INFRASTRUCTURE AND INFORMALITY: CONTESTING THE NEOLIBERAL POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION AND BELONGING IN CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

by

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As members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Angela Storey, titled "Infrastructure and Informality: Contesting the Neoliberal Politics of Participation and Belonging in Cape Town, South Africa," and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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DEDICATION

For my family, each and every one.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the production of an everyday politics of infrastructure within informal settlements in the Khayelitsha area of Cape Town, South Africa. As residents attempt to meet water, sanitation, and electricity needs through assemblages of informal service connections, in addition to limited formal services provided by the municipality, their material exclusions are articulated as evidence of persistent political marginality. Residents engage in multiple modes of politicized action seeking expansion to formal infrastructure and full inclusion in the promises of citizenship. However, they also face an array of complications created by municipal reliance upon neoliberal policies, practices, and logics. Despite a nominal emphasis on participatory processes of governance and development, municipal approaches to service provision and community engagement produce further marginalization.

In order to theorize the intersection of neoliberal urban governance and democratic practice, this dissertation examines participation as the result of complex interactions between everyday experience, urban governance, circulating moral logics, and the work of civil society. The realm of politics emerges as one unbound by parties, NGOs, or social movements; instead, it is read dialectically both into and from the landscape of informality. Across three articles, this dissertation examines participation as a contested terrain of politicized action, shaped by neoliberal practices of governance, post-colonial tensions, and uneven social acknowledgement of experience, knowledge, and action.

CHAPTER 1, INTRODUCTION

Participation as Politics: Infrastructure, Informality, and the Practices of Neoliberal Urban Governance in Cape Town

This dissertation examines the production of an everyday politics of water, sanitation, and electricity infrastructure within informal settlements in the Khayelitsha area of Cape Town, South Africa. As residents attempt to meet basic needs through a constellation of informal, illegal, extended, and temporary service connections, in addition to limited formal services provided by the municipality, these material exclusions are articulated as evidence of persistent political marginality. Despite more than twenty years of democratic governance post-Apartheid, residents of the city's informal areas thus understand their everyday experiences with infrastructure as positioning them outside the bounds of citizenship's marked belonging. Although residents engage in multiple modes of politicized action in order to seek expansions to formal infrastructure, and to make demands for full inclusion in the promises of citizenship, they face an array of complications created by municipal reliance upon neoliberal policies, practices, and logics. Despite a nominal emphasis on participatory processes of governance and development, the City of Cape Town's neoliberal approach

to both service provision and community engagement produces further marginalization and exclusion for these residents.

In order to theorize the intersection of neoliberal urban governance and democratic practice, this dissertation examines politicized participation as the result of the interplay between daily experience and local processes of governance. This argument builds from literature within anthropology and in post-colonial scholarship that situates peripheral everyday life at the center of our understanding of the city. I examine experience in relation to the built and natural environment of the city, specifically examining the socio-political implications of infrastructural assemblages that result from basic service exclusion within informal settlements. I focus upon participation as a contested concept and set of practices, the result of complex interactions between everyday experience, urban governance, circulating moral logics, and the work of civil society actors. The realm of politics emerges as one unbound by parties, NGOs, or social movements; instead, it is read dialectically both into and from the landscape of informality itself.

Drawing from sixteen months of ethnographic fieldwork in Cape Town, I examine the experiences of informal settlement residents in three articles. The first article, "Making Experience Legible: Space of Participation and the Construction of Knowledge in Khayelitsha," examines how communities attempt to resist the framing of their everyday lives as apolitical, arguing for their experiences of service inadequacies to be considered legitimate forms of knowledge about the political workings of neoliberal service provision. The second article, "'I dump it in that dirty place': Ecological Care and Neoliberal Responsibility in South African Informal Settlements," presents the challenges

that residents face from the rhetorical framing of neoliberal practices of governance, as their everyday lives are framed by the city as evidence of irresponsibility and inadequacy as citizens. The third article, "Contradictions of Capacity-Building: Knowledge, Time, and Participatory Governance in Cape Town's Informal Settlements," examines the frustrations of informal settlement communities in following formal processes of participation in urban development projects, arguing that such projects rely upon a disjuncture of time that denies resident experiences in order to produce the developmental subject characteristic of post-Apartheid democratic latency. In sum, these articles demonstrate the necessity of examining participation as a contested terrain of politicized action, shaped by neoliberal practices of governance, post-colonial tensions, and uneven social acknowledgement of experience, knowledge, and action.

In this introductory chapter, I begin by presenting the geographic and social location of this research, followed by a summary of my methodological approach. Next, I present the key literatures that I draw from in constructing the arguments connecting my three articles. Finally, I consider the implications of drawing together material and political understandings of urban infrastructure and informality, arguing for an understanding of the production of peripheral publics through and against neoliberal policies, practices, and logics.

Khayelitsha: The Political, Material, and Racialized Life of Informality

Khayelitsha sits in the margins of Cape Town, a township founded in the waning years of Apartheid to house black workers outside of the old city borders (Cook 1992). Post-Apartheid, Khayelitsha is still home to an almost entirely black population: 98.6%

of the area's population of nearly 400,000 identified as black African in the last national census (City of Cape Town 2013d), with most residents identifying as members of the amaXhosa cultural group. This despite Cape Town being the only major metropolitan area in South Africa with a majority non-black population (Statistics South Africa ND).

Khayelitsha hosts a significant percentage of informal homes: 54% of Khayelitsha's residential dwellings are informal (City of Cape Town 2013d), while only 22% can be said of the city as a whole (City of Cape Town 2012). Most of the informal dwellings in Khayelitsha are set in broad communities of shacks, counting into the thousands in some areas, although a minority (15%) of informal dwellings are backyarders—shacks set in the space behind or around formal houses (City of Cape Town 2013d). Even within Khayelitsha, informal areas are peripheral, situated primarily around the edges of the township, often on land owned as road reserves or held for other public purposes or by quasi-public entities, such as Eskom, South Africa's parastatal electricity company (Figure 1.1).

While Khayelitsha includes sections of middle class housing, it remains one of the poorest areas of Cape Town, a city still characterized by residential areas starkly divided along racial and socio-economic lines. When data on race from the last census is plotted in place, the persistence of residential segregation in the post-Apartheid era remains plain; maps developed based on this data show highly localized racial homogeneity by suburb (cf: Frith 2013). Although the 1994 constitution promised housing for all, construction has not kept pace with urban growth. With limited options for housing, those moving into the city have turned to informal dwelling. Meant to be a short-term solutions to the housing crisis (Huchzermeyer and Karam 2006), informal settlements now seem to

be permanent fixtures in South African urban landscapes. While national policy in the first decade post-Apartheid emphasized the eradication of informality, policies adopted in 2004, and in the following years, shifted the focus to *in situ*—on site—upgrading of services; an acknowledgement of the inadequacy of housing construction to meet pressing urban need (Huchzermeyer 2006).

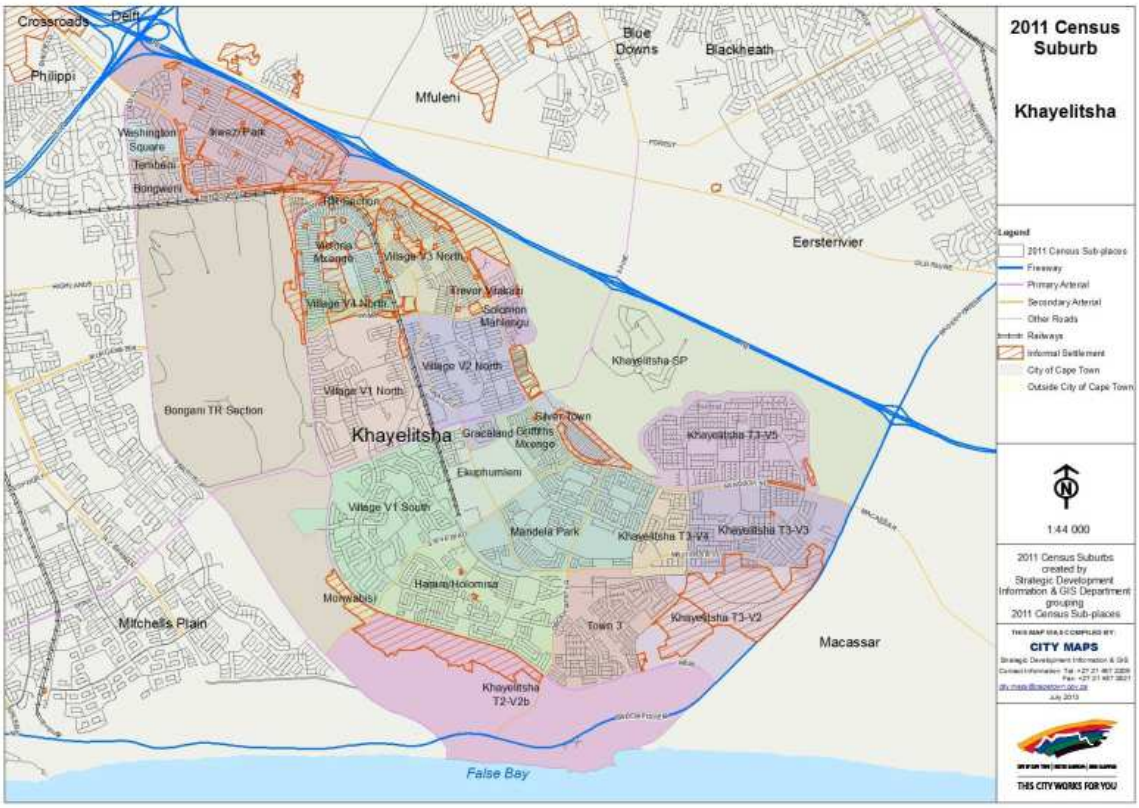

Figure 1.1: Map of Khayelitsha. Produced by the City of Cape Town to report data from the 2011 South African National Census (City of Cape Town 2013d: 1).

Cape Town's persistent socio-economic inequality is profoundly racialized. Unemployment rates demonstrate dramatic differences based on race, and similarly profound inequality can be seen in statistics on monthly income, education level, and related markers of affluence and opportunity (City of Cape Town 2012) (Figures 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4).

Cape Town Labour Force Indicators	Black African	Coloured	Asian	White	Other	Total
Population aged 15 to 64 years	**1 024 871**	**1 078 456**	**38 443**	**409 264**	**53 178**	**2 604 212**
Labour Force	**675 037**	**662 814**	**23 719**	**301 202**	**37 457**	**1 700 229**
Employed	441 911	512 551	21 369	287 029	31 379	1 294 239
Unemployed	233 126	150 263	2 350	14 173	6 078	405 990
Not Economically Active	**349 834**	**415 642**	**14 724**	**108 062**	**15 721**	**903 983**
Discouraged Work-seekers	40 453	37 010	553	2 481	936	81 433
Other not economically active	309 381	378 632	14 171	105 581	14 785	822 550
Rates %						
Unemployment rate	34.54%	22.67%	9.91%	4.71%	16.23%	23.88%
Labour absorption rate	43.12%	47.53%	55.59%	70.13%	59.01%	49.70%
Labour Force participation rate	65.87%	61.46%	61.70%	73.60%	70.44%	65.29%

Figure 1.2: Cape Town employment rates by racial groups. Data from 2011 South African national census showing reported employment rates for residents (Cape Town 2012).

Cape Town Monthly Household Income	Black African		Coloured		Asian		White		Other		Total	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
No income	85 427	19.2%	37 399	10.4%	1 542	10.8%	19 522	8.4%	2 627	14.5%	146 517	13.7%
R 1 - R 1 600	120 800	27.2%	53 104	14.8%	965	6.8%	7 445	3.2%	2 754	15.2%	185 068	17.3%
R 1 601 - R 3 200	102 325	23.0%	55 849	15.6%	966	6.8%	8 633	3.7%	3 051	16.9%	170 824	16.0%
R 3 201 - R 6 400	64 708	14.5%	66 488	18.5%	1 459	10.2%	18 853	8.1%	2 919	16.2%	154 427	14.5%
R 6 401 - R 12 800	35 420	8.0%	62 286	17.4%	2 149	15.1%	37 117	15.9%	2 376	13.1%	139 348	13.0%
R 12 801 - R 25 600	20 520	4.6%	47 952	13.4%	2 852	20.0%	53 255	22.9%	2 046	11.3%	126 625	11.8%
R 25 601 - R 51 200	10 835	2.4%	26 390	7.4%	2 564	18.0%	51 619	22.2%	1 452	8.0%	92 860	8.7%
R 51 201 - R 102 400	3 122	0.7%	6 889	1.9%	1 240	8.7%	26 190	11.2%	577	3.2%	38 018	3.6%
R 102 401 or more	1 615	0.4%	2 257	0.6%	523	3.7%	10 151	4.4%	268	1.5%	14 814	1.4%
Unspecified	9	0.0%	15	0.0%	6	0.0%	41	0.0%	2	0.0%	73	0.0%
Total	444 781	100.0%	358 629	100.0%	14 266	100.0%	232 826	100.0%	18 072	100.0%	1 068 574	100.0%

Figure 1.3: Cape Town monthly income by racial group. Data from 2011 South African national census showing reported monthly income for residents (Cape Town 2012).

Cape Town Adult Education (for all aged 20+)	Black African		Coloured		Asian		White		Other		Total	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
No schooling	22 468	2.5%	16 261	1.6%	497	1.4%	1 175	0.3%	2 553	5.0%	42 954	1.8%
Some primary	84 616	9.4%	104 615	10.4%	1 608	4.5%	3 934	0.9%	2 861	5.6%	197 634	8.1%
Completed primary	39 258	4.3%	68 946	6.9%	954	2.7%	2 199	0.5%	1 643	3.2%	113 000	4.6%
Some secondary	400 223	44.3%	451 892	45.1%	7 637	21.2%	69 461	15.4%	15 586	30.5%	944 799	38.6%
Grade 12	272 443	30.2%	270 470	27.0%	12 388	34.4%	165 330	36.6%	17 032	33.4%	737 663	30.2%
Higher	80 864	9.0%	87 390	8.7%	12 445	34.6%	204 282	45.2%	10 461	20.5%	395 442	16.2%
Other	2 892	0.3%	3 357	0.3%	445	1.2%	5 827	1.3%	912	1.8%	13 433	0.5%
Total	902 764	100.0%	1 002 931	100.0%	35 974	100.0%	452 208	100.0%	51 048	100.0%	2 444 925	100.0%

Figure 1.4: Cape Town education levels by racial groups. Data from 2011 South African national census showing reported educational levels for residents (Cape Town 2012).

The racialized inequality is mirrored in access to basic services, such as access to piped water within residences. While, for example, Cape Town's white population has water piped into 99.1% of homes, less than half of the city's black population experiences the same level of access (ibid.) (Figure 1.5). A significant portion of this service-based inequality can be explained through an examination of dwelling type by racial group: nearly half of the black population of Cape Town lives in informal areas – sites characterized by limited or absent access to basic services (ibid.) (Figure 1.6).

Cape Town Access to Piped Water	Black African		Coloured		Asian		White		Other		Total	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Piped water inside dwelling	215 385	48.4%	327 488	91.3%	13 825	96.9%	230 677	99.1%	14 369	79.5%	801 744	75.0%
Piped water inside yard	105 816	23.8%	20 984	5.9%	244	1.7%	1 086	0.5%	2 822	15.6%	130 952	12.3%
Piped water outside yard: < 200m	93 311	21.0%	5 499	1.5%	118	0.8%	259	0.1%	583	3.2%	99 770	9.3%
Piped water outside yard: > 200m	26 777	6.0%	1 595	0.4%	44	0.3%	303	0.1%	170	0.9%	28 889	2.7%
No access to piped water	3 492	0.8%	3 064	0.9%	35	0.2%	501	0.2%	126	0.7%	7 218	0.7%
Total	444 781	100.0%	358 630	100.0%	14 266	100.0%	232 826	100.0%	18 070	100.0%	1 068 573	100.0%

Figure 1.5: Cape Town water access by racial groups. Data from 2011 South African national census for Cape Town showing reported water access for residential dwellings (City of Cape Town 2012).

Cape Town Type of Dwelling	Black African		Coloured		Asian		White		Other		Total	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Formal Dwelling	250 762	56.4%	327 383	91.3%	13 852	97.1%	230 575	99.0%	14 961	82.8%	837 533	78.4%
Informal dwelling / shack in backyard	54 500	12.3%	18 082	5.0%	150	1.1%	337	0.1%	1 889	10.5%	74 958	7.0%
Informal dwelling / shack NOT in backyard	134 914	30.3%	7 531	2.1%	141	1.0%	387	0.2%	850	4.7%	143 823	13.5%
Other	4 607	1.0%	5 634	1.6%	123	0.9%	1 528	0.7%	369	2.0%	12 261	1.1%
Total	444 783	100.0%	358 630	100.0%	14 266	100.0%	232 827	100.0%	18 069	100.0%	1 068 575	100.0%

Figure 1.6: Cape Town dwelling types by racial groups. Data from 2011 South African national census showing reported types of residential dwellings (City of Cape Town 2012).

Cape Town is not the only South African city with highly racialized differences in access to services and socio-economic opportunity. Bank uses the term "fractured urbanism" to reference South Africa's urban landscapes, defined by the persistence of spaces excluded from significant development and in which existing infrastructure is over-taxed (Bank 2011). As he writes of these sites: "distress translates into fracture, which breaks and segments the urban locale into different zones, niches, territories and settlements that are created… by the *failure* of comprehensive urban planning systems and state structures to effectively manage counter-insurgent urbanization and settlement, which continually overruns the plan" (Bank 2011:30, emphasis in original). As with other areas of the global south, massive socio-economic inequality is reflected in and reinforced by the spatial and built environment of the city (Caldeira 2000; Graham and Marvin 2001). In South Africa, these urban divisions are compounded by the physical histories of Apartheid, radically uneven development in the post-Apartheid era, and the persistence of significant social division (Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell 2002; Murray 2008). The national delegation of power to municipal governments for addressing needs—notably those of housing and basic services—makes an examination of local

government, and its contradictions, central to understanding lived inequality (Hart 2002, 2013).

Existing and profoundly racialized differences in access to housing, economic success, and basic services are compounded by the complexities of political power in Cape Town. While the ANC has maintained control over the national government since 1994, Cape Town and the Western Cape Province are, respectively, the only major metropolitan area and only province in the country that are governed by the largest opposition party, the Democratic Alliance (DA). The DA's success in the Western Cape may largely be attributed to the region's racial demographics: according to the last national census, the largest portion of the provincial population (49.6%) consisted of the Coloured community (Statistics South Africa 2012), while, nationally, a significant majority (80%) of the population is black (Statistics South Africa ND) (Endnote 1). Khayelitsha's racial demographics strongly map onto political party support: in the 2014 national elections, the vast majority of Khayelitsha voters supported the ANC, compared to only 32% of Cape Town voters, and 34% of Western Cape voters (Electoral Commission of South Africa 2014). Maps created from the 2014 national election results show a starkly localized pattern for voting: Khayelitsha stands out profoundly as one of the few areas in Cape Town with strong ANC support (Frith NDa) (Endnote 2). In closer comparison with the adjacent suburb of Mitchell's Plain, which also experiences lower markers of socio-economic status but is primarily (91%) occupied by Coloured communities (City of Cape Town 2013e), voting differences become even more stark. Maps produced from this data show Khayelitsha vividly marked by a strongly ANC voting pattern—and peppered with votes for the EFF—while Mitchell's Plain presents as

a solid DA voting bloc (Frith NDb). While the DA garnered 57% of Western Cape votes in the 2014 elections, they received only 22% of the vote nationally (Electoral Commission of South Africa 2014).

