.4 Perceptions on social services

The study findings have highlighted that residents of Cato Manor receive inadequate social services. The majority of the study participants do not receive a social grant in terms of child support or pension grant, and when the study participants were asked if the grant was enough sixteen participants said the grant is not enough, this could explain the high level of poverty issues in the Cato Manor area (Ngidi, 2020: 1). What was interesting to note is that the majority of the study participants interviewed are employed, some are employed full time, part-time and some were self-employed.

Some of the interview respondents stated that they do receive water and electricity from the municipality. However, one would question the adequacy of this provision – because there are still residents who receive their water from illegal plumbers and illegal electricity connections from IziNyokaNyoka.

What has been very interesting to note is that given the context of Cato Manor, an informal settlement where some of the residents are classified as the poorest of the urban poor (Mottiar, 2014: 375) – one would argue that from any given study, the majority of the study participants would be poor and unemployed. This study was quite enlightening because the majority of the study participants do not only live in formal houses, and have their water provided by the municipality, but also the majority of the interviewed participants are employed.

However, a different narrative emerged from the data gathered from the newspaper archives. In the newspaper data, residents who were interviewed by the Sunday Times were unhappy about the level of service delivery, infrastructure, and about the promises made by the

eThekwini municipality with regards to building low-cost units – of which they argued to have not been delivered. This contributed to residents taking to the streets to engage in the 'invented' form of participation to show their dissatisfaction as a result of not receiving the services that they were promised by the municipality. What may account for some of the differing experiences is that Cato Manor is made up of formal housing but also of several informal settlements, which could explain why some residents express different experiences in the interview and the newspaper data.

Gaventa (2002) conceptualized citizenship by arguing that the definition of citizenship should not be defined in terms of the state but through the agency of citizens themselves, as the rights of citizens only become real when they are given a platform to engage in the decision making process. Further highlighting how the poor should take part in the decision-making process that affects their lives.

Gaventa's theory on citizenship is relevant within the Cato Manor context because residents of Cato Manor have used their citizen rights to engage and participate in the decision-making process and this has enabled them to fight poverty from below. Therefore, citizenship for residents of Cato Manor is not based on liberal and universal rights in terms of individual legal equality, citizens acting 'rationally' and the state providing protection (Gaventa, 2002: 3). However, it is rather on the agency of citizens to engage and be part of the deliberation process that could have an impact on their lives – whether or not the state provides the protection.

In this case, residents of Cato Manor have taken an active role over the years to engage in platforms, meetings, and processes that have enabled them to fight injustices and poverty from below. In an article published by the Sunday Times on the 19th of February 2019, residents invaded vacant state land which was reserved for a low-cost housing project due to the slow pace of housing delivery in the informal settlement. Even though such acts are unlawful, one should not overlook the agency of residents in being active citizens who aim to improve their living conditions. In terms of 'making and shaping' residents of Cato Manor have built their own homes on their terms regardless of the repression they continue to face, rather than 'using and choosing' what the government has to offer.

Residents of Cato Manor can indeed be defined as citizens through the lens of Gaventa's conceptualization of the term, they take an active role in the betterment of their livelihoods, they are a community of inclusive participation and they are 'makers and shapers' rather than 'users and choosers' (Cornwall 2002) of initiatives and interventions created by those in 'invited' spaces of participation.

Conclusion

This chapter presented a detailed discussion on the research findings which were guided by four key themes. The findings of this research study suggest that residents of Cato Manor engage in participation *during* and *between* elections – they make use of both the formal (invited) and informal (invented) spaces of participation. The findings of the study have also suggested that protest is the most employed form of participation in Cato Manor. The responses given gave me a clear understanding as to why protest is an effective form of participation. This study will be of use to policymakers and politicians in trying to understand some of the reasons behind different forms of participation found in Cato Manor, especially protest.

In summary, the study has shown that residents of Cato Manor do not use protest just to resort to violence or for the reason that they do not know about formal procedural channels of participation. The study has revealed that residents are aware of other forms of participation but resort to protest because they believe it to be the only language that the local authorities understand – formal structures of participation for them, takes time to produce the desired outcomes. Whereas, taking to the street to block roads with debris and burning tyres is destruction they believe to be more effective in ensuring that the local authorities deliver.

The purpose of this qualitative study was to examine participation experiences and expectations of residents of Cato Manor *during* and *between* elections, its aim was to contribute to the body of knowledge by highlighting some of the realities that residents are subjected to. Miraftab's 'invited' and 'invented' spaces of citizenship have been used as a framework in assessing the themes identified in the study and reference has been made to Cornwall and Gaventa's concept of citizenship.

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Interview Schedule
Exit Poll Cato Manor Durban KwaZulu-Natal
Elections 2019

Gender:

Race:

Age Group:

1. Is this your first time **voting**? How many other elections have you voted in since 1994?

NM1:
NM2:
NM3:
NM4:
NM5:
NM6:
NM7:
NM8:
NM9:
NM10:
NM11:
NM12:
NM13:

NK1:
NK2:
NK3:
NK4:
NK5:
NK6:
NK7:
NK8:
NK9:
NK10:
NK11:
NK12:
NK13:
NK14:

2. Was it a good **experience** i.e. did you have to wait long, did you experience any violence or intimidation or unfair practice?

3. Did you find a **party** to vote for that you think will represent your interests? Can you share with me who that party is or is it your secret? Do you always vote for the same party?

4. Do you think your vote makes a **difference** – can you tell me how?

5. What **changes** would you like to see in your community e.g. better services, better local governance, any specific issues?

6. Have you ever participated in **protest** – please share examples: community / worker/ student protest?

7. Do you ever attend **ward committee meetings** in your community – if yes, when was the last one you attended: if no, why not?

8. Do you know who your **ward councillor** is? Is he / she effective – if yes, please say how: if no, are you hoping for a new ward councillor?

9. Are there any **organisations** in your community that help you if you have a problem e.g. with your housing or service provision?

10. Do you receive the social **grant** e.g. child support or pension grant?

11. Is this enough or do you think there should be **more grants** and for what would you use this extra money?

12. Do you live in a formal or informal **house**?

13. Do you get **water and electricity services** from the municipality or do you connect yourself e.g. using informal plumbers and iziNyokaNyoka?

14. Do you have **employment**: full time / part time / none?

15. What does **democracy** mean for you?

Miss Hleliwe Fruitfull Khumalo (213527410)
School Of Built Env & Dev Stud
Howard College

Dear   Miss Hleliwe Fruitfull Khumalo,

Protocol reference number: 00008867
Project title: A study of public participation in Cato Manor during and between elections 2018-2019

Exemption from Ethics Review

In response to your application received on   , your school has indicated that the protocol has
been granted   EXEMPTION FROM ETHICS REVIEW.

Any alteration/s to the exempted research protocol, e.g., Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research
Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through an amendment/modification prior to its
implementation. The original exemption number must be cited.

For any changes that could result in potential risk, an ethics application including the proposed amendments must be
submitted to the relevant UKZN Research Ethics Committee. The original exemption number must be cited.

In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE:
Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours sincerely,

Prof Oliver Mtapuri
Academic Leader Research
School Of Built Env & Dev Stud

UKZN Research Ethics Office
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Website: http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics/

Founding Campuses: ■ Edgewood   ■ Howard College   ■ Medical School   ■ Pietermaritzburg   ■ Westville

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