Municipal governance in South Africa is managed through the combination of a system of direct local representation and a system of proportional party representation. For the City of Cape Town, the city council (as of March 2016) consisted of 221 individuals, half elected directly by popular vote within local wards, and half elected at the city-wide level based on proportion of party support within the last local elections (City of Cape Town ND). Municipal elections are held on a separate five year cycle (2011, 2016, etc.) from the national and provincial elections (2009, 2014, etc.). Wards representing Khayelitsha have been largely held by ANC or ANC-allied councillors, while the city council is majority DA councilors (136 of 221 seats) (ibid.). The city council appoints an Executive Mayor, thus reinforcing party-based control.

Tensions between parties may result in differential access to municipal resources between areas, and, thus, some activists contend that ANC control may be responsible for lower service access in Khayelitsha. However, local tensions between party factions and between individuals also impacts access to services, as does the city's overall budget allocation for service access. NGOs working in Khayelitsha contend that the City's budget deprioritizes funding for basic services to informal settlements across the city, not only those located in this suburb (SJC 2015), which results in persistent service limitations. Nationally, relative improvements in service provision between DA and ANC-controlled areas is a highly contested electoral matter. In the 2011 local elections, debates in the media focused upon the construction of unenclosed toilets in Makhaza, an

area in Khayelitsha that had been plotted for homes, with taps and toilets constructed on each site. The DA-controlled city-funded project, however, had not built enclosures around the individual toilets, and the ANC made it a national topic (Rakodi 2011). The DA soon found a similar situation in an ANC-controlled municipality in another part of the country, and the fervent debates resulted in a lasting moniker: "the toilet elections" (ibid.). Sanitation and radically unequal access to basic service infrastructure are, thus, embedded in national and local political contestation.

Khayelitsha's informal settlements vary broadly in their access to basic services, and access can fluctuate even within one informal area. Electricity—as discussed in the vignette below—is provided through pre-paid meters from Eskom, the parastatal electricity company. Not all sites qualify for formal access, however, and thus many people rely upon electricity extended illegally from someone else's legal connection, or else taken directly from public wires (Figure 1.7). Water is provided through shared public taps, located largely within public space and shared at a city goal of 25 households to one tap (Figure 1.8). Many households pay to pull illegal private connections from public water lines, bringing taps into their yards or homes. Toilets can include full-flush units, chemical toilets, or a form of bucket collection, although, again, not all areas have sanitation provided by the city or contracted services (Figures 1.9 and 1.10). In areas without full-flush toilets, some residents have constructed their own; pulling water connections from shared lines and constructing sewerage lines that dump into storm drains. Individuals or small groups also may maintain shared urination sites, dug into the sand and maintained with various chemicals to control smells and insects. Rubbish is collected in centralized locations, and, in some areas, picked up by contracted workers. In

the absence of waste collection, communities often create informal, centralized dumping sites. Drains may be located near flush-toilet blocks, although many informal areas only have access to storm water drains along nearby major roads. In the absence of nearby drains, communities empty waste water into public space, into wetlands, or into sinks constructed in the sandy substrate (Figure 1.11).

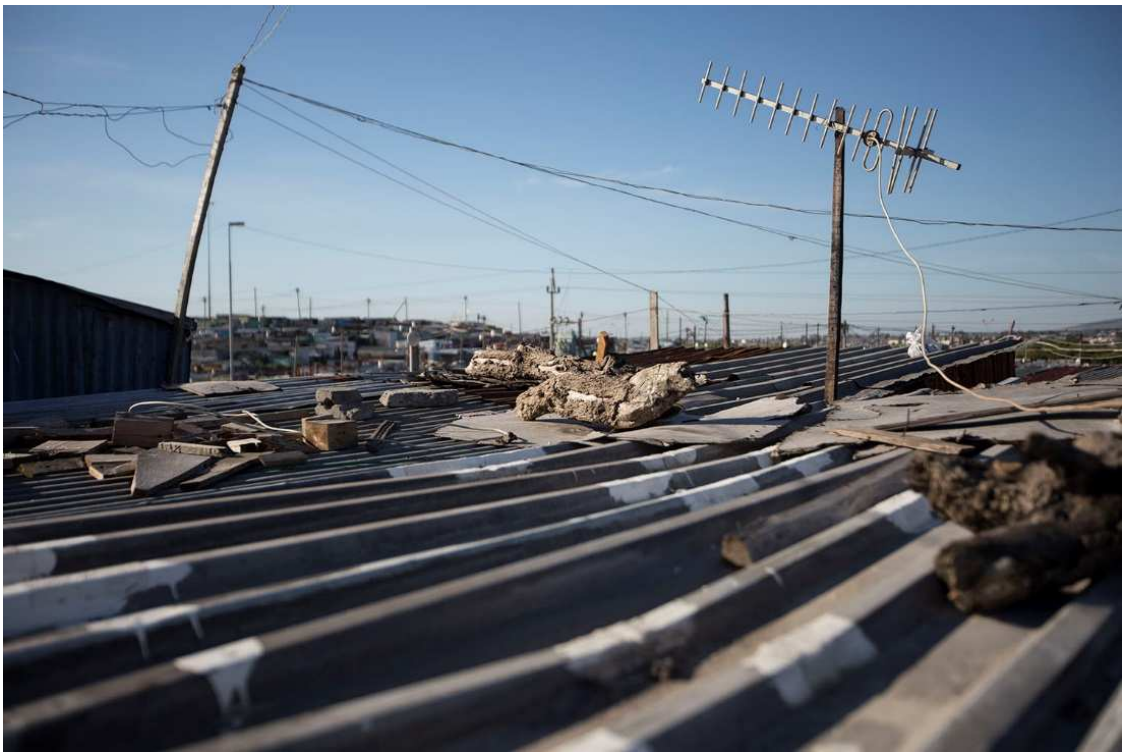

Figure 1.7: Pulled electricity lines in Khayelitsha. Photograph by Shachaf Polakow, 2015. Used with permission.

Figure 1.8: Shared public tap in Khayelitsha. Photograph by Shachaf Polakow, 2010. Used with permission.

Figure 1.9: Shared full-flush toilets in Khayelitsha. Photograph by Shachaf Polakow, 2015. Used with permission.

Figure 1.10: Bucket Toilet in Khayelitsha. Photograph by Shachaf Polakow, 2015. Used with permission.

Figure 1.11: Garbage bag and self-made drain in Khayelitsha. Photograph by Shachaf Polakow, 2015. Used with permission.

When basic services are provided, they are often inadequate, temporary, or frequently broken. Although water and electricity are provided via quasi-public services, the logics that determine their placement are not dissimilar from those that govern privatized services. Despite South Africa's landmark constitutional right to water, this right has been put into practice through policies that quantify access and commodify water itself (McDonald and Ruiters 2005). Residents in informal areas do not pay for access to water, as their access is provided only through taps shared by dozens of households, but access is still understood as one for a commodity whose technology for this particular monetized distribution has not yet been resolved. Access to electricity is also not understood as a public good through its distribution. Instead, legal and formal access is highly constrained, the result of complex political negotiations with city staff, elected officials, local community associations representing each informal area, and Eskom workers.

The following extended excerpt from my field notes, written in February 2014, introduces the necessary labor, the bodily risk, the material tenuousness, and the socio-political complexity of everyday service access in informality. This interaction took place in Zanele (Endnote 3), one of Khayelitsha's informal settlements, and one of the sites in which I conducted long-term research (Endnote 4)

> We walk through the maze of the informal settlement, past the high voltage electricity pylon and then turn left again towards the formal houses. Dalumzi lives at the edge of Zanele, with the final house of the formal settlement just a few meters away. Dalumzi's shack is bright and spotless. He has shining tile floors set into a concrete base and he explains that a person in Zanele does tiling using cheap seconds. His walls are painted a light color and he has two windows in addition to the open door, which work together to make the space seem larger. The furniture consists of a double bed with a light colored coverlet, a television sitting on a low cabinet, a stack of speakers, a closed clothing bureau, and two chairs—one a plastic lawn chair with a pillow and the other a black office chair.

The shack is shaped as a square with a rectangle cut out of one corner, which, from inside, allows the space to feel somewhat like it has two discrete sections while remaining open. Dalumzi does not have any tall, looming, dark furniture—the hallmark of many other shacks, where space is a major constraint and furniture options might be limited significantly by what is available and affordable. The overall effect is that his home is very bright and open feeling, and that somehow that makes it feel more permanent.

Dalumzi's home is also simplified by the fact that it is built directly next to his family home (also a shack), which his sister now lives in, as his parents have gone back to the Eastern Cape. He shows us inside the family home, which is three rooms: a bedroom, a common room and kitchen, and what looks to be a washroom (with a washing machine!) and maybe storage. Although significantly more filled than Dalumzi's own space, this shack also feels more open than many others. His sister is at work, but we learn that she studied at a local technical college and works with computers. Dalumzi can't really tell us what she does, but he does tell us that one or both of his parents were domestic workers and the family that employed them paid for his sister to attend college.

Dalumzi begins by telling us about pulling electricity directly from the Eskom lines—from the smaller poles just running through the streets in the neighboring formal houses. He also says that people have already begun to break into the streetlights newly built on a nearby major road, with several along this area already being tapped for electricity.

Dalumzi shows us the breakers, wires, gloves, pliers, and other few tools he uses to tap into the lines. He says that he has no electrical training, and that he learned it all from a previous local social movement leader, who argued that people shouldn't have to pay for electricity if the City wouldn't provide it—they should just take it from the lines for free. That is when Dalumzi began pulling from the Eskom wires, although now he actually sells it to his neighbors and to the crèche (daycare). He seems a little conflicted by this transition from political action to profit-making device, but he says that he doesn't charge people for wires or other parts in the connection: he only charges R100 per month (approximately US$10 with the exchange rate at the time) to each connected shack, as opposed to an average of R150 (US$15) charged to connect to electricity from formal houses. He also gives free electricity to some people near him who are really struggling.

Dalumzi steps into the front corner of his shack, pulling aside a poster to reveal a neat set of breakers and a large wire emerging from the concrete floor at the wall and entering the breakers. Not but a few minutes later, as we were still talking about electricity connections for Zanele, the electricity in Dalumzi's house cut off. As he walked back around my chair to flip the breakers off, he looked out the window and saw on the electricity pole 20 feet away a man from Eskom cutting the wires! My research assistant and I rush to look as well, although attempt not to draw attention from the Eskom worker. Indeed, a white man in a hard hat is

hanging on the side of a low wooden pole, hacking away at the wires on the box. Dalumzi is concerned that the Eskom worker is white, as he says someone black wouldn't hassle the community about the illegal connection, but that a white worker might.

We are all shocked that this is happening, and I feel like somehow we called this into being with our eager questions for Dalumzi about the electricity connections to the poles. He says that Eskom does disconnect them, but it is more often in the winter when overloads from heaters and stoves blows out the electricity and the boxes on the poles catch fire. Today's summer disconnection might be the result of a dispute between Zanele residents and a homeowner in the formal houses. Apparently a homeowner who was selling electricity to Zanele residents (and who also possibly had broken into their box to bypass the prepayment technology) had been fined R3,000 by Eskom. He then decided that Zanele residents should pay the fine; they refused. It seems like then that man might have called Eskom on the tapped poles in revenge, or, alternatively, maybe the call was made by a neighbor upset at that man. It was hard to tell the situation exactly, and indeed none of us knew why Eskom was really there.

The Eskom man on the pole hacked away at the wires for a while, all of us sitting stunned inside, listening to his destructive work and speaking in hushed tones, some default protection against the worker finding out that this house is the center of at least some electricity theft from that specific pole. Dalumzi says that Eskom workers never put any effort into finding out who the wires go to, just cutting them at the pole instead of following them. They would have to put a tremendous amount of effort into following them anyhow, as the lines are buried a meter underground and Dalumzi says they are covered with piles of rocks as well.

I ask about a comment someone else had made to us that an Eskom worker living nearby helps people from Zanele when off work. Dalumzi confirms this, and adds that when he needs to climb the electricity poles he actually used to rent the spiked shoes and leather belt from Eskom workers! They would pay R200 and use them at night. Now, however, someone in Zanele has purchased their own spiked shoes and lets people use them for just R50.

Dalumzi says he will have to go tonight at 1:00 AM with a few other people to re-attach the electricity wires to the pole. Throughout our interview he receives texts, phone calls, and visitors asking what has happened to the electricity. When we leave he will need to walk around and tell folks that it has been cut. He also says he'll need to go to Mitchell's Plain to get new wires and materials to re-attach it.

While Dalumzi's material arrangement of illegal electricity access was more refined than many others that I saw, his need to navigate the complexities of infrastructural exclusion through his own labor, and his nuanced understanding of the

social and political context of this exclusion, were far more common across informal settlement residents. Indeed, in interviews with 86 residents of three informal areas, I heard repeated many of the same themes that emerged in conversation with Dalumzi: being forced into using illegal, dangerous, or inadequate services; exhaustion with the labor and risk that went into informal connections; and frustration with the inability for communities to access the political power necessary to ensure formal access. The complexities of navigating not only the city's bureaucracy, but also the array of service delivery providers and contractors, as well as the social relationships necessary to maintain informal connections, resulted in further service exclusions for residents.

Residents understood and articulated their everyday actions as resulting from political exclusion. Indeed, the use of the term "illegal" in this dissertation to reference electricity and other service access used without consent, or in ways not centrally warranted from service providers, follows the term's intentional and politicized use by residents. Use of this term marks their access as one forced to be outside formal systems of access (Anand 2012), showing both the necessity of using illegal services in a space of active exclusion, as well as pride for the ability to create needed infrastructural access against the city's practices. The term thus shows both the city's exclusion—creating a space of infrastructural violence (Rodgers and O'Neill 2012)—and the community's resilience: paired approaches that demonstrate the importance of identifying in the complexity of everyday practices the on-going "struggles over what it means to be a member of the modern state" (Holston 1999).

In an interview conducted the following year with another community leader in Zanele, he discussed the context in which residents are forced to use illegal electricity. The words in italics were emphasized as Ta-Bonani replied to my questions:

> Angela: And, then, for those electricity connections, are they reliable, or do they work? Do they get broken, or stolen, or what do you have to do to maintain those lines?
>
> Ta-Bonani: They get broken, burned, *stolen*! They get stolen, and then you have to buy another electric wire again, and then you can go and fix it. Or they burn, because, *some of us*, we connect illegal connection for electricity because we have no other options. We have no other options, really, we *must* take it illegal from the poles. Yeah. That is what we are doing. We *cannot live* without electricity, because electricity is a basic need. You must live with it, you must have it. But we don't get it. (Pause) That's a problem.

Connections like the one Ta-Bonani discusses are also often called "people's connections" or "people's power," indicating the mode of access as community driven and politicized. These connections have been promoted and made as part of social movement activity, as Dalumzi discusses above for Khayelitsha, and as others have noted for Soweto, outside Johannesburg (Dawson 2010). However, the term is not only utilized in contexts of overt social movement activity, but rather is used widely by residents of informal areas to reference nearly any kind of service access that exists outside of formal connections. This broad usage suggests a ubiquitous and political understanding of the terrain of informal service access. In my interviews with residents in Khayelitsha, even individuals not involved in social movement groups actively used the term and, likewise, discussed their obligation to find individual, illegal, and informal service connections in overtly political ways.

The need to use these connections, however, is not without severe risk and bodily danger. What follows is the immediate continuation of the 2015 interview with Ta-Bonani:

Angela: And so the city says that there's no solution for electricity here…
Ta-Bonani: No, not here, not here. Up until they found *land* for us and then they remove us from here, whereby we can get electricity. But, no, (pause) we can't get it. They can bring toilets for us, but it will be the chemical toilets. But, electricity, no—they can't.
Angela: But, now it's 2015, and people have been living in this same spot since 1988.
Ta-Bonani: (Overlapping) Since 1988, up until today. Without electricity.
Angela: And they've never relocated people and never…
Ta-Bonani: (Overlapping) Never. Never. Just promises. And they, they don't fulfill it.
Angela: And are the pulled connections, the electricity wires, is it safe or they can cause fires?
Ta-Bonani: *Yeah*, they cause fires. They cause fires, yes. Because, I think, in 2012 – yeah, they *did* cause fires. More than twenty houses – twenty or thirty houses – burned down, because of that illegal connection. Yeah, it's dangerous. But, *what can we do?* (Pause) We don't have another option. We have to.
Angela: And then if people don't have electricity, even if they don't have a connection, they must use candles or…
Ta-Bonani: Mm-hmm. Candles yeah. And then the candles are also dangerous. Because people died of that. Yeah.
Angela: Was it last year that those, that there were the shacks that burned down over here, maybe eight. Was it eight?
Ta-Bonani: (Overlapping) Mm-hmmm, yeah. Eight shacks, last year.
Angela: And that was a candle.
Ta-Bonani: Yeah, a *candle*. A candle. And flame stove. That paraffin stove, yeah.

Everyday limitations in formal services force residents of Zanele into a double-bind: illegal electricity connections risk fire, theft of wire, and electrocution, while the alternative of using candles and paraffin stoves also presents a risk of fire without allowing for access to appliances or charging sites. Infrastructural assemblages in Zanele, as in other informal areas, thus offer potent sites in which to examine the intersection of social relationships, political power, and material practices at the post-Apartheid urban

periphery. Utilizing the framing of assemblages prompts an understanding of the everyday linkages made by residents between formal and informal modes of services access, troubling neat divisions between services. “Patterns of unintentional coordination develop in assemblages” (Tsing 2015: 23), pushing us to see the complex meeting of embedded histories and potential futures in such sites. Infrastructure especially lends itself to unexpected connections, as its simultaneous materiality and sociality results in what Howe, et al, have usefully framed through three paradoxes: concurrent generation and degeneration (ruin), concurrent solidity and abstraction (retrofit), and concurrent mitigation and production of risk (risk) (Howe et al 2015). Infrastructures, as both relational and as “things with lives of their own” (Björkman 2015: 13), present sites of complex actions and reactions which are useful to think about in terms that embrace the paradoxical and unintentional.

Within these assemblages, however, residents did not value the varied forms of access to basic services equally. As Ta-Bonani noted briefly above, the City of Cape Town had previously suggested to Zanele that they could have access to sanitation in the form of Portable Flush Toilets (PFTs), which are colloquially known as potha-pothas. PFTs are plastic units in which a seat and immediate collection bowl can be flushed with liquid chemicals into a small, detachable unit below. PFTs utilized as sanitation options by the City of Cape Town to various informal settlements—and provided via contracts with private companies—are unenclosed and thus must be utilized inside an existing structure. Many residents of Zanele and other informal areas found PFTs to be undignified forms of sanitation provided by the city: they forced individuals to use them inside homes or in small lean-tos attached outside shacks, which meant not only storage

of human waste within homes between servicing, but also the need to use toilets in front of family members. Although individuals often used buckets inside their homes in the absence of provided sanitation or at night, community members routinely saw PFTs as an even more insulting sanitation option: the provision of PFTs allowed the city to say that sanitation was provided to a community, but without the creation of any formal sanitation infrastructure. The provision of PFTs was an insult; a way for the city to write-off an area and avoid the cost of creating permanent infrastructure.

Indeed, many communities have been upset over the provision of non-permanent sanitation facilities to informal settlements in Cape Town, and, particularly, PFT provision. Furor over the units have prompted many service delivery protests, culminating in the 2013 "poo wars," which became a national media sensation and a local political zeitgeist. Emerging from local contestation over maintenance of sanitation in an informal settlement, residents in June 2013 took over the national freeway near the community, emptying waste on the road (Robins 2014). Following this, a series of protests followed in which human waste from PFT units was dumped outside the Western Cape Provincial Offices in the center of Cape Town, in the city's central train station, and, ultimately, in the entry hall at the Cape Town International Airport. Waste was also thrown at the Provincial premier—and national DA leader—Helen Zille, as she toured one community. These actions made visible the daily experiences of inadequate sanitation provision. As Robins has argued—drawing from Mary Douglas' notable work—these protests moved waste "out of place," working to counter the localized tensions and visibilities of waste within informal settlement communities by bringing the waste itself into central city spaces (Robins 2014).

At the center of these events were two ANC ward councillors, Andile Lili and Loyiso Nkohla. Although they were initially put on probation by the ANC for other matters, they were reinstated just before the 2014 national elections (Felix and Mzantsi 2014). The social movement that they formed as a result of the poo protests—the Ses'khona People's Rights Movements, popularly referenced simply as Ses'khona—endorsed the ANC in the 2014 elections, showing up at polling places across Khayelitsha, sporting yellow t-shirts with the face of President Zuma and Ses'khona's name (Endnote 5). Following the elections, Ses'khona remained intact as a movement, and the group has engaged in a variety of protest action across Cape Town in the interceding two years (Petersen and Raborife 2016).

A focus on the need for "dignified" sanitation provision does not only rest with Ses'khona. This language has also been used since 2008 by the Social Justice Coalition, an activist NGO working for improvements to sanitation provision within Khayelitsha's informal settlements (cf. SJC 2013). During my research, activists from other social movements, as well as broader members of each community, used this language as they discussed their reception to different modes of basic services. Not only PFTs were considered "undignified" modes of sanitation. In the communities in which I conducted research, sanitation provision included some areas with PFTs, some with stand-alone enclosed chemical toilets, some with "bucket" toilets, some with shared full-flush toilets, and some with no sanitation whatsoever. While individual opinions varied widely, many residents found *all* of these modes of sanitation to be undignified, as they were shared, temporary, rarely cleaned, and—because their provision was by private service contracts—it was difficult to hold the city accountable for these problems. As research in

many other global sites has found, access to individual, full-flush toilets is a profound marker of modernity (Morales, Harris, Öberg 2014; Robins 2014). This exclusion from modern sanitation is not merely symbolic, but, rather, viscerally connected to the body, reinforced each time someone is obligated to use a chemical toilet or bucket.

While much scholarly work examining contestation over basic service provision in South Africa has focused upon one service, this dissertation looks across access to water, sanitation, and electricity as a whole. The need to examine service access as an interconnected set of daily experiences and political readings of the urban landscape emerged strongly within interviews with residents of informal areas. While service provision varied between informal sites, narratives of daily life within each community examined precarity not only as the product of individual service limitations, but as a result of interconnected and overtly politicized understandings of persistent material exclusion. Residents expressed a consciously political analysis of service access and exclusion that understood services as deeply interconnected.

Methodology

The research for this dissertation was conducted in Cape Town, South Africa, over sixteen months and in three phases: phase one, January-April 2013; phase two, September 2013-July 2014; and phase three, September-October 2015. Preliminary research was conducted during two earlier sections of scoping fieldwork completed in 2010 and 2011. All research was conducted with active Human Subjects approval from the University of Arizona Institutional Review Board.

In the first phase, research focused upon the work of three social movement organizations. Each group ran campaigns seeking improvements in basic service access—water, sanitation, and/or electricity—for informal settlements. Groups were chosen for concurrence of campaign focus, geographic emphasis on Khayelitsha, and exclusive work with informal settlements. This phase focused on understanding the breadth of work on basic services within these organizations, relationships to the communities in which they work, and experiences of staff and volunteers.

The largest organization, the Social Justice Coalition (SJC), was an activist NGO with over 20 paid staff members, most of whom were residents of informal settlements. SJC was founded 2008 and has a long-term campaign focused on improving sanitation services to informal settlements. I conducted twenty-two semi-structured interviews with SJC staff and branch leaders; completed participant observation at workshops, public and private meetings, marches, project launches, in conversations with city officials, at other events, and in day-to-day work at their offices; I completed tours of several informal settlements in which SJC works; and I spoke with members, supporters, and other residents about the organization.

The second organization, the social movement Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM; translated from Zulu it means People of the Shacks, or Shackdwellers Association), was a Western Cape Provincial affiliate of a larger group based in Durban. This branch focused their work on expanding housing and all basic services. With AbM I conducted eight semi-structured interviews with leaders (there were no paid staff) and key volunteers; participant observation at meetings, informal group gatherings, in the homes of group leaders, on walks around the community, in meetings with allied organizations or city

officials, and at their office; and on walking tours of informal settlements. As this organization's work extended beyond Khayelitsha, I also conducted participant observation at the organization's events in other communities in Cape Town.

The third and smallest organization was the Progressive Youth Movement (PYM), led by young people age 18-35. The organization had developed from relatively recent protests over a lack of sanitation facilities within one large informal area in Khayelitsha. Since then, PYM had been campaigning for construction of flush toilets and succeeded in convincing city officials to assess the placement of services. I conducted seven semi-structured interviews with leaders and key volunteers (there were no paid staff); walking tours of the community with activists; and participant observation in meetings with city officials, in the homes of activists, at public and private meetings, in coalition events, at marches, and in day-to-day events at their office.

For each of these three organizations, I recruited interviewees through intentional sampling of group leaders, key volunteers, and staff. Interviews took place either at the office of the organization, in public spaces in Khayelitsha, or in the homes of the individual, determined by the preference of interviewees and ease of access.

The second phase of research examined the experiences and expectations around service access, community activism, and political participation for residents of three informal settlements in Khayelitsha, which I will call Zanele, Westtown, and Ziyanda. These informal areas are part of the same city Ward and have each been occupied for 15-25 years. These sites were chosen as they offered high variation between kinds of services provided (various forms of sanitation, provision of electricity, and access to potable water), as well as different affiliations with activist and community-based civic

organizations. Two of the three areas had local groups affiliated with activist organizations working on basic service campaigns. All three had local organizations that represented the lowest level of civic control, with leadership meant to be elected at open meetings and responsible for interacting with the Ward Councilor and City officials on housing, basic services, safety, and other matters. The majority of interviews took place at a community hall located nearby.

For each community I conducted individual, semi-structured interviews with community leaders and residents, each interview ranging in length from thirty minutes to three hours. I recruited interviewees using several methods in order to seek variety in age, gender, educational backgrounds, engagement in political activism, length of residence at the site, and household make-up. Interviewee recruitment included purposeful selection of leaders, snowball sampling via existing interviewees, and voluntary election through recruitment at community meetings. All interviewees were over the age of eighteen and had lived at the site for at least six months. The selection of interviewees was not meant to offer a statistically significant representation of the community, but, rather, sought to draw from a wide variety of demographics and backgrounds in order to capture a breadth of experience. The total interview number for this phase was 86, with a per community count of 34, 26, and 26 interviews each. In addition, I attended community meetings, took site tours with residents, visited the homes of interviewees, and conducted participant observation during meetings with development organizations and City staff.

In addition, during this phase I held semi-structured interviews with staff of two other NGOs working within these communities in order to gather additional information

about the organization's work. Informal conversations at public events were held with other staff members of these NGOs to provide further details about the groups.

In the third phase of research, conducted in September and October of 2015, I used a new interview consent form to collect eleven additional semi-structured, publicly-available interviews with residents of six different informal areas in Khayelitsha. In addition to providing data on daily service access within each community (adding to the eighty-six interviews conducted in phase two), these further interviews will be used in a website and public exhibit pairing community narratives with photographs of informal areas and services in Khayelitsha (Endnote 6). In this third phase of research, follow-up visits were also conducted with each of the three social movement groups and informal areas from previous phases of research.

Further data for this dissertation was gathered from print materials produced by social movement organizations and NGOs working in Khayelitsha, media stories related to activism or service access, official press releases from the City of Cape Town, and material from the official websites and publicly-accessible social media sites of the City of Cape Town, NGOs, and social movement organizations discussed.

Framing Everyday Lives and Politics in a Neoliberal, Urban Global South

Taken together, the three articles in my dissertation engage with and contribute to theoretical discussions of neoliberal governance; infrastructure and urban political ecology; experiences of citizenship and participation; and practices of social movements. I bring together key literatures to examine the intersection of neoliberal urban governance and democratic practice, building broadly from Wendy Brown's provocative assessments

of their ideological and practical intersections (Brown 2015). I argue specifically for the necessity of seeing participation as a contested set of practices, ideas, and logics that emerge from—and seek to rework—everyday experiences of marginalization and political engagement. The discussion of this literature begins here in the introduction, and continues in the dissertation's conclusion (Chapter 5).

Development and Access: South Africa, Neoliberal Governance, and International Aid

What is the regional or international relevance of examining South Africa's neoliberal policies and practices? I argue that an understanding of local development in South Africa must be situated in relation to the historical political economy of the region. The result of long-term international pressure, as well as the lasting effects of colonial and Apartheid economic policies, neoliberal logics frame not only the practices of governance at the national and local level in South Africa, but also provide the foundation for—and wider relevance of—examining the socio-political context of urban development.

In 1994, the African National Congress (ANC), was elected as the national ruling party in South Africa's first post-Apartheid elections. The new government rapidly began the adoption of neoliberal policies, the result of both internal needs and external pressures. The ANC inherited a national economy depleted not only by the impacts of effective international anti-Apartheid campaigns, but also by a twenty-year long trend of reductions in foreign investment (Bond 2000: 48), longer-term problems in internationally-competitive manufacturing (Davies 1996), and "an inefficient economy with a narrow human resource base" skewed by the profoundly racialized opportunities

and training available under Apartheid (Anwireng-Obeng 1996:137; see also Marais 1998). Trade deficits grew in the immediate post-Apartheid transition, the result of losing preferential trade status with the U.S., and resulted in contradictory policy stances, such as the deepening of hardline trade policies with neighboring countries concurrent with expansive free trade agreements with the E.U. (Davies 1996; Bond 2000). Despite the socialist rhetoric of the ANC and the inclusion of the South African Communist Party (SACP) within the national governing Tripartite Alliance (consisting of the ANC, SACP, and COSATU—the Congress of South African Trade Unions), policies of deindustrialization prompted by the Washington Consensus were rapidly adopted (Endnote 7). Indeed, in the newly-democratic South Africa, "the appeasement of domestic, and, crucially, international capital had become unavoidable" (Marais 1998: 95).

The role of the World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO), and International Monetary Fund (IMF) were, however, cemented in southern Africa long before South Africa's political transition. By the 1950s, the World Bank was the "largest foreign financier to several regional colonies still under minority rule… the then 'Rhodesias and Nyasalands,' to South Africa, and to Portuguese-ruled Angola and Mozambique to build white-controlled infrastructures for the benefit of white economic interests and relatively rich white consumers" (Bond 2000: 157). South Africa received their first World Bank loans just after the 1948 implementation of Apartheid, followed by many subsequent—and increasingly large—loans until 1968 (Davies 1996; Bond 2000). The IMF persisted in supporting the Apartheid regime until the early 1980s, and, even after that, continued

with aid via information, sending in "advisory teams each year to help the apartheid government switch to neoliberal economic policies" (Bond 2000: 159).

In the debt crisis of the 1980s and 1990s, southern Africa's newly- or soon-to-be independent countries faced crippling debts accumulated by colonial regimes and, following defaults in the mid-1980s, were forced by creditors into accepting disastrous structural adjustment policies (Onimode 1996). Bail outs, however, simply replaced one loan with another, producing both deeper debt and obligating significant revisions to national economic policies that eliminated barriers to international trade and prompted privatization of public services. The results were even more crippling: debts rose through the year 2000, even though "between 1984 and 1996 the lowest-income African countries paid $1.5 billion in repayments—a sum 1.5 times greater than the amount owed in 1980, as a result of compounded interest payments" (Bond 2003: 22).

In South Africa, despite the adoption in 1994 of the ANC-endorsed Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which eschewed foreign investment in national reconstruction, the first post-Apartheid loan from the World Bank arrived in 1997 (Bond 2000). Post-Apartheid funding from the IMF preceded that, with a loan granted in 1993 as one of the first acts of the transitioning government (Marais 1998; Bond 2003). The World Bank's engagement with the newly democratic South Africa focused not only on funding but, rather, on policy advice—what has been termed the "Knowledge Bank" (Bond 2003: 69). Despite being a small percentage of the national budget, however, international aid post-Apartheid "can be decisive in shifting capital expenditure into areas donors decide—although sometimes without much reference to

sustainability, maintenance, and infrastructure" (Bond 2003: 81), and thus aid retained a powerful position both fiscally and ideologically in domestic policy.

South Africa rapidly became a force pushing neoliberal development policy and governance practices across the continent. After consultations with the U.S., G8, U.N., E.U., and World Bank throughout 2000, the following year South African President Thabo Mbeki presented the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), a neoliberal plan for the continent emphasizing "large infrastructure construction opportunities on the public-private model, privatized state services, ongoing structural adjustment, intensified rule of international property law… all coordinated from a South African office" (Bond 2006: 125). NEPAD not only situated development and governance firmly within the neoliberal trajectory, but positioned South Africa as the regional leader in ushering in unabashedly neoliberal approaches to development. South Africa's existing hegemonic relationship with other countries in Southern Africa—built on historically-deep patterns of trade, migration, and colonial authority (Marais 1998), and through the obligations of previous international aid (Hentz 2005)—thus expanded to the continent.

In South Africa, the implementation of these same practices—especially the patterns of privatization and public-private partnerships in the delivery of basic services, which I discuss in the following section—have profoundly shaped the experience of urban residents, deepening inequality and furthering marginalization. These domestic policies, however, do not exist in isolation: South Africa's practices set the stage for the adoption of similar approaches across the continent and, thus, must be understood in relation to their wider impact.

Infrastructure and Ecology: Terrains of the Techno-political and the Urban Ecological

How does the distribution of natural resources within cities shape social and political experience? How do modes of distribution, and experiences in spaces of service exclusion, suggest critical readings of urban power? How do experiences cohere around, and through, material objects, specifically infrastructural assemblages? My research explores the complex socio-political terrain exposed as residents struggle to meet basic service needs and disrupt urban practices of exclusion. I draw from both interdisciplinary literature in Urban Political Ecology and work within the Anthropology of Infrastructure in order to examine the built environment and its distribution of municipal resources as central sites upon which to understand urban power. I argue that political understandings are inextricable from everyday interactions with infrastructure at urban peripheries.

Urban Political Ecology (UPE) emerged as a sub-field of Political Ecology relatively recently, building from several theoretical traditions (Keil 2003; Keil 2005) and including specifically urban theories drawn from the scholarship of Lefebve (1996), Castells (1983), and Harvey (D. Harvey 1996, 2005), among others. While UPE is defined broadly as the work of examining "the regulation of our relationships with nature in cities" (Keil 2003:729), others forefront the very visible socio-political imbalances of urban lives by positioning UPE as tracing "the ways in which uneven social relations are expressed and formed through urban environmental changes" (Grove 2009:207). This approach has included important work examining access to basic service infrastructure, especially for water. Although water is only one of the three services that I examine, it presents the most developed literature and provides a critical framework through which to examine the processes and effects of neoliberal service provision.

Water is an especially poignant lens through which to examine urban power relations. Swyngedow notes: "As with other urban goods and services, water circulation is part and parcel of the political economy of power that gives structure and coherence to the urban fabric" (2004:2). Significant UPE work on urban water emphasizes the impacts of privatization of metropolitan water supplies under neoliberal governance (Bakker 1999, 2000, 2004, 2005; Budds 2004; Castro 2004; Johnston 2003; Kaika 2003; Swyngedouw 2005).

Access to water has been a focus of scholarship in and about South Africa, prompted by radical inequalities in access to infrastructure post-apartheid, the monumental inclusion of a right to water in the 1996 national constitution, and the initiation of processes commodifying water. Neoliberal policies commercialize, commodify, and privatize water, profoundly changing the distribution of water and the regulation of water systems (Swyngedouw 2004; McDonald and Ruiters 2005) (Endnote 8). Beyond economic and political impacts, such changes alter social relations related to the use of water within communities and households.

Privatization takes many forms, ranging from total divestiture of public assets, as in the example of the UK's water system privatization in 1989, to various forms of "public-private partnerships" where operational and managerial power is transferred into private control (McDonald and Ruiters 2005:14). Privatization, then, represents not a single transfer of assets and power, but rather a wide array of systems of management and control. Even in the more extreme case of the UK, divestiture created a form of re-regulation of water in which the state plays a still significant role in water services although it is no longer the service provider (Bakker 2003). Privatization presents a form

of dispossession, opening new sites for capital accumulation in the market while stripping governments of revenue streams in exchange for short-term capital gains (Swyngedouw 2004; D. Harvey 2005).

Commercialization prompts not only structural changes, but also necessitates an ideological transition from seeing water as a public good to defining it as a private commodity. The theory of public goods differentiates between private consumption goods—"which can only be consumed by one person or at most a small group of people such as in a family or household" (Pinch 1985:7, drawing from Samuelson 1955)—and collective (or public) consumption goods—those with "properties which make it impossible for distribution by private markets" (Pinch 1985). Water sits uneasily between these two categories, and thus must enter into a process of commodification to be commercialized. Bakker argues that water—at least in the case of the UK—is a "quasi-commodity," operating less efficiently within the market and necessitating an on-going process of commercialization (Bakker 2003:75) and modification of relationships between government and citizen (Mosse 2008) (Endnote 9). In South Africa, these relationships have been created through public education campaigns and technological interventions, such as prepaid water meters, meant to "teach" citizens to become customers of neoliberal water (von Schnitzler 2008; Dawson 2010). Several scholars explicitly connect the domains of citizenship and service access, especially through the commodification of water highlighted in South Africa's implementation of technologies to measure and control payment for water services, and the community resistance to and collective action opposing such technologies (von Schnitzler 2008; Dawson 2010).

Neoliberal water policies have exacerbated existing inequalities in access, especially in the global south (Castro 2004; Gandy 2004). For communities with connections to water infrastructure, the price of water has increased alongside increases in water debt and service cut-offs (von Schnitzler 2008). Inadequate water access produces not only public health risks, such as the cholera epidemic that killed 300 people and infected 250,000 in South Africa in 2000 (Johnston 2003), but also emotional distress (Wutich and Ragsdale 2008) and breakdowns in social cohesion (Dawson 2010).

Outside of UPE, recent scholarship in anthropology—and other ethnographically-driven work in the social sciences—has significantly expanded the discipline's focus on infrastructure as a potent site for examining socio-material worlds, drawing from a wide variety of theoretical positions and geographic sites (Larkin 2013). Work examining basic service infrastructure within cities suggests the importance of examining local experiences in light of broader economic processes and logics of governance, especially through the implementation of technologies of governance like pre-paid meters (von Schnitzler 2008, 2013, 2014), and through the exclusion of particular spaces and populations (Anand 2012). Infrastructure's complex temporal, material, social, and ecological roles suggest the need to locate sets of relationships that cohere around infrastructure within their particular context (Chalfin 2014; Carse 2015; Björkman 2015; Howe et al 2015).

The approach of Situated Urban Political Ecology (SUPE) expands the analysis of UPE and makes critical connections to work in the Anthropology of Infrastructure (Lawhon, Ernston, and Silver 2012; Silver 2014). SUPE focuses specifically on cities of the global south and incorporating the work of post-colonial African urbanists (cf.

Simone 2004a; Pieterse 2008). This work examines everyday interactions, peripheral urban sites, and people themselves as central to the distribution of resources within the city. These scholars offer a focus on the particularity of post-colonial urbanism and the ecology of urban spaces, arguing for the need to see resources as necessarily tied up with social relationships and incremental changes to urban space

My research builds on work connecting enactments of citizenship to water and other basic infrastructural access in South Africa, arguing for the need to examine belonging as the result of politicized, everyday interactions within infrastructural assemblages and with the policies, practices, and rhetorics of participatory municipal governance.

Chapter 1 Endnotes

1— Coloured is an official racial group in South Africa. This demographic group is multi-racially descendent Khoi-San people, Dutch and English settlers, amaXhosa and other Bantu-language speaking groups, and slaves and workers broad from the Southeast Asia under colonial rule.

2— The figure shows that Khayelitsha is strongly ANC supportive, and with visible support also for the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), a party started by Julius Malema just prior to these election. Malema was, previously, the national leader of the ANC Youth League.

3—The names of specific informal settlements, and of individuals, used in this dissertation are pseudonyms. This protection is provided under the Human Subjects approval for the majority of interviews conducted for this project. Although a group of 11 interviews conducted during follow-up research in 2015, under a modified interview protocol and consent form, allows for the identification of those individuals, those interview are also presented here via pseudonyms in order to preserve consistency in identification.

4—This excerpt has been edited slightly for clarity and in order to anonymize the individuals and sites discussed. Some specific features of the site have been obscured in order to provide further anonymity.

5— "Ses'khona" translates from isiXhosa as "we are here."

6—Photography for this project was completed by Shachaf Polakow, as an independent collaborator. The photographs are not meant to represent the specific individuals or

communities discussed in the interview narratives, but, rather, to demonstrate the overlap of everyday service exclusion experienced across Khayelitsha's informal settlements.

7— Marais (1998) examines the conflicts within the Tripartite Alliance surrounding the role of capitalism and neoliberal policies, arguing that differences within the SACP and between Alliance members were overshadowed by "the shared desire to fashion a development path that could redress the legacies of apartheid" (Marais 1998:84).

8— Commercialization is the "process by which market mechanisms and market practices are introduced into the operational decision making of a water service: for example, profit maximization, cost recovery, competitive bidding, cost-benefit analysis, performance targeted salaries, ringfenced decision making, demand-driven investments, etc" (McDonald and Ruiters 2005:17). Such commercialization requires effective demand, a saleable commodity, a profit-oriented workforce, and the state to underwrite risk (Bakker 2003:74). Privatization is one specific way in which commercialization can be achieved, either through the sale of public assets or the transfer of operational or management control over water services to private companies (ibid; Swyngedouw 2004). Commodification is a definitional necessity of commercialization, and, at a base level, includes "any act, practice or policy that treats a good or service as an article of commerce to be bought, sold, or traded through market transactions" (McDonald and Ruiters 2005:20). While water privatization has often been the specific focus of critique, the twin processes of commercialization and commodification form the foundation of neoliberal alteration to water systems globally.

9— While market and government forces have worked to re-figure many goods previously considering public, Bakker suggests that water is particularly "uncooperative"

in that—in addition to being challenging to physically move—it defies standardization, has units that are not interchangeable, and its price is not always set by market exchange (Bakker 2003:74).

CHAPTER 2

Making Experience Legible:
Spaces of Participation and the Construction of Knowledge in Khayelitsha

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ABSTRACT: This paper examines how knowledge and accountability are framed and challenged within participatory spaces. I focus on an April 2013 case study from Khayelitsha, a township at the margins of the City of Cape Town. Over the course of one week, local members of a non-governmental organization undertook a 'social audit,' an attempt to dissect one of the city's many service provision contracts and to investigate local delivery of these services within several informal settlements. This paper argues that the audit inverts the city's existing spaces of governance by highlighting everyday forms of knowledge as paramount, creating legibility for non-expert forms of knowledge, and positioning government and private contractors as those who should be accountable to the community. Understanding dynamics within community-led spaces of citizen participation can thus serve to identify and critique normative practices within neoliberal governance that further marginalize residents living within the urban periphery.

Introduction

Scholarship on protest and participation in South Africa post-Apartheid has highlighted the complexities of enacting forms of participatory governance, including the contentious and multiple relationships between civil society and community actors within formal spaces of participation. Reactions have included the creation of "invented" spaces of participation by non-government actors, self-made and autonomous alternatives to the "invited" spaces of participation that community members may feel exclude, marginalize, or disempower them (Cornwall 2002; Cornwall and Coelho 2007; Thompson 2014). While the existence of such 'invented' spaces may send a message of a community's dissatisfaction with formal participatory processes, might the internal construction of these autonomous spaces also suggest how the format and processes of governance disengage and disempower these communities?

This paper examines how knowledge and accountability are framed within participatory spaces created by a community organization, and argues that 'invented' spaces of citizen participation can offer important critiques of the internal processes of 'invited' spaces that they mirror and thus highlight the internal contradictions in neoliberal participatory governance. I focus here on a case study that took place in April 2013 in Khayelitsha, a township at the geographic, economic, and socio-political margins of the City of Cape Town. Over the course of one week, a non-governmental organization (NGO) undertook a "social audit," a community effort to dissect one of the city's service provision contracts and to investigate local delivery of these services. In addition to a few staff from the NGO and international experts, the majority of the audit was performed by residents of local informal settlements—the recipients of the services under examination.

This paper frames the audit as a single participatory space, one crafted as autonomous of government actors but intentionally reflecting some platforms for engagement that the city might initiate. I argue that the audit's intentional mirroring of current techniques of participatory governance serves to critique the ways that knowledge, legitimacy, and accountability are crafted in interactions between urban officials and residents of informal settlement communities who largely experience the city through its absence. The audit inverts the city's existing spaces of participatory governance by highlighting everyday forms of knowledge as paramount, creating validity for such non-expert forms of knowledge, and positioning government and private contractors as those who should be accountable to the community. Understanding the dynamics of such "invented" spaces of citizen participation can serve to identify the normative assumptions of neoliberal governance that are experienced as a further marginalization by residents living within the urban periphery.

Framing Participation in the Post-Apartheid Era

In the post-Apartheid transition of the 1990s, South Africa embraced the ideology of participatory governance, a liberal framework for the supposed expansion of democratic citizenship that had come into vogue in international development and policy work in the 1980s (Gaventa and Valderrama 1999; Cornwall 2002; Mitlin and Sattherwaite 2004). The model subject of such governance practices is the active citizen, an individual whose engagement in democratic life is demonstrated through action within formal governance projects and civil society (Cooke and Kothari 2001). Post-Apartheid South African policy enshrines these ideals in law, including in the new constitution's

emphasis on participation and active citizenship (Enslin 2003) as well as in national housing policy (Miraftab 2003; Smit 2006).

While incredibly diverse in practice, at their core participatory governance policies and practices imagine that the direct engagement of citizens within governance processes will both empower individuals to adopt and expand their identity as a democratic citizen and, by extension, will strengthen the development of that democracy (Gaventa and Valderrama 1999; Cornwall 2002; Cornwall 2008). In South Africa, the active citizen is evoked as an ideal by government actors, by competing political parties, and, as well, by non-governmental and civil society actors. Framed by such various and oppositional actors as central to the development of a truly democratic South Africa, the active citizen of participatory governance has become a spectre of the post-Apartheid era—set near universally as the national goal, but intensely problematic and increasingly seen as disappointing.

Participatory governance itself has received widespread critique. Academic and applied critiques have identified how participatory projects may appropriate the voices of marginalized communities to support the agendas of local government, development projects, and outside actors (Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell 2002; Graham 2006); that they may use the language of empowerment to "serve the state's cost-cutting agenda" (Miraftab 2004:240); and may delegitimize alternative forms of community expression and organizing (Maina 1998). An increasing focus on participators as "customers" also reveals the influence of the market and the limitations imposed on individual agency by neoliberal governance (Cornwall 2002).

Despite such critiques, many community activists and organizations continue to use the language of empowerment and participation to craft counter-narratives about their life and frame calls for political action (Cornwall 2002; Ballard, Habib, and Valodia 2006; Miraftab 2009). One tool in the re-making of participatory governance can be the creation of autonomous, "invented" spaces of participation constructed by non-governmental, civil society, and community actors (Cornwall 2002; Cornwall and Coelho 2007). Such spaces are intentionally set outside of the "invited" spaces of formal participatory projects organized by government actors or civil society organization working under their auspices. "Invented" spaces may be constructed by civil society and social movement actors to make up for the absences of formal spaces, in protest to a group's exclusion from an "invited" space, or in competition. Some of these alternatives have been created by social movements working within communities existing at the margins of society: informal settlements.

Over the last decade informal settlement and township residents in South Africa have coalesced into various social movements and civil society organizations framed by the service delivery failures of the post-apartheid state (Ballard, Habib, and Valodia 2006). They take as their goals improving housing, expanding access to water, sanitation, and electricity, opposing evictions, and fighting commercialization of public services (van Heusden and Pointer 2006; Gibson 2008; Patel 2008; Pithouse 2008; Zikode 2008a, 2008b; Wafer 2008; Etzo 2010; Thompson and Nleya 2010). These groups often have complex relationships with the state and local governments, incorporating into their demands both rights-based, liberal solutions that work alongside government actors as well as counter-hegemonic, anti-neoliberal resistance—a "mixture of engagement and

opposition" (Oldfield and Stokke 2007:149). Movements may use the language of active citizenship and participation to frame their demands, but act out alternative definitions of membership in the state by drawing a political voice from their experiences of marginalization (Holston 2009; Miraftab 2009; Dawson 2010). While extremely varied in their approaches and memberships, and not always allied to each other in their work, this broad category of service delivery-focused social movements and organizations presents a base within which government and civil society face pressures for re-organization.

Neoliberal Governance and De-Politicized Participation

South Africa's post-apartheid government inherited a system of public services reliant upon high municipal subsidies and which provided vastly unequal access, with infrastructure almost exclusively serving white urban communities or industry (Flynn and Chirwa 2005). Influenced by aid conditions and debt-repayment requirements (Johnson 2003), as well as national socio-economic and political constraints, the new government promptly began to adopt neoliberal economic policies based around full cost recovery mechanisms, intent upon increasing competition, attracting global capital, and producing an efficient government (Siwisa 2008).

Here South Africa followed on the heels of a powerful new global economic trend. The debt crisis of the early 1980s ushered in the era of neoliberalism, brought forcefully into the economies, politics, and everyday lives of communities in the global south through Structural Adjustment Policies, aid conditions, and the encroachment of the market. Neoliberal policies dramatically change the face of public services at national and municipal levels: the commercialization, commodification, and privatisation of

services shift the ownership, management, and regulation of systems away from public control (McDonald and Ruiters 2005; Swyngedouw 2004; D. Harvey 2005).

Within the broad context of financial constraints on governments, a variety of economic, social, and political logics have been used to justify the adoption of policies promoting commercialization and privatization. The rhetoric of "state failure" in service delivery and economic competition has been widely used as an external explanation for moving to private control over service provisioning, an argument that depends on an underlying belief that the market provides better efficiency through competition (Bakker 2003; Swyngedouw 2004). For municipalities and national governments, privatisation is often explained by a need for capital (Johnstone and Wood 2001). As opposed to reducing regulatory requirements, however, privatisation often prompts proliferation of governing bodies (Swyngedouw 2004) and a re-regulation of services as the state becomes not the provider, but the site of regulation (Bakker 2003).

The privatisation and commodification of public services are brought into the everyday life of communities through shifts in service delivery, including the adoption of technologies – such as pre-paid water meters—and policies that allow service providers to distance themselves from the management of individual access (E. Harvey 2005; von Schnitzler 2008; Dawson 2010). These changes signal a transition from national and municipal governments as service providers to government as regulator of industry and custodian of citizen-customers (Gandy 2004; Kaika and Swyngedouw 2000; von Schnitzler 2008).

Despite the concurrence of neoliberal and participatory governance programs, citizen engagement and neoliberal policy sit at odds in practice. Privatised services are

less beholden to community need, which can result in further service insecurity for vulnerable populations (Johnston 2003; Gandy 2004). The impacts of neoliberal policy on citizenship can be seen clearly in South Africa, where decentralization, participatory projects, and commercialization of public goods have been embraced (Galvin and Habib 2003; McDonald and Ruiters 2005). Neoliberal policy adopted post-apartheid includes corporatized water systems and pre-paid water meters, with concurrent public education campaigns to re-educate citizens as responsible, paying consumers of a new commodity (von Schnitzler 2008; Dawson 2010).

Cornwall argues that participation has increasingly become what Foucault would call a "political technology… bounding the possibilities of popular engagement and producing new forms of surveillance and control" (2002:54). Miraftab details the implementation of a community waste collection project in Cape Town from 1997-2001, arguing that "empowerment and participatory discourses were marshalled to justify using the underpaid or unpaid labour of poor women and men in to townships, to serve the state's cost-cutting agenda" (2004:240). Active citizenship holds an ideological position central to the post-apartheid democratic vision, but is put into practice for various ends.

Nevertheless, social movements in some South African informal settlements continue to draw on a highly politicized understanding of participation to mobilize local residents, at times explicitly framing their work as enactments of active citizenship (Miraftab and Wills 2005). Locally driven participatory work thus may seek to counter what is seen as depoliticized participation emerging from mainstream governance projects.

Background: Khayelitsha & Basic Services

Khayelitsha sits within the geographic periphery of Cape Town. Founded in the 1980s as a township for black workers segregated under Apartheid's race-based residency laws, it sits far from the city centre but still near enough to provide ready labour. Thirty years later, Khayelitsha remains a predominantly black area—99% of the nearly 400,000 officially counted residents as of the 2011 national census (City of Cape Town 2013d). Although Khayelitsha includes neighbourhoods of bank- or government-financed formal housing, 55% of the dwellings here are informal – shacks packed into the backyards of formal houses, or clustered in dense communities. This is significantly higher than for the city as a whole, where 21% of households are in informal dwellings (ibid.).

Life in Khayelitsha's informal areas is characterized by absence – the absence of formal housing, the absence of employment, the absence of infrastructure. While national law provides some protections to extant informal areas and requires municipalities to extend basic services, many informal areas suffer from non-existent or inadequate basic infrastructure. The City of Cape Town has set target ratios of one common tap shared by not more than 25 households and one toilet shared by not more than five households (City of Cape Town 2013), but these standards are not always met and, even if met, they can translate into hundreds of people sharing a tap or dozens using the same toilet (ISN 2010). There remain, however, a large number of areas where basic standards are not being met; officially the city recognizes 2011 census data which puts 10% of the population of Khayelitsha with no access whatsoever to toilet facilities (City of Cape Town 2013d) and actual numbers may be much higher when accounting for the

prevalence of blocked or broken toilets as well as unofficial estimations that the area's population may greatly exceed census counts (SJC 2013).

Significant portions of the services to informal areas are provided under municipal contracts with private companies, both in Cape Town and in cities across the country. In Cape Town, informal areas may be provided with a variety of different sanitation services, ranging from rows of communal flush toilets to varieties of chemical toilets. Sanitation services are largely constructed, cleaned, and repaired as part of contracts with private companies. According to a public statement made in April 2013 by City officials, there are currently over 1,000 separate contracts for provision of municipal services (Fieldnotes). One such contract is that which provides stand-alone, portable chemical toilets to over 100 informal settlements in Cape Town and which served as the basis for our case study's contestation over local service delivery.

Case Study: The Social Justice Coalition and the 2013 Mshengu Social Audit

The Social Justice Coalition (SJC) is a non-governmental organization working primarily with residents of informal settlements in Khayelitsha. The organization was founded in 2008 and, as of 2013, consisted of 14 community branches in Khayelitsha and nearby areas. SJC articulates their work as an extension of citizenship: in organizational outreach material they identify the promotion of active citizenship as central to their community engagements and even their logo notes that they work to "advance the constitution" (SJC 2011). As a non-partisan member of Cape Town's civil society, SJC has interacted with the current (2013) municipal and provincial Democratic Alliance (DA) governments in a variety of fashions, ranging from collaborative to antagonistic. In

February 2013, City of Cape Town Mayor Patricia de Lille attended a march about street lighting in Khayelitsha and proclaimed her eagerness to work with SJC as an organization that represented the community (Fieldnotes). Nevertheless, in September of the same year twenty SJC activists chained themselves to a plaza outside the Mayor's office to protest what they saw as her unwillingness to meet with the organization over service delivery-related demands, at which time the Mayor dismissed SJC as 'more interested in publicity than they are in genuinely trying to improve service provision' (Washinyira 2013). Although more formalized than many of the other service-delivery focused social movement organizations, SJC has similarly utilized a range of activities to engage and oppose government actors – prompting both engagement and opposition in return – but delineate themselves by refusing to engage in street protest or violence. SJC follows alongside the approach of the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), the organization in which SJC found many of its roots. TAC sees their relationship with the government as "more complicated… in which co-operation and conflict are employed together" (Friedman and Mottair 2006:27).

One of SJC's primary campaigns has been for the provision of safe, dignified sanitation to informal settlements. Identified by their members as a threat to the health of the community and an affront to human dignity, SJC also frames inadequate sanitation as an immediate danger. Long walks to sparse public toilets or to open spaces at the edge of communities can put residents at risk of crime, with members reporting being mugged, assaulted, and raped on their way to use the toilet (SJC 2013). At this intersection of health, safety, and dignity, SJC has campaigned for the City of Cape Town to improve the provision of toilet facilities to informal settlements around Khayelitsha.

The forms of sanitation provided by the City of Cape Town to informal settlements in Khayelitsha range widely, with some areas receiving no toilet facilities whatsoever and others with on-site flush toilets provided for each household. In between these two extremes are several forms of toilets provided to communities to be shared publicly or between specific households. A few communities retain bucket toilets (removable buckets with chemicals set inside another small, often permanent structure), some are given potha-pothas (small units with a seat above a detachable container, meant to be kept inside homes), others have public/shared flush toilets attached to sewerage systems, and yet others are provided with portable toilet units containing chemicals. In 2013 the City of Cape Town also unveiled new portable flush toilet systems, which are not connected to sewerage systems but utilize a water-flushing mechanism to bring wastes into a holding tank not visible to users. Community acceptance of different toilet types is highly contested: the City claims that thousands of residents have voluntarily accepted portable flush toilets (City of Cape Town 2013e), while some community organizations and residents say any form of portable or non-flush system remains unacceptable (Gontsana 2013) (Endnote 1).

Broadly, SJC has campaigned for improved access to sanitation, emphasizing the need for increased numbers of toilets, a move away from non-flush systems, and the adoption of City-funded janitorial services for public toilets. In the course of their work on sanitation, SJC has engaged multiple tactics, including direct lobbying of City officials and staff, public marches and events, media outreach, the creation of coalitions, and the production of reports.

In April 2013 SJC elected to use a new tactic to focus attention on sanitation issues in Khayelitsha: a social audit, where a group of informal settlement residents would examine the contract for one of the city's outsourced services and conduct surveys on service delivery. In this way residents would be informed about the services they should be provided and could hold accountable the city and companies if the contract was not being met. On the audit SJC worked with Ndifuna Ukwazi (NU; translated from isiXhosa, the name means "I want to know" or, as NU translates it, "Dare to know"), another non-governmental organization located in Cape Town. NU and SJC are not casual partners on this project; the organizations share several staff and board members in common, work together on their Safe Communities Campaign and Imali Yethu Project (from isiXhosa: "Our Money"), and NU provides training opportunities for some SJC staff through their fellows program (Fieldnotes).

In this endeavour SJC and NU were aided by the International Budget Partnership (IBP), an international organization that has worked alongside local groups to conduct social audits in several countries. One of the IBP staff in attendance described audits as successful when they provide "a dialogue between community and government" (Fieldnotes). In this framing, audits present a space for give and take between those providing and those using municipal services, an exchange across roles that might otherwise only take place privately in lobbying meetings or publicly at rallies or during elections. Although a space of participation "invented" by the community, the audit intends to create a kind of idealized space for engagement between community and their representatives.

The audit examined a three-year contract awarded by the city to a company called "Mshengu Services" (or "Imvusa Trading'") for the provision of stand-alone portable chemical toilets to informal settlements. Extending from November 2010 to June 2013, the contract covers the provision of toilets to over 100 informal areas in the City, including eleven in Khayelitsha. In addition to the 77-page contract, the audit examined a resolution passed by the City Council to approve the contract and a 30-page letter from a City official. The letter included the current list of informal areas provided with these units, a few short notes on the contract, and the monitoring data from February 2013 for the contractor's service trucks emptying waste from the units at the City's waste water treatment works (SJC 2013). Although this monitoring data is purportedly collected for every month of the contract, the City provided information for this one month in response to SJC's request for contract-related monitoring data (ibid.).

Over the course of a week, 60 people participated in collecting data for the audit. They learned about the contract over Monday and Tuesday, and on Wednesday and Thursday surveyed four areas in Khayelitsha with Mshengu toilets. On Friday the group reconvened to collect and assess their data for presentation at Saturday's public hearing, where representatives from the city, the province, and the contracted company, along with independent observers and the wider community, were invited to hear the audit's findings as presented by the participants.

It is not uncommon for community members to be called upon to testify to the poor service conditions of life in informal settlements. SJC and other community-based organizations often use the personal stories of members and other residents in their outreach and campaign material, in media stories, and to testify personally at hearings,

events, and in lobbying work (SJC 2011; SJC 2013). What sets the audit apart is not the inclusion of personal stories about the problems with Mshengu toilets. The poignant points about the audit are, first, that it was framed to prioritize everyday experience as the most legitimate information about the delivery of services, and, second, that residents were positioned as those who *should* collect and present data from the wider community. What resulted was the blending of personal stories with statistical data culled from community member's own field research and the creation of forms of knowledge legible to city monitoring and evaluation processes (statistical and objective) but imbued with personal narrative (experiential and subjective).

The audit was constructed to engage with residents of informal settlements as those able to testify about the situation of their lives within spaces of service inadequacies, but also as those who should be speaking about and gathering data on these conditions. As opposed to a public consultation process or a public hearing, in which individual opinions may be expressed and individual stories relayed, the audit presented residents as those who can and should gather, control, manage, and present knowledge about how services are provided within their communities. These distinctions of process and outcome are apparent in actions and reactions from community members and City staff throughout the week of the social audit.

The audit began on Monday, with the participants gathering at a community hall in Khayelitsha. Following a morning of introductions—of SJC, partner organizations, and of the technique of social audits as they've been conducted by IBP with local groups in India and Kenya—the afternoon was dedicated to meeting with representatives from the

City of Cape Town, including two City staff members and the City Councilmember tasked with utility services.

Before the City representatives arrived, the group brainstormed possible questions to ask. Questions revolved around: monitoring and reporting, health and safety, engagement of and consultation with the community, the public availability of contract-related information, the cost of units, use of units only in townships, and contract evaluation, among other topics. While IBP and SJC staff attempted at times to frame the community's questions into formats that they felt would not alienate the City representatives before the public hearing on Saturday where the audit findings would be revealed, the participants resisted these constraints. One person framed their need to ask hard-hitting questions as emerging from their long struggle with inadequate services, saying: "We are in such terrible conditions, there's no time to beg these people, we've been begging for a long time. Stop asking us not to ask these questions, we are the ones struggling" (Endnote 2). Participants pushed back against even the limited constraints that staff attempted to impose upon the participatory space, grounding the claim for their right to engage the City within their everyday experiences of marginalization.

When City representatives arrived, they presented information about contracted sanitation services, and specifically the Mshengu contract. Following the presentation, audience members challenged the City representatives to respond to their demands for increased access to the City's contract monitoring data and to explain why impermanent Mshengu units have been selected for their communities instead of other forms of sanitation. While the City representatives claimed Mshengu units were the best available option for areas serviced in the contract, community members resisted external

assessments of their community's needs and wants. The ensuing conversation revolved around a debate over local service expertise, with both City and community situating themselves as experts on the services provided to informal settlements: one expertise based on engineering, policy, and costs, and the other expertise based on the daily experiences of living in a community serviced only by impermanent sanitation services.

On Tuesday, audit participants again gathered at the community hall and spent the day evaluating data provided by the city. Here, unlike in a public meeting, the participants were not given a summary of findings created by an expert or central staff member, but rather were tasked with individually evaluating the contract and monitoring data themselves. While the information they assessed was selected and written by the city, the attendees produced their own evaluation of the data and cross-referenced it with the contract's guidelines, thus producing their own set of data points and gaining in the process a nuanced understanding of how the city writes contracts and conducts monitoring – as well as what information they choose to share with communities. Although in many ways a mundane and tedious exercise, the examination of the contract and the monitoring data gave a texture to the process of government operations and a more detailed understanding of internal city workings that community member are rarely provided. Further, the community members identified trends in the data provided, as well as what they saw to be inconsistencies between what the City had claimed the day before on monitoring and what they were seeing in the data itself. Participants noted that vagueness in the data made it difficult to assess what was actually being done by the contractor, and if they were fulfilling their obligations or not. The exercise offered participants a chance to see how the city's monitoring of the contract differed from their

own local understanding of service provisioning; it provided a link between the statistical knowledge form that the City uses for tracking contracts, and the experiential knowledge form of the community's daily lives at the receiving end of the contract. Local expertise here approaches the municipal regulatory framework.

At the end of Tuesday a participant noted their frustration at the city's insistence that the contract was being fulfilled adequately, despite the inconsistencies that participants saw in the monitoring data. An individual commented to the group: "The city is making us children – what they say isn't happening. They must take back this information and bring us correct information." Another participant echoed this sentiment, saying: "The city is making us fools. The information will become a problem for them." Here their knowledge of the City's own contract and monitoring data becomes the tool with which community members feel they have the ability to confront the City. The repetition of being positioned as "children" or "fools" as a result of the City not sharing complete and accurate information about the contracted services suggests that the community's new knowledge of the contract will become the terrain of their struggle for the right to speak on this matter and begins to frame how the audit allows communities to make demands for accountability from the City.

For Wednesday and Thursday, the participants dispersed to four informal areas within Khayelitsha provided with toilet units under this contract. During this process of verification, as IBP calls it, three types of survey forms were filled out: one with questions for community members about the units they use, a second with questions about the physical state of the units found by the surveyors (what IBP calls "physical verification"), and a third for cleaners working for the contractors or employed as

Community Liaison Officers (CLOs). Participants spoke with 270 residents in four informal settlements, and inspected 256 Mshengu toilet units. However, SJC claims that no contract workers or CLOs were found in the communities during the audit (SJC 2013).

Sitting inside homes or standing outside near the toilets, participants asked residents about the units that they used, questioning how often they were cleaned, who cleans them, their interactions with the contractor's workers or CLOs, and about their knowledge of the contract itself—including the requirement to employ locals as workers and CLOs, and the price spent by the City on the contract (estimated by SJC on a per toilet basis) (SJC 2013). Residents often replied with stories about the units. In one community, 27 households were said to be using a single toilet. People spoke about how poorly the workers cleaned the toilets, how the toilets themselves were rarely set on firm ground (Khayelitsha's substrate is sand) and thus often tipped over and spilled waste around the community. Others told how the toilets would fill up and sit for days, the stench filling the surrounding area and waste sometimes seeping out or overflowing into walkways (ibid; Fieldnotes).

In surveying the toilets, units were found to be broken, unclean, tipped over, unsecured, vandalized, and sometimes entirely unusable. In dense communities, the only open space may be around the toilets, so children sometimes played nearby. Indeed, the cover of the report that SJC produced summarizing the audit's findings shows a photograph of five young children sitting inside an Mshengu unit that has been tipped over. Throughout the audit, participants took notes of their observations, taking daily experiences and making them into points of data able to be coalesced into a presentable set of findings. The stories and experiences themselves did not evaporate in the process

of data compilation, however, as many surveyors were residents of these or other informal areas. The power of these everyday experiences then retained their resonance; they were not simply data points but also important ways for understanding what services actually mean to those who use them.

At the end of the day the SJC surveyors were incensed at the state of the toilets they had found and the stories they had heard. Even for participants who also used these same units, to walk through other communities and engage directly with those residents about their shared circumstances produced a systemic understanding of this service as it is experienced across communities.

On Friday the group met again to collate their data for presentation the following day. At Saturday's public hearing the high school gymnasium venue filled with SJC members and local residents, more than 200 people in the audience. They faced a stage atop which representatives from the City of Cape Town, the Province of the Western Cape, the contracted company, a major newspaper, a union, and partner organizations for the audit sat behind a long series of tables. In the morning, audit participants presented data gathered from each of the four surveyed areas, weaving together the audit's collated data, the gathered experiences of residents, and their own personal stories. In the afternoon the City and contracting company representatives were given an opportunity to speak as well, followed by questions from the audience. Finally, the "observers"—the journalist, union representative, Provincial spokesperson, and other organizations—were also given the chance to provide comments about the audit. Before breaking, SJC's General-Secretary read a draft resolution about the audit that they intended to submit to the City, along with complete findings.

In comments from City representatives at the public meeting the involvement of community members was sought, but relegated to "tak(ing) responsibility for the infrastructure they use"—articulated in terms of physical care of sanitation units – and informing the city about maintenance needs (Fieldnotes). As the City's Executive Director for Utility Services explained to residents, the City does not have enough people to assist with monitoring, so it helps when information about services are brought to the City's attention so it can be revisited with project managers to ensure that the City gets "value for money." The defensive posture of the City in response to the audit may be a reflection of previous interactions with SJC, or a result of the high political visibility of sanitation issues within the City and nationally. Whether for these reasons or for others, at the meeting and in subsequent formal statements the focus of the City's response to the audit was to refute what they saw as statistical "inaccuracies" in the findings, not to engage with the experiences of sanitation services as expressed by residents (City of Cape Town 2013b) (Endnote 3).

The privatization and commercialization of services imbued the language of City representatives, as they referred to residents as "customers" and repeatedly emphasized the need for the City to get "value for money" in their service delivery work. The statements of City staff at the audit make obvious the contradictory logic of privatization and commercialization of public services: control over services is removed from the community, while residents are simultaneously blamed for problems in the resulting services.

Participation and Knowledge Production

The audit constructed a space in which knowledge was presented in markedly different terms by local residents and by City representatives. For audit participants, knowledge became information produced by community members, determined to be valid based on its grounding in the paired everyday experiences of the audit participants and the residents using Mshengu toilets that they interviewed. Knowledge within the audit was, then, that grounded within an expertise formed by everyday experiences of life within marginalized communities. Not only did the audit frame the lives of the community members as a legitimate foundation for knowledge, it also presented community members as those with the authority to gather, create, and present such information. Thus, in the presentation of data at the Saturday public hearing, community members mixed stories of their own lives with those of residents they interviewed, layered with statistical informal from the audit's findings.

As Epstein has argued in the context of AIDS activism in the U.S., social movement organizations have sought to reframe the domain of their engagement in public policy discussions by challenging control over the production of knowledge (Epstein 1996). As the recipients of the Mshengu services, residents in Khayelitsha repositioned themselves as legitimate voices in discussions over the contract by claiming their role in creating knowledge and their validity for engaging in policy-level discussion while retaining the foundation of their knowledge within everyday experience.

The production of knowledge has become central to the work of social movements internationally (Escobar 2008; Aparicio and Blaser 2008). Mundane events such as meetings, mapping, neighbourhood tours, and negotiations with government

agencies can be recognized as sites where knowledge is produced about political change, development, and belonging, acknowledging movements "as spaces for the production of situated knowledges of the political" (Casas-Cortés, Osterweil, and Powell 2008:51). Seeing the social audit as a form of "situated knowledge," as Haraway terms the necessarily partial but grounded knowledge emerging from within a particular social position (1991), acknowledges the community participants as simultaneously marginal to the city's internal workings but central to an understanding of the politics of governance for service delivery: the audit highlights the de-valuing of community experiences of services within neoliberal governance decisions and monitoring.

The audit challenges the positioning of community members as inert consumers, acknowledging instead that their daily experiences form a legitimate knowledge of not only service inadequacies but also the wider structural factors that reproduce their marginality. This form of community response challenges the increasing emphasis on citizens as consumers of services and not participants in a democratic exchange. The social audit seeks to create a space for community-city interaction that mirrors in many ways a public hearing or open forum – an implied call to re-engage the community as rights-bearing citizens.

Scholars have examined the inefficacy of participatory spaces in which radically different backgrounds, forms of knowledge, and communicatory repertoires prevent participants from communicating with each other (Barnes 2007). This has been understood as a deficit in the preparation of marginalized communities to engage with experts and professionals. As Cornwall and Coelho write: "Mobilization may bring marginalized actors into participatory spaces, but not necessarily equip them with the

skills to communicate effectively with the others that they meet there" (Cornwall and Coelho 2007:13). Inversely, in the social audit residents of marginalized communities were prepared and able to communicate their needs in a way that should be understandable to government actors. Instead it is the staff of the City, functioning under the pressures imposed by neoliberal policies, who are unable to accept the knowledge produced by audit participants as legitimate. One result of the privatization and commercialization of municipal services is thus the devaluing of citizen experiences of these services, and the City's apparent transition to protecting their relationship with the contractor and not with its citizens.

Participatory development practitioners have long recognized the importance of incorporating local knowledge into their work, with, as Mosse writes, "the supposition that the articulation of people's knowledge can transform top-down bureaucratic planning systems" (2001:16). Mosse continues, however, to note that local knowledge reflects local structures of power and that development project staff shape the framing of local needs. Certainly in the audit the staff of coordinating NGOs attempted to channel residents' comments and questions towards the organizationally-determined focus of the activity. The vociferous participants often refused to be contained, however, and comments from audience members at the public meeting included commentary on their broader experiences of services and governance. The creation of participatory spaces – in development or governance—necessarily reflects both the prior experiences of the individuals and communities engaged, as well as the wider set of power dynamics within that social world (Cornwall and Coelho 2007; Kothari 2001).

Conclusion: Invented Spaces as Critique

In press releases and public forums following the social audit, City staff and elected officials questioned the findings of the community, claiming that the statistics the audit had produced were incorrect (City of Cape Town 2013b). As the City attempted to delegitimize SJC and the social audit based on the same sort of data that they were used to dealing with, they widely ignored the subtext of the audit as an exercise in community-City engagement and a re-working of political knowledge. By reinforcing the importance of the statistical findings of the audit, the City response highlights the juxtaposition between the community's self-produced, grounded knowledge of service provisions and the City's technocratic emphasis on the numeric, fiscal imperatives of neoliberal governance.

In the following months, the City of Cape Town offered a revised approach to community engagement on contracted service delivery, with the roll-out of a campaign entitled "Know your Community, Know your Contractor" in May 2013 (City of Cape Town 2013a). Central to the campaign were to be a series of eight public meetings held in communities across the city, in which the mayor would attend and "educate people living in informal settlements about the services they are entitled to and their rights regarding them," including how to identify contractors, which services are provided by the City's contractors, and how to report complaints (City of Cape Town 2013a). In short, the outreach campaign was not a success. For the public hearings that did occur, attendees shouted down the mayor and prevented her from speaking; at some she was escorted out, apparently with concerns for her safety, and others were cancelled. To the

media, the City blamed the failure of the public meetings on political agitators (City of Cape Town 2013c).

As potential spaces of community participation, the framing of the "Know your Community, Know your Contractor" public meetings offers a stark contrast to the social audit. The City events were meant to be spaces for the City to tell the community about the services they are provided with, and for people to ask questions or voice opinions. Even if the intent of the meetings was an expansion of community engagement and interaction with the City, in these spaces knowledge remained under the control of the City and contractors, with the public positioned as those providing commentary—commentary ultimately given in the form of shouts and threats of violence (City of Cape Town 2013c).

Participatory spaces are not blank canvases for engagements between government officials and community members, but are imbued with the previous experiences and expectations of all who fill them. As Cornwall and Coelho note, drawing on Bourdieu, "Professionals valued for their expertise in one context may be unwilling to countenance the validity or value of alternative knowledges and practices on another; and citizens who have been on the receiving end of paternalism or prejudice in everyday encounters with state institutions may bring these expectations with them into the participatory sphere" (2007:12). Indeed, it was not only the City representatives who entered the audit with anticipation for the interactions and outcome, but also the community members and NGO staff. Governance around service delivery has become imbued with the language and actions of neoliberalism, including a mistrust and provisionality of government-citizen relationships (von Schnitzler 2008).

Invented spaces of participation emerge as a domain offering space for community members and activists to produce alternative knowledge about their lives as a grounded politics. While participatory governance often focuses on empowering the "squatter citizen" (Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2004), community action such as that found in 'invented' spaces can redefine citizenship within everyday experiences and offer critiques of participation itself as practiced within the neoliberal city.

Chapter 2 Endnotes

1-- Contention over PFTs erupted in May 2013 into the "poo wars," in which activists linked to the ruling national party, the African National Congress (ANC), dumped containers of human waste on the steps of the Provincial offices and in other public areas to protest the use of portable toilet systems for informal settlements (City of Cape Town 2013b; Gontsana 2013).

2-- Quotes from social audit events are taken from the author's ethnographic fieldnotes made at the time and represent as close to direct quotes as possible. Attribution to specific individuals is not made to protect their privacy under the ethical clearance for this research project.

3-- Although research included conversations with individual City of Cape Town staff about sanitation provisioning and community engagement, this article draws only from statements of City staff made at public meetings or via press releases. This is done to ensure that only official and public statements about the City's position on the audit are represented, as the perspectives of individual staff may vary.

CHAPTER 3

"I dump it in that dirty place": Socio-Ecological Care and Neoliberal Responsibility in South African Informal Settlements

ABSTRACT: Nearly one quarter of Cape Town's population lives in informal settlements, sites characterized by limited access to basic services, including water, sanitation, and electricity. In the absence of sufficient services, residents meet resource needs through a constellation of extended, self-made, and illegal infrastructures, often relying upon the land itself: emptying waste water into wetlands, creating shared dumps, and using the sandy substrate to hide electricity lines. This article examines how everyday practices frame local understandings of squatted sites as ecological, political, and material landscapes, understood through a community-based logic of care that acknowledges the structural basis of persistent exclusion. These local understandings are set against the city's promotion of neoliberal attribution of individual responsibility, which disparages informal area residents as negligent in caring for existing infrastructure. The daily actions necessitated by inadequate services are framed by the municipality as irresponsible, blaming residents for persistent limitations and used to justify further resource restrictions. Reading these moral logics of post-Apartheid belonging against each other informs my understanding of neoliberal subjectivity as reliant upon discourses of blame and the erasure of marginalized lives.

Introduction

In January 2015, the City of Cape Town posted on the social media site Twitter a photo of Mayor Patricia de Lille at the launch of the city's Illegal Dumping Campaign. The campaign targeted both large-scale illegal dumping and the improper disposal of garbage into the sewer system, particularly into shared flush toilet facilities that the city had built in some informal settlements. The latter section of the campaign includes a public service poster that the mayor is shown pasting onto a wall in the middle of a Cape Town community. It says, "Every time you throw disposable diapers down the toilet, you make people sick," with an equation in icon form: diaper plus toilet equals person in hospital bed.[i] (Cape Town 2015b) (Endnote 1) (Figure 3.1).

In excerpts from the mayor's speech at the launch, she notes the cost of illegal dumping and the importance of residents educating themselves about the need to take care of public infrastructure:

> "Illegal dumping is extremely costly as the City spends approximately R350 million (approximately US$30 million)[ii] annually to clear waste from open spaces, sewer systems and toilets. …The Illegal Dumping campaign will create awareness about the damaging effects of illegal dumping and educate residents on the costs of clearing waste and on how to dispose of waste in the correct way. …People have to share these facilities and we urge residents to keep these toilets clean for others who also use them. … At present, incidents of illegal dumping are under-reported, and communities are encouraged to work with us to ensure that more incidents are reported. We urge communities to take down the details of perpetrators and their vehicles, including registration numbers and, if possible, gather photographic evidence so that we can prosecute those who dump illegally." (City of Cape Town 2015a) (Endnote 2)

At the core of this campaign is the city's understanding of the responsibility of informal settlement residents to care for services and their related infrastructures. In the mayor's speech we see an emphasis on a particular understanding of responsible resident behaviors: the proper use of services, the proper disposal of waste, and the proper

reporting of violators. The poster presents a seemingly straight-forward equation of socio-ecological care: your waste plus misuse of the city's infrastructure equals your health problem. The message: be responsible and your own life will improve. Care for infrastructure is given here as the responsibility of residents, whose daily actions can, seemingly, be improved through education.

Figure 3.1: Launch of Illegal Dumping Campaign. City of Cape Town tweet launching Illegal Dumping Campaign, January 22, 2015 (City of Cape Town 2015b).

For residents of informal settlements, however, clogged toilets and illegal dumping sites are understood through a starkly different lens. With toilets shared at the rate of five households to one toilet at best, per the city's articulated goal of service delivery to informal settlements (City of Cape Town 2013d), blocked toilets are not seen as the result of a single action of improper disposal. Rather, they are the inevitable result of multiple families forced to share a single toilet in a space of persistent service scarcity. The landscape of informality is read by residents as one in which everyday actions are starkly politicized, framed by government failures to meet the basic needs of citizens twenty years post-Apartheid.

In the absence of adequate access to water, sanitation, and electricity infrastructure, residents are forced to make do with extended or illegal connections, and rely upon the land itself to stand in for absent infrastructure. Burying the wires carrying stolen electricity to homes denied legal connections, creating common dumping and open defecation sites in the absence of sanitation, and constructing sinks for waste water in areas without drains or sewers are ways in which residents use the land to stand-in for infrastructure and, in doing so, build a competing logic—one of care—founded upon daily practices.

Juxtaposing the city outreach campaign with daily community experience suggests that two competing moral logics frame material interactions with the informal settlement landscape. This article examines how a neoliberal logic of responsibility relies upon the erasure of land and of political context to explain and justify poor access to services. In contrast, a competing community logic of care emerges from ethnographic data about residents' daily interaction with land and infrastructure. Examining these

dissonant approaches builds upon critical perspectives on fractured urban belonging post-Apartheid (Murray 2008; Besteman 2008; Bank 2011; Hart 2013), arguing for the necessity of seeing neoliberal subjectivity as reliant upon discourses of blame and the erasure of marginalized lives. In making these arguments I examine local government public service campaigns around infrastructure, and draw from ethnographic research, conducted over 16 months between 2013 and 2015, with residents of informal settlements in Khayelitsha, a suburb in Cape Town's urban periphery.

Central to both logics are the shifting relationships between people, land, and infrastructure in the post-Apartheid city. Peripheral urban spaces are often the foundation for understanding the urban "otherwise": the undeveloped set against the developed, the unmade against the made, and the informal against the formal (Simone 2004b). Post-colonial scholarship, as well as broader work focusing upon the global south, re-sets circuits to understand how cities are founded upon these peripheral spaces and the everyday practices that produce them (Simone 2004a; Pieterse 2008; Holston 2009; Miraftab 2009; Lawhon, Ernston, and Silver 2014; Silver 2014). In this article, I examine how daily practices within marginal spaces suggest critical readings of informality as a political, ecological, and material landscape. Connections between everyday actions and infrastructure provision frame subjectivity in an increasingly neoliberal and urban global south.

Considering the issues of care and responsibility makes visible relationships between people, actions, and place. While considering responsibility assigns accountability, control, or blame for actions, juxtaposing this with an analysis of care prompts us to make visible webs of actions and reactions, highlighting not only the

absences that define informality, but also the actions they obligate. I position care as a relation circumscribed by varied forms of social, political, and ecological belonging, in which defining actions as those of care reveals the complex production of inequality and subjectivity at urban margins.

Background

Environment, Infrastructure, and Informality

The restructuring of municipal resource distribution under neoliberal modes of governance has drawn significant attention (Galvin and Habib 2003; Flynn and Chirwa 2005; McDonald and Ruiters 2005; Smith and Ruiters 2012). Neoliberal policy prompts marked structural changes in the delivery of municipal services—via processes of commercialization, commodification, and privatization—and necessitates an ideological transition from seeing resources such as water as public goods, to defining them as commodities (Kaika and Swyngedouw 2000; Bakker 2003; Swyngedouw 2004; Gandy 2004). Such shifts obligate not only continual market-government interaction, but also the re-creation of citizen-government relationships on the model of customer-market (Mosse 2008; von Schnitzler 2008).

South Africa has readily adopted neoliberal policies and practices in the post-1994 era, including significant shifts in the national and municipal delivery of basic services, particularly for water (Galvin & Habib 2003; McDonald and Ruiters 2005; Loftus 2012), but also for sanitation (Robins 2014) and electricity (Chance 2015). The creation of proper relations under neoliberal governance can be seen starkly here, as South African citizens and residents have been "taught" through public education and technological interventions such as prepaid water and electricity meters to become

customers of neoliberal governance and to treat public resources as commodities (E. Harvey 2005; von Schnitzler 2008; Dawson 2010). Technologies such as prepaid meters individualize struggles for resources, breaking down the collective social fabric and reinforcing the ideal of responsible citizens as customers. Public education campaigns promoting prepaid metering have focused on linking household resource use to citizenship, "arguing that national reconstruction was only possible if each individual citizen realized that while liberation had provided them with rights, it had also imposed duties on them" (von Schnitzler 2008:907). As municipalities adopt neoliberal practices, residents thus become the target of both new service technologies and related practices of techno-political governance (Larkin 2013).

Such practices reflect not only broad neoliberal rationales, but also the specific historical, social, and material contexts of their implementation. For South Africa, the adoption of neoliberalism has been concurrent with the post-Apartheid era. The implementation of policies for privatization and commercialization have responded to socio-political currents by utilizing rhetorics of democratic choice and responsibility as central to service access. The post-Apartheid citizen thus becomes subject to their own duties and choices. During the implementation of pre-paid water metering in Soweto, for example, billboards and roving trucks attempted to link meters to the landmark constitutional right to water by re-naming them "freepay meters" (Dawson 2010). Likewise, a municipal program of waste management program in Cape Town in the early 2000s drew upon post-Apartheid rhetorics of participatory democracy and empowerment to justify low-wage and unpaid labor by peripheral urban residents (Miraftab 2004). In both cases, democratic and participatory logics have been reframed to emphasize

individual action, erasing on-going struggles to access services experienced by many poorer households and ignoring the history of collective action against Apartheid which focused upon garnering both political and material inclusion in the state (von Schnitzler 2008, 2013; Hart 2008a). The particularities of recent South African history provide an important context for understanding both the framing of neoliberal practices by government actors and the impacts—and interpretation—of these practices in communities (Hart 2013).

Khayelitsha

Khayelitsha sits in the eastern margins of Cape Town. Founded and constructed in the 1980s to house black workers at a distance from the Apartheid white city center (Cook 1992), today Khayelitsha exists as a patchwork of residential areas: neighborhoods of bank-financed houses, areas of government-built houses, and sections of informal settlements—shacks squatting on a mix of public and private lands, and with variable access to water, sanitation, and electricity services.

The 2011 South African Census placed Khayelitsha's total residency at nearly 400,000 people, with 54.5% of the population living in informal housing (City of Cape Town 2013d). Estimates of the area's population vary widely, however, with some community groups estimating actual occupancy significantly higher (SJC 2013). While informal dwellings also sit in the backyards of formal houses, the vast majority of the informal housing in Khayelitsha exists in dense expanses of tin-roofed shacks (City of Cape Town 2013d) (Figure 3.2). Twenty years post-Apartheid, the population of Khayelitsha is still overwhelmingly black—98.6% of residents identified as black African in the 2011 national census (City of Cape Town 2013d). Khayelitsha is not the

only area of Cape Town with informal settlements: the 2011 Census found that, of Cape Town's 3.7 million inhabitants, 22% of households occupy informal housing (City of Cape Town 2012).

Figure 3.2: Tin roofs of an informal area in Khayelitsha. Image by Shachaf Polakow, 2010. Used with permission.

Provision of water, sanitation, and electricity varies widely between informal areas and is reliant upon a broad set of factors, including: ownership of the squatted site, environmental conditions of the land, and length of tenure. Water provision is most commonly in the form of shared taps positioned in common spaces, with the city's goal set at not more than 25 households sharing a single tap (City of Cape Town 2013e). Electricity is only legally provided by the parastatal electricity company Eskom in the

form of pre-paid meters, although not all informal sites qualify.[iii] (Endnote 3) The presence of high voltage electricity wires, proximity to wetland areas, and private land ownership are all reasons given by residents for why they have been denied connections.

Sanitation provision—including waste pick-up, provision of toilets, and accessibility of drains—is extremely varied. Drains may be located next to toilet blocks, but, more often, are only found in the form of storm water drains along paved roads at the edges of informal areas. Waste pick-up can include provision of garbage bags, trash cans, dumpsters, and trash pick-up services, with access varying between areas. Toilet provision is the most diverse, ranging from nothing at all in some areas to shared full-flush toilets in others. In between these extremes exist three forms of chemical toilets. The City of Cape Town's goal for sanitation provision to informal settlements is set at one toilet per five households (City of Cape Town 2013e), sharing toilet facilities is a reality for the majority of residents even where sanitation is provided at municipal target levels. While a few kinds of toilets are provided per household, most forms of sanitation are located in central spaces and intended by the city to be shared by multiple households.

Data & Analysis: Competing Moral Logics of the Informal Urban Landscape

Neoliberal Responsibility

In the City of Cape Town's Illegal Dumping Campaign, as in other official municipal outreach projects and public statements, responsibility for taking care of the informal settlement landscape is posited as solely the task of residents. Infrastructures and waste exist as objects within this landscape, meant to be used in particular ways. In the poster being pasted up by the mayor in the Twitter image (Figure 3.1), both waste and basic service infrastructure hang in empty space, presented as isolated items devoid of

their trappings of use, their location, or any context for them becoming irresponsibly mixed.

The Illegal Dumping Campaign isn't the only space in which community responsibility for services, infrastructure, and land are emphasized by the City as the tasks assigned to informal settlement residents. In 2013, a local non-governmental organization, the Social Justice Coalition (SJC), invited City of Cape Town staff to speak at a public event held after the group had conducted a community-led audit of chemical toilet units provided to informal areas in Khayelitsha under private service contract through the City (SJC 2013). The City's Executive Director for Utility Services told the assembled residents that the city wanted the community to be involved in service delivery governance, in so much that residents would "take responsibility for the infrastructure they use" (Storey 2014), including proper daily modes of use and the reporting of those who used infrastructure in any other way. In response to related activism, the City produced similar language about responsibility and use, stating that reporting service problems is the primary way that local groups can assist communities (City of Cape Town 2014).

The emphasis on individual responsibility for infrastructure extends to the Provincial level, with billboards posted by the Western Cape Government in 2015 emphasizing the need to care for services. An isiXhosa language[iv] version of one provincial billboard was posted in the middle of a shopping center parking lot in Khayelitsha that is located adjacent to informal settlements experiencing severe limitations in service delivery (Endnote 4). Translated to English, the sign reads: "99.1% of us now have access to running water. Let's look after our services, for a better future"

(Figure 3.3) (Endnote 5). While pitched to a general audience, it isn't hard to deduce that a call to properly care for services is probably not meant for residents with private toilets and taps inside their homes, but rather primarily targets nearby communities with shared, publicly-maintained services.

Figure 3.3: Western Cape billboard in Site B shopping center, Khayelitsha. Image by Shachaf Polakow, 2015. Used with permission.

The framing of these campaigns is part of a wider neoliberal understanding about relationships within the informal settlement landscape, one in which individual residents are those responsible for properly combining waste and infrastructure. Interestingly, the residents of areas targeted by the Illegal Dumping Campaign only appear in the final

image of the posters, as those suffering illness. Their particular causal actions are meant to be understood by the viewer without being displayed.

Indeed, the actions and selves of informal settlement residents are implicitly and invisibly tied in this campaign to the spaces in which they inhabit, the landscapes of informality marked in the South African popular imagination—as they are globally—by poor hygiene, dis-repair, and improper uses of infrastructure (Robins 2014; Desai, McFarlane, and Graham 2015). The city's neoliberal approach to service delivery, including rampant privatization through hundreds of service contracts, depends upon a concurrent neoliberal discourse about the attribution of responsibility and the worthiness of certain modes of citizen action (Erickson 2012). Such actions are understood in the abstract, within the posters' floating void of clean diapers and pristine toilet bowls.

The land itself is, likewise, invisible within this poster and the wider Illegal Dumping Campaign outreach. A stylized image posted on the City's official Facebook page on the day of the campaign launch presents a pile of rubble and waste on a blank background (City of Cape Town 2015c) (Figure 3.4). Neoliberal logics are represented quite poignantly by the City's outreach materials within this campaign: objects, actions, and people are decontextualized, ungrounded, left in empty space. The land is simply the setting for illegal actions, something understood implicitly as improperly utilized by residents, but not specifically considered.

The impact of these understandings of "improper" action is very real, as the existence of dumping sites and of clogged toilets become key rationale by which the city denies the extension of further services into informal areas. Residents, through their own actions, become unsanitary subjects, distanced by their "improper" regimes of self-care

from the material promises of citizenship (Briggs 2004). The City's discourse of responsibility regarding the informal settlement landscape does not ignore the everyday lives of residents, but rather explicitly relies upon a certain, biased understanding of those daily lives—and their relationship to infrastructure—in order to rationalize further limitations on the delivery of services. At the Illegal Dumping Campaign launch Mayor De Lille said, "The R350 million (US$30 million) we spend annually to clear illegal waste could be much better spent elsewhere on new services and infrastructure. For example, the City could have built 2,065 houses, or provided electricity for 31,627 homes" (City of Cape Town 2015a). These statements mirror the logic of the poster: your actions are the cause of your own continued suffering. Be responsible and you could, instead, have electricity or a house.

Figure 3.4: Illegal Dumping Campaign outreach image (1). Posted to City of Cape Town official Facebook page January 22, 2015. Image publically available (City of Cape Town 2015c).

The City's public relations campaign goes a step further, equating the actions of individuals not only with their own personal suffering and absent services, but also as the reason for limited social services that could benefit the entire area. In three other images created by the City of Cape Town for the Illegal Dumping Campaign, a pile of rubble is equated to a library, a playground, and a hospital, each with the tagline: "Dumping illegally wastes resources that could be used elsewhere" (Cape Town 2015d) (Figure 3.5). There is no subtlety to the City's message: inadequate services are the result of the residents' own actions.

Figure 3.5: Illegal Dumping Campaign outreach image (2). Image posted to City of Cape Town official Facebook page on January 27, 2015. Image publically available (City of Cape Town 2015d).

As Mol examines in the context of health, an emphasis on individual choice and responsibility serves to obscure both the limited field of options available and the structural processes that construct such fields (Mol 2008). Beyond reinforcing a moralizing stance on responsible action, the city's campaign also places blame on excluded communities themselves for the absence of sufficient services and infrastructure, masking the structural processes which produce sites of infrastructural violence (Rodgers and O'Neill 2012) and abject populations (Anand 2012). While this approach is similar to other South African public service programs that seek to teach proper neoliberal subjectivity in relation to shifting access to basic services (Miraftab 2004; von Schnitzler 2008), the rhetoric of the Cape Town municipality reproduces not only such processes of abjection but, critically, also a neoliberal politics of blame that serves to further remove marginalized communities from expectations of post-Apartheid resource re-distribution.

Care in the Informal Everyday

Against the neoliberal approach to responsibility sits a politicized, community understanding of the informal settlement landscape, which emphasizes the on-going inadequacy of service delivery and the subsequent impacts upon everyday life. This alternative approach can be found in the campaigns of social movement and activist organizations in Cape Town that prioritize daily experiences within spaces of extreme service limitations (Miraftab and Wills 2005; SJC 2013; Storey 2014), and in resident narratives of everyday life. In interviews with 86 residents of three informal areas in Khayelitsha, residents repeatedly voiced their daily actions as forced, unavoidable practices resulting from inadequate formal service access. Their narratives emphasized

the impacts of limited services upon daily regimes of care for self, infrastructure, and land. Service limitations, the city's inadequate attention to maintenance, and the absence of long-term plans for informal area upgrading left residents without services—forced to provide for their own daily water, sanitation, and electricity needs. Here, the representatives of the City government, who have not yet fulfilled post-Apartheid promises of full services and housing, are those seen as negligent. The landscape of informality is characterized by a markedly post-colonial understanding of African cities as highly politicized, defined by the impacts on everyday life of historically-deep differentials of power (Simone 2004b; Pieterse 2008).

Zanele is one of the oldest informal settlements in Khayelitsha (Endnote 6). With the initial shacks built before Nelson Mandela's election in 1994, residents say that their community is "older than freedom." Today, Zanele remains largely disconnected from formal municipal services, primarily as a result of its location under high voltage electricity lines and on land that floods each winter. The several hundred shacks on the site share 15 water taps, and drains exist only along bordering roads. A few chemical toilets are provided for use at a local daycare, and the nearest garbage collection point is in an adjacent site, but is locked at night and on weekends. Zanele has no roads through it, only small winding paths that jog around the edge of each home, making the site a dense maze nearly impossible to navigate in a linear fashion. The limited open space and the lack of roads are reasons given by the city for the absence of sanitation facilities.

Noluvo was a 13-year resident of Zanele when I interviewed her in December 2013. In her upper-30s, Noluvo lived here with her three sons, the youngest a toddler and the oldest nearly 20. Although she previously lived in other areas of Khayelitsha, she

settled in Zanele because an uncle lived in a formal house nearby. This proximity meant she would have access to family support and, importantly, also to the infrastructure at his home. Absent any form of sanitation provision in Zanele, Noluvo and her sons use her uncle's flush toilet; on the weekends she is obligated to clean the bathroom as payment for use.

Noluvo is employed as a domestic worker, taking a long series of buses and shared taxis into the center of town to clean houses each day. Before leaving early in the mornings for work, though, she must empty the bucket that her family uses at night as a toilet. Although during the day they felt comfortable to walk several minutes into the neighboring community to use her uncle's toilet, at night the risk of crime makes the walk too risky (Ndifuna Ukwazi 2014). In Zanele, as in other informal areas, residents often report being mugged, attacked, or even raped when walking to toilets. At night, Noluvo and her children urinate into a bucket and defecate into newspapers inside a plastic bag. In the morning the waste is dumped into a storm drain at the road. If the drain is blocked, as it often is, waste is dumped into the "dirty place," or "nyu-nyu' in isiXhosa, an open area in the center of the community where many households dumped waste and where children would relieve themselves. This area is a small wetland, a sandy depression that floods in the winter and grows tall reeds in the summer. It is also the only open space in this otherwise extremely dense site.

In the absence of sufficient formal service provision, residents of informal settlements—like Noluvo—must meet their resource needs through a constellation of extended, illegal, and self-made infrastructures. Communities rely heavily upon the land itself to fill in for service deficiencies: emptying waste and defecating in open spaces,

building sinks for waste water, and using the easily-excavated sand substrate to hide electricity lines. The land becomes not a neutral space, but rather a critical and politicized component of meeting daily needs. Absent tenure, and unsure if city promises for formal housing will ever be fulfilled, their situation as long-term squatters is felt daily in interactions with infrastructures and with the physical space of their communities. Land here is critical, indispensable; the site of struggle as well as the goal. Opinionated and out-spoken, Noluvo had been elected a leader in Zanele's community group, which focused primarily on seeking basic service access and housing improvements from the City in any way possible. In our conversations, she framed the necessity of dumping waste into the nyu-nyu and using her uncle's toilet as failures of the post-Apartheid era, mirroring persistent and politicized material discontent across South Africa (Hart 2008a).

The language of services reflects the complex socio-political situation of infrastructure post-Apartheid. While the city's posters frame dumping as "illegal" to articulate a moral-juridical judgement against such actions, residents of informal settlements also spoke about various modes of infrastructural access as illegal. The use of the term within communities, however, was meant to highlight their active exclusion from formal services; the processes of abjection that prevented their entry into modern infrastructural worlds (Anand 2012; Robins 2014). The term, then, becomes a marker of exclusion emblematic of competing logics: one individual and the other structural.

In Zanele I often spent time in the home of Ta-Bonani, a community leader who lived just near the nyu-nyu. Waste, and the city's inability to manage it for Zanele's residents, was a common topic of conversation. Ta-Bonani would grimace and purse his lips when we spoke about the nyu-nyu. Sitting in his small living room, he would wave

his hand dismissively towards the open door, the nyu-nyu only a few meters beyond the opening, and talk about the summer smells and the winter floods. Like most of his neighbors, Ta-Bonani had illegal electricity connections, his drawn from a brick house 100 meters away through tenuous, drooping overhead lines that were often stolen. Over the sound of the television, usually playing recordings of prayer services, and the radio on his small cell phone, always tuned to local news, Ta-Bonani gave lessons on Zanele's history to anyone present. He would outline their letters to the city, their protests on the highway, and their pleas to neighboring communities and politicians, all attempts to find service solutions for the site. These narratives inevitably circled around to the nyu-nyu in their telling, the proximity and the threat of flooding never far from Ta-Bonani's mind.

The nyu-nyu is one of few open spaces in Zanele, and thus one of the limited sites in which waste can be concentrated that will not be directly in pathways or alongside homes. Narratives about dumping in Zanele are stories of a very constrained and politically framed form of care; in a community with no provision by the city for waste containers, and with erratic garbage pick-up, the concentration of waste in one area was a collective action in isolating it. Children defecate in the nyu-nyu because their only other proximate options are defecating in the pathways between homes or in buckets, which would then either be dumped into the same area or into a storm water drain on the street. The few drains along edges of this community are also heavily used for waste and often become blocked. Despite a lack of alternative disposal sites, residents are chastised by the City for the regular need to unclog these drains.

In the absence of formal, frequent waste removal, the creation of a somewhat central dumping site is one of the few available choices. Critically, the narratives from

residents understand something that the city's waste equation does not: the politics of this waste. The illegal dump was a necessary outcome of an inadequate provision of basic services. This is the use of the land itself to compensate for absent formal infrastructure.

When I asked residents how they would describe their community to someone who had never been there, people often said: "this place we live is a dirty place, it's not a good place." Waste is a major problem, readily identified by residents, and many complained about the nyu-nyu—even those that also said that they emptied waste there themselves. Explanations did not end here, with waste left decontextualized, but rather continued on to present frustrations with the absence of waste receptacles, the inadequacy of sanitation provision, and the extent of community actions taken in attempts to secure formal services from the city over the decades of Zanele's existence. The daily need to use sites like the nyu-nyu reinforced a local, politicized understanding of why those sites existed. This understanding of the informal settlement landscape thus overtly includes the local socio-political context of service provision. Against an emphasis on individual action which works to obscure structural limitation and power (Mol 2008), the community's self-aware analysis of the broader processes that force their actions reveals an competing understanding of municipal actions based upon a structural understanding of persistent marginality and the elusive promise of post-Apartheid citizenship (Hart 2008).

A politicized understanding of the nyu-nyu, which justified its necessity in the absence of formal services, did not mean residents enjoyed having a dump in proximity to their homes. Indeed, daily and bodily relationships to waste necessitated by exclusion from basic services are shaped by tensions between a politics of disgust and one of

dignity (Desai. McFarlane, and Graham 2015). In interviews, residents moved seamlessly between comments about dumping waste there themselves, decrying its existence, and frustration with a lack of alternatives. Thenjiwe[v], a woman in her 30s who has lived in Zanele for 14 years, says that at night she and her husband must utilize a bucket inside their shack for toilet needs (Endnote 7). During the day, she walks 20 minutes to use flush toilets in another settlement, but at night the walk is too dangerous. In the mornings she usually walks several minutes to a drain located in the street to dump waste from the bucket, but sometimes the drain becomes so blocked as to be unusable. She has few options but to dump waste on the road, between the shacks, or in the nyu-nyu. Thenjiwe and her husband live in a low-lying area in Zanele and had been flooded out of their shack the winter before, water seeping up through the sand floor under the carpet and coming through the door. In previous years they have lost their shack to fire, flames spreading quickly in the dense site. She says of the risks, "If it's not water, it's fire." She has sent her three children to stay with family in anticipation of being flooded again this year. Despite being promised relocation by a representative of the City, she says nothing has happened for nearly a year; "we've just been waiting, waiting, waiting, but no one ever comes to us." As the winter rains begin, the nyu-nyu is the first to flood, recirculating waste, floating trash and toilet paper into the homes from which it came.

Conclusion

For residents, the actions of producing and living with illegal dumping sites can be articulated as a particular set of politicized, self-aware relationships within the informal settlement landscape. The absence of infrastructure necessitated the creation of

the nyu-nyu, and motivated participation in formal governance processes and in protests. Noluvo, Thenjiwe, and Ta-Bonani are members of a community group that had petitioned the City to expand services to Zanele or to move residents to another site. Frustrated with the absence of City action, the community had also organized street protests, blocking roads around Khayelitsha or marching through the city center. They say that nothing works, that the City never brings services and never moves them to another site (Endnote 8).[vi] The recognition of the political nature of breakages and absent points within infrastructural systems are articulated as obligating politicized action, both in terms of social movement engagement and the daily labor of filling in for missing formal infrastructure. This approach mirrors contextualized understanding of urban infrastructures and resource flows (Lawhon, Ernston, and Silver 2014) that draw from African urbanist thought (Simone 2004b; Pieterse 2008) to examine cities as centered in interactions with people, material networks, and social processes. Local politics of infrastructure here offer stridently post-colonial critiques of urban power.

With persistent discontent over service delivery to peripheral urban spaces, and despite steadily decreasing feelings of the ability to influence practices of governance (Thompson 2014), informal settlement residents persist in both activism and in framing everyday actions as highly politicized. These paired actions challenge external valuations of individual choice and responsibility, positing relationships between people, infrastructure, and land as constitutive practices of care. Care, borrowing from work in medical anthropology, offers a way to identify multiple and productive sets of social relations that exist within and against institutional frameworks (Wool and Messinger

2012). An emphasis on care, as multivalent and situated practice, can thus offer an alternative to structural logics of individual responsibility (Mol 2008).

Everyday actions that exist beyond the City's formal infrastructural grid mark residents as irresponsible, used to justify further distancing from improved infrastructure and political power. In the fractured city, characterized by persistent inequality (Bank 2011), the existence of landscapes of informality are increasingly used to explain why their inhabitants remain there. Juxtaposing the City's approach to responsibility with a community logic of care reveals the selective invisibility of informal settlement residents and the land they inhabit, produced through the hypervisibility of waste and infrastructure. Indeed, infrastructure offers a unique site for the examination of responsibility: shared structures, simultaneously material and socio-political, make responsibility for their impacts difficult to identify (Star 1999; Ferguson 2012; Howe et al 2015). Conceptually, infrastructures provide linkages between sites, frameworks for seeing access to resources, modes of distribution, and relationships of power (Rodgers and O'Neill 2012; Larkin 2013). Materially, as objects and networks located in specific places, their sites and uses frame particular encounters with local resources and practices of governance (Anand 2012; Hetherington 2014; Björkman 2015). Infrastructure in post-Apartheid South Africa presents a potent political terrain, the site of profound social re-making (von Schnitzler 2008; 2013), and one in which the complexities of local experience must be read against and within the context of municipal policies, practices, and rhetorics. A focus on everyday interactions with infrastructure can reveal critical spaces of politicization (Desai, McFarlane, and Graham 2015).

Ethnography increasingly addresses the socio-political processes producing urban ecologies, including the practices of everyday life within peripheral spaces (Auyero and Swistun 2009; Rademacher 2011; Anand 2012; Björkman 2015). In reading central and peripheral practices against each other, we see how municipal logics that reproduce marginality rely upon blame and erasure, compounding abjection and foisting upon individual residents the blames of persistent structural inadequacy.

Chapter 3 Endnotes

1— In Afrikaans the poster reads: “Elke keer wanneer jy weggooidoeke in die toilet gooi, maak jy mense siek.” Posters are also shown in English. The lower section of the posters read, “A blocked toilet can spread deadly diseases. Help us to prevent this by using the refuse bins and bags provided.” There are three versions of the poster, one with disposable diaper, a second with feminine hygiene pad, and a third with a pile of rags.

2— Approximately US$30 million, based on the average exchange rate for January 2015 of 11.56 ZAR to 1 USD.

3— Not all electricity in South Africa is provided through pre-paid meters, but they are the only form provided to informal settlements in Khayelitsha. For an examination of the contested politics of pre-paid electricity metering and social movement activism in Durban, South Africa, see Chance 2015.

4— The term isiXhosa refers to the language of the amaXhosa people. Both terms are often shortened to the referential Xhosa.

5— In isiXhosa the sign reads: “Iipesenti ezingama99.1 zabantu bethu zineetephy. Masilondoloze iinkonzo zethu, ukuze sibe nekamva elingcono.” The statistic of 99.1% is not cited, but closely resembles statistics from the 2011 South African census, which identifies for Cape Town that 75% of households have access to piper water inside their dwelling, 12.3% have piped water access inside their yard, 9.3% have access within 200 meters of their yard, and 2.7% have access to piped water more than 200 meters outside of their yard (City of Cape Town 2012). This adds up to 99.3%, thus counting among households with an implied adequacy of service provision those with shared water

access, including those farther than 200 meters from a dwelling. For Khayelitsha, the 2011 Census notes only 34.6% of households with piped water inside their dwelling, 27.3% inside their yard, 28.1% within 200 meters, 9.2% more than 200 meters, and .8%—or 912 individuals—with no access to piped water at all (City of Cape Town 2013d).

6— Informal settlement site names are pseudonyms, with some details of sites obscured for anonymity. All information about service access and daily practices of residents are maintained from resident narratives.

7— Interview conducted March 2014.

8— Informal settlements are protected under the post-Apartheid constitution once they are established, with residents meant to only be moved to other suitable sites. Recent events in another area of Cape Town have challenged the specificities around what it means for an informal area to be established, and under what conditions the City's Anti-Land Invasion Unit can tear down shacks.

CHAPTER 4

Contradictions of Capacity-Building:
Knowledge, Time, and Participatory Development in Cape Town's Informal Settlements

ABSTRACT: In Cape Town's informal settlements, the difficulties of living without permanent housing or basic services are compounded by the frustrations of waiting for this development. For residents of one informal settlement, involvement in a participatory planning process allowed community activists to indicate willingness to engage stakeholders and create new allies, building upon their previous political, social movement, and development engagements. For the NGO-directed planning process, however, existing knowledge and prior experience did not fit into an assumed step-wise development process leading participants from absent capacity to shaped agency. Community members' knowledge of place, needs, and local politics were thereby marginalized, while the success of the process was paradoxically measured as the re-creation of these same fields. The creation of "capacity" was based on two internal contradictions: as already existing, and yet needing to be made; as the only hope for progress, and yet still improbable. These contradictions were managed through twin temporal processes: the vagaries of extended waiting, in which development is always elusive; and the denial of the past as actionable, in which experience is dismissed as

legitimate knowledge. Participation, then, produces the developmental subject by denying the validity of the past in order to repackage it as the potentiality of the future.

* * *

Introduction

Twenty years post-Apartheid, South African urban informality continues to grow, and, despite government promises of "housing for all," residents in many shack communities see development as a series of empty promises. Over sixteen months of ethnographic research in Khayelitsha, an area in Cape Town's periphery, local assessments of development and time mingled in complex ways. New street lights built along a major road were explained as the city's attempt to "look busy" in the months before an election. Promises from officials for new toilets for one community, or additional water taps for another, were dismissed by residents as merely hot air. A city staffer's statement at a public meeting about the need for community feedback on a proposed outreach program was explained by residents as an empty gesture. Based on their experiences of waiting years for basic infrastructure, they saw promises as the performative work of city staff and officials, not actual service delivery.

Development here has become synonymous with waiting, and, increasingly, is understood as a process unbound by rules or ethics. While informal settlement residents previously believed that their names existed on housing lists, and that during their years living in informality their names were productively working towards the top of this list, an orderly understanding of development as a patiently-earned eventuality is eroding. As

attested to through the rapid expansion of street protests over service delivery in recent years (Powell and De Visser 2014), and in the growth of social movements making claims upon service improvements (Ballard et al 2006; Robins 2008), promises of resource redistribution post-Apartheid have not been forgotten by residents of informal settlements or other marginalized areas. As in the global south more broadly, the construction of formal infrastructure has been understood as a step within a linear process of development, as "those structures that are *supposed to* provide the stability necessary for the emergence of processes of a different order—alternatively imagined as development, civilization, or simply progress" (Hetherington 2014:197; emphasis in original). The extended absence of these structures leaves residents living with a permanent temporary, their position within the state and city measured no longer in movement towards a modern citizenship marked by material and political inclusion, but in stagnation as a marginal subject (Mbembe 1996).

My focus on a nominally participatory development process demonstrates that it is not only in spaces of inaction that developmental subjects are produced through bureaucratic latency (Auyero 2012), but that similar subjectivities result from attempts at active engagement. Unlike politicized spaces framed as insurgent—producing democratic counter-publics in urban peripheries (Holston 2009; Miraftab 2009)—here action falls into a void produced and compounded by state, municipal, and civic acquiescence, itself the result of dense bureaucracy and an absent political will for expanding public goods that is characteristic of South Africa's neoliberal urban governance (Miraftab 2004; Hart 2013; von Schnitzler 2013). Development projects that engage informal settlement residents focus upon an undefinable future at the expense of the past. These projects thus

dismiss existing community knowledge and experience even as facilitators focus upon capacity-building as a primary outcome of participation. Likewise, the project promised the growth of skills and relationships that would allow much needed basic service development within informal settlements, but facilitators repeatedly denied any guaranteed outcomes. Capacity is itself contradictory: pre-existing and yet needing to be made; actionable and yet unreliable for delivering results. The developmental subject becomes one forged through twin temporal processes: the vagaries of extended waiting, and the denial of past experience as legitimate knowledge. Participation is, here, a process through which existing community and social movement knowledge is repackaged as the result of NGO intervention, and communities are left—again—to struggle alone for access to services and urban inclusion.

Infrastructure, Development, and Temporal Politics

In South Africa, access to basic services within urban space is defined largely by access to networked infrastructure, and absent infrastructural access is increasingly equated with absent political belonging (Robins, Cornwall, and von Lieres 2008; Hart 2008b, 2011; von Schnitzler 2013). Indeed, the growing anthropological literature on infrastructure includes frequent recognition of infrastructure as a "potent political form" (Hetherington 2014:197), as networks of distribution that make material unequal access to resources and power (see also: Von Schnitzler 2008; Anand 2012; Larkin 2013; Chalfin 2014). Routes of distribution are not static, but shift in relation to the expansion or contraction of access, and aspirations for access. Infrastructure, as Hetherington notes, "divides the built landscape into temporal priorities to be slotted into a promising

narrative of progress" (2014:196). This is a narrative that relies upon the presence of communities awaiting access to the modern lives marked by such development (Larkin 2008).

Entwined processes of desiring and waiting are forces through which political subjects can be forged. As government entities remain the primary decision-makers in the distribution of resources, marginalized communities are beholden to processes of governance, either to be complicit with them as they wait or to contest them in the hopes of accelerating the process. As Auyero writes of Argentine residents of informal areas waiting for state social services, we can understand "acts of waiting…as temporal processes in and through which political subordination is reproduced" (Auyero 2012: 2) and through which marginalized citizens are taught what he glosses as patience. As Secor notes in her work on the processes of local bureaucracy in Turkey, the experiences of waiting "provide critical insight into the everyday sociospatial constitution of power – not despite but because of their banality" (Secor 2007:42). Time thus produces and indexes relations of power within the modern through everyday experience, delineating present from past as self from other (Fabian 1983).

While residents of informal settlements in Cape Town do contest processes of waiting, their daily experiences of inadequate service access—and the City's continuous claims that residents are to blame for inadequacies (see Chapter 3)—remain marked reminders of who decides when and where resources for development will be deployed. These experiences map onto informal space an understanding of democracy's ever-latent promise of inclusion, and frame participatory development processes as complicit in its reproduction.

Background: Informality, Services, and Participatory Process

Cape Town is one of the most unequal cities in the world (UN-HABITAT 2012). This inequality is etched into the city by expanses of informal settlements. Once thought to be temporary sites in the process of urbanization, dense informal settlements are now long-term fixtures of urban landscapes here and across the global south. Despite on-going public housing projects, informal dwellings still house a significant portion of the urban population and characterize South Africa's persistent urban fragmentation (Harrison et al 2003; Parnell and Crankshaw 2009; Bank 2011).

Khayelitsha sits within the edges of Cape Town. Planned as a black town in the waning years of Apartheid, the first residents arrived in the 1980s to formal houses and the first informal areas followed soon after (Cook 1992). As of the 2011 South African census, over half (54%) of Khayelitsha's nearly 400,000 residents live in informal dwellings (City of Cape Town 2013d)—shacks primarily set in dense swaths, squatting on public or private land.

Basic service access varies widely within and between Khayelitsha's informal areas. Water taps are provided in shared space, with the city's goals set at a maximum of twenty-five households sharing one tap (City of Cape Town 2013e). While the city claims that 99.1% of the city's residents have access to running water (City of Cape Town 2012), 28% of Khayelitsha's households have accessible water set away from their dwelling, and 10% of households have either no taps or access only to taps located over 250 meters from their dwelling (City of Cape Town 2013d). Electricity is provided via pre-paid meters through the country's electricity parastatal, although not all informal areas qualify for connections: land ownership, high-voltage wires, wetlands, or other

conditions can prevent a site from being given electricity. Sanitation is provided under the city's goal of not more than five households sharing a single toilet (City of Cape Town 2013e), although that goal is not met in all communities. Toilets in some informal areas can be full-flush, permanent units attached to sewage systems, but they may also be one of a variety of plastic, chemical toilet units. Even when basic services are provided to informal settlements, the infrastructure offered may be temporary, impermanent, and often wildly inadequate to meet local need. Audits conducted by a local NGO in 2013, for example, found up to 27 individuals sharing a single portable toilet (SJC 2013; Storey 2014).

In South Africa, policy in the first decade post-Apartheid focused on the eradication of informal settlements through market-driven, government-subsidized housing construction (Huchzermeyer 2004). In 2004, a national comprehensive Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme was adopted, with the intention of eliminating or upgrading all settlements within a decade (Huchzermeyer 2006). New policies shifted to increasingly emphasize *in situ,* participatory upgrading programs—projects focused on infrastructure expansion and improvement of housing at existing informal sites—alongside relocation from less desirable sites, reflecting the inadequacy of housing provisions to meet rapidly expanding urban needs (Huchzermeyer 2006; Graham 2006; Gulyani and Bassett 2007). In addition to projects working towards full housing on a site, upgrading can provide an avenue for service improvements to informal areas sited on land unable to be fully developed.

Despite policy focus on participatory *in situ* upgrading projects, political will has not usually followed. Some South African officials continue to posit that clearances are

the preferred approach despite policy stating otherwise (Graham 2006). “Good governance” practices have been used to disguise forced evictions as “negotiated displacements” (Durand-Lasserve 2006) and community consultations meant to engage residents in decision-making have at times been managed to ensure local government interests (Graham 2006). Projects may also be sidelined by contradictions and complexity in policy at the national level (Parnell and Crankshaw 2009).

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs) have increasingly become part of upgrading projects across sub-Saharan Africa, including via community-based enumeration work (Huchzermeyer and Karam 2006), participatory planning (Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell 2002; Huchzermeyer 2006), community capacity-building (Smit 2006), and infrastructure project delivery or construction (Smit 2001; Girard 2005; Omenya and Huchzermeyer 2006; Gulyani & Bassett 2007). With South African policy emphasizing community participation, NGOs and CBOs often facilitate such processes for informal settlements. This includes building capacity within communities to engage long-term projects and decision-making processes (Smit 2006) and seeking to enhance representation of residents’ voices (Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell 2002). Participation has often been co-opted for political ends or used as a façade for projects that are entirely government- or donor-driven (Omenya and Huchzermeyer 2006; Graham 2006). Participation is, itself, a highly contested term, one used regularly within development projects, but employed in radically different ways.

Methods

The data for this paper was collected through sixteen months of fieldwork conducted over 2013, 2014, and 2015, although my first work with the community discussed in the paper occurred in 2010. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with thirty-four residents, ranging in age from twenty-one to sixty-nine. Length of residence within this informal site ranged from two to twenty-three years, with an average of more than twelve years residency. Household size ranged from one to ten, with an average of three household members. Fourteen men and twenty women were interviewed. To ensure a diversity of backgrounds and experiences, a range of sampling approaches were utilized. This included open requests for interviewees at local public meetings, intentional sampling of community leaders, and snowball sampling. I used the latter approach to identify individuals within groups less likely to be found through open calls, specifically older individuals.

In addition, I conducted participant observation at public meetings within the community, at outreach events, in households, at the community office, at protests and marches, and through attending other public events with community members. For the participatory process in question, I was invited by the community to observe at the formal workshops, at individual meetings, and in follow-up meetings with NGO staff. Formal interviews and informal conversations were also conducted with four NGO staff and consultants.

A Chronopolitics of Participatory Development

Several of Khayelitsha's informal settlements pre-date democracy, and many include residents present since the initial land occupation. One such community, Zanele, is located on land which cannot be developed with adequate access to water, sanitation, or electricity, nor with formal housing, due to the ownership and situation of the parcel (Endnote 1). For the several hundred households here, daily life is thus characterized by extreme limitations in basic services. Despite the absence of most upgrading possibilities, residents have never been relocated to areas available for development. For sites like Zanele, in which long-term development for services or housing is impossible, relocation has been understood as an eventuality. Although Zanele's residents have attempted to use formal municipal political channels, street protest, and participation in national and local social movements to draw attention to their need for basic services or for relocation, they remain not only bereft of services but also without clear plans from the city for the future.

In 2013, Zanele was selected for a participatory project led by the Development Action Group (DAG), a Cape Town-based NGO working broadly on issues of development and which defines itself as following a "pro poor agenda" (DAG NDa). In a project funded by the South African National Upgrade Support Programme (NUSP), DAG facilitated participatory processes with 25 informal settlements across Cape Town in order to develop best practice strategies for informal settlement upgrading (DAG NDb; Fieldnotes). The intention was also to create a set of prioritized service improvements for each area, the result of facilitated discussions between residents of each site and staff from the NGO and city. As staff told me, however, they had understood in planning for the process that the city would produce a schematic of possible upgrading—a

"development matrix"—for each site in advance of the project. This would have allowed the planning and visioning discussions to be based on actual possibilities for development on each site, as legal and logistical constraints prevents some sites—like Zanele—from being upgraded to full service access or housing. For unknown reasons, the upgrading schematic was not available during the project's duration, leaving proposed plans to be based not on actual possibilities for infrastructure but, rather, on limited information available from city or NGO staff, and on the hopes of residents (Endnote 2).

For Zanele, the supposedly community-led process of creating development plans was ultimately not more than a farce, as the facilitators, residents, and City staff who participated in the planning exercises all knew that this site could never host the majority of basic services or permanent housing. Community members still engaged in the process, hoping that participation might signal to the City their willingness to engage directly on development planning—in addition to their willingness to protest in the streets, which had also been demonstrated by the community in previous years. While residents told me they knew that this participatory project was unlikely to produce results for their community, they saw it as a way to engage DAG as a possible ally in their long-term goals for development.

In late September 2013, I was visiting with two community leaders from Zanele when DAG staff first met with them about the participatory planning process. Ta-Bonani, Luzuko, and I were sitting that day in a small structure in Zanele that served as the main office for the local community group, discussing their relationships with national social movement organizations. As DAG staffers called to announce their immanent arrival, Ta-Bonani and Luzuko invited me to stay for the conversation, asking the owner of a nearby

shack to loan us additional chairs. Although reticent to impede, both men assured me that they welcomed my presence at the meeting and that, knowing my interests in development possibilities for Zanele, they were certain that I would find the discussion interesting.

Two representatives soon arrived: Thomas, a DAG staffmember, and Nandipha, a consultant hired to help facilitate the project sites in Khayelitsha. Although a variety of staff and consultants ultimately ran the workshops for Zanele, Nandipha was the only person consistently present who spoke isiXhosa, the home language of Zanele residents, and she served as the main contact for Zanele residents throughout the process.

Although DAG characterized the project in their outreach material as meant to "develop a best practice strategy for informal settlement upgrade" at the national level (DAG NDb), Thomas and Nandipha presented a series of different, localized goals to the Zanele residents that day: assessing local needs, presenting specific upgrading plans for the city to act upon, "building the capacity" of Zanele's leaders, and initiating new modes of community-city engagement based on community "ownership" over development processes (Fieldnotes). The development of "capacity" in the community was presented as the hinge of the project, around which swung access to development via "correct" engagements with the City of Cape Town staff and officials. The community came to realize that these local goals were both ephemeral and aspirational: hoped-for outcomes of a process that DAG believed in. While DAG intended the project to shape interaction between community and city staff around upgrading, they had little control over what would happen after their portion of the process came to an end in early 2014. They hoped that the foundation of interaction, knowledge, and planning that the participatory process

created would direct subsequent actions and development, but they had little influence over city actions after their funded project finished. Thus, their goal was to shape the community into one whose claims staff believed would enunciate local needs in forms desirable and necessary for City staff to meet.

Attempts to have their needs understood and met by city staff were not new to Zanele residents. The community had, at that time, been host to a local social movement for a number of years, and many residents were active within the group. Like many recent movements of informal settlement residents in South Africa, they used both tactics of engagement and of opposition to draw attention to their needs and to present claims on municipal and national resources (Oldfield and Stokke 2007). Ta-Bonani, Luzuko, and other Zanele residents were savvy activists in 2013, involved in a variety of city-level and national coalitions of progressive or radical groups seeking interlocked social justice goals of improving access to basic services, housing, education, and employment. When I attended events or meetings by other activist groups in Cape Town, Zanele residents were almost invariably present, and Zanele leaders were well-known by NGOs and other social movements. At that first meeting with DAG, Luzuko outlined Zanele's local levels of leadership and their history of activism, including their attempts to get support from city officials, their active work with social movements, and even their protests. If Thomas and Nandipha were previously unaware of Zanele's activism, Luzuko's detailed explanation of the extent of their work could leave no question about the community's efforts.

Zanele's residents were not merely docile subjects produced through extended periods of waiting for services (Auyero 2012). They had waited, but they had also agitated and protested their marginal situation, taking actions that demonstrated their

capacity for politicized disruption—including blocking roads or destroying public property—as well as their ability to strategically engage allies and bring resources into the community. For example, the community had worked with a Cape Town-based NGO to create a locally-run daycare, simultaneously providing salaried jobs to residents, training in business management, and care for young children. They had worked with a national social movement to fund the creation of a community office, including computers and printers. They also worked with their Ward Councillor—not an easy political ally, previously—to identify funds for short-term, paid jobs for residents to manage vegetation around the site. These accomplishments had come in addition to on-going activism focused upon infrastructure and housing.

Although Luzuko impressed upon DAG the experiences of Zanele residents in seeking service and quality-of-life improvements, Thomas and Nandipha largely ignored prior activism as building legitimate knowledge of service needs, development outcomes, or political processes. The NUSP participatory project was one meant to "build capacity" for local leadership, and thus implied a *tabula rasa* starting point for communities. Informal settlements are often seen as without formal leadership, even though most settlements are the result of planned land invasions and have various forms of community-selected leadership (Martin and Mathema 2006). Thomas and Nandipha stressed the goals of "capacity building" throughout this and subsequent meetings, implying that participatory projects not only assume the absence of capacity and agency within residents, but that participation shapes epistemological outcomes: the acquisition of not only specific knowledge of municipal development processes and terms, but also of a particular ideological approach to those processes.

This is not to say that Thomas, Nandipha, or other DAG staff were uninterested in the actual experiences of Zanele residents or in the development outcomes: they actively drew upon community experiences and knowledges in the workshops, and followed-up with residents after the NUSP project was complete to seek their involvement in other programs. However, the structure of the participatory project was not one in which community members could be seen as already able to articulate their needs or understand political process. Knowledge of community needs was a pre-requisite for the process, but it was understood as inadequate for correct action. In other words, the development process needed knowledge to already exist, but relied upon representing it as created during the participatory process itself. Participation, then, becomes a process of repackaging past experience in future-focused terms, assuming failures of past development to be failures of proper modes of knowledge and action. The past is subsumed here by the future, not seen as a pattern of learned behavior, but, rather, as simply a failure.

At this first meeting, DAG coordinators asked for Zanele's needs. Luzuko immediately replied that relocation presented the only possible solution. They had learned long ago that this parcel of land was inadequate for housing or full services; every resident of Zanele knew this. Luzuko and Ta-Bonani detailed the existing infrastructure in and around Zanele for DAG—the few taps, the illegal electricity, the need to use toilets in nearby communities—and their ongoing work for improvements. Despite this existing knowledge of their community and of the developmental parameters for Zanele, the entirety of the participatory process—months of work and meetings—

assumed that this knowledge needed to be re-created and re-articulated in order to, ultimately, produce plans with these same goals.

At the first community engagement meeting in October, a group of fifteen Zanele residents gathered with DAG staff for a day of planning and groundwork. The presentations throughout the day were primarily made in English and, afterwards, summarized by a translator in isiXhosa, the home language of every Zanele participant. While some participants were fluent in English, others had much lower ability to engage in the language. While DAG presenters would spend up to half-an-hour speaking in English about the participatory process, the translator was given only a few minutes to re-explain the material in isiXhosa.

Early in this first workshop, Nicki, a DAG consultant, facilitated an overview of the development timeline for Zanele. She began by drawing a diagram over four pieces of large paper taped into a banner, diagraming time punctuated by three points: the late 1980s, to note Zanele's founding; now, noted by the NUSP project; and the future, with no designation. Between the points of "now" and "future," she made marks for "short-term," "middle-term," and "long-term" development goals. Near this she wrote the two key stakeholders for this process—Zanele residents and the City of Cape Town's Informal Settlements Unit—near a wavy line representing the movement of time and actions. As she wrote, she explained that NUSP programs are meant to bring cities and informal settlement residents together, noting that stakeholders must decide together what the future holds.

Nicki's narrative was seemingly meant to demonstrate two points: the necessity of Zanele residents agreeing to work with the city, and the inability for development to

happen overnight. For residents, the promise of the former point had been disproven through their own experience in attempting to engage city staff and officials, and was reiterated through the DAG process itself, in which city workers only appeared at one of the many meetings. Nicki's latter point, about the need to wait for infrastructure and housing, had been amply proven through the community's twenty plus years of living without services. Although Nicki noted that Zanele had been established long ago, she discussed nothing of the outcome of these years except that they led to the present. Her presentation was future-focused, emphasizing the delineation of upcoming time into the undefined categories of short-term, middle-term, and long-term, making the past and its articulations of power invisible (Endnote 3). As Nicki completed her 20-minute presentation, Nandipha summarizes it briefly in isiXhosa. She says of the diagram's many vague timelines, "What are the things to do while waiting for long-term goals?" as in, "What things can you do before you get houses?" (Fieldnotes).

The day following this first workshop I headed to Zanele to discuss impressions with residents. Ta-Bonani, Luzuko, and two other Zanele residents present at the workshop agreed that the discussion of short-term versus long-term development projects was unclear. They note that these timelines comprise the information that residents are most interested in getting out of these workshops. They attended in order to learn about the city's development plans, but there were no answers on what the timelines actually meant. They ask what "short-term" means in hours, days, weeks, months, or years? This information matters when your house is flooded each winter, or when you pay each month to use a toilet in the next settlement. Ta-Bonani says that the community has long known what they need, adding: "We don't need workshops, we need this upgrading to

take place." Another resident says that DAG and the city know Zanele wants service upgrading or removal, so, she continues, why go through this process? Ta-Bonani agrees, saying that they will attend the next workshop, but that the community is a "time bomb" waiting to challenge the city further. He says of the next workshop, "We will ask: what *is* short-term, middle-term, long-term? What does this mean?" Later he added: "It's a long walk to development," reworking the title of Mandela's autobiography to reflect this post-Apartheid reality (Fieldnotes).

Two days later, I met with Thomas, one of the DAG staffers working on the NUSP project, to discuss the Zanele workshop and the overarching project. As I summarized our conversation in my fieldnotes:

> I ask if there is a possibility that these plans will be made but not actually lead to any development changes for the communities. He replies that the communities will, having had their "capacity built" through the process, be able to follow-up with the city and work to get those developments realized. I ask about how they might do that, and he outlines a sort of formal, process-laden approach with the community following a "proper" development engagement which he represents as a line with loops in it. The loops represent the process of re-planning and evaluation necessary to development, he says. This is the same as what Nicki drew during the workshop with Zanele earlier this week.

Two more full-day workshops followed over the next four months: the second focused on participatory mapping of Zanele by residents, and the third reflected back on the first two workshops in order to create the much sought-after upgrading vision from residents. Not surprisingly, it listed "relocation" as the long-term goal, despite residents lobbying for this to be an immediate need, and included within the short-term and medium-term goals all of the other pressing needs that residents had voiced from the first meeting.

Throughout the process of the meetings, and especially in the construction of the final development suggestions, DAG stressed the inability of their staff to ensure developmental outcomes. Staff repeatedly told Zanele residents that they could not promise them a house, seeking to lower their expectations of guaranteed material outcomes. Simultaneously, staff spoke at length about the need for the community to "build capacity" for following up on the plans made, suggesting that the facilitated discussions were the only hope for actual developmental outcomes. These contradictions in framing outcomes relied on an understanding of capacity as existing and yet needing to be made; as the only hope for progress, and yet as still improbable. The participatory process requires DAG to imagine that the community cannot yet fully and properly express its needs in a way compatible with the city's expectations, but that the same statements made post-process will be transformed merely through the experience of engagement.

In May, residents of Zanele met with Nandipha as a follow-up to the NUSP project. At the meeting, the residents were asked for their feedback on the process. Luzuko said:

> I'll speak about both learning on participation and development. For development: it is divided into short-term, medium-term, and long-term. We learned how to prioritize the needs of the community. As Zanele we believe when they talk about Zanele, there's no development that can happen until basic needs are fulfilled. Our councillors aren't there to decide for us, but to consult with us. Not just top-down, but a discussion; to reach a settlement. (Fieldnotes)

Residents themselves needed to be made complicit with this process, and Luzuko's comments at the follow-up meeting repeat the goals that DAG set out for the participatory project, using the exact words that Nandipha had used in her prompt for feedback. Although the community never found an answer to the specific temporality of "short-term, medium-term, and long-term," Luzuko knows that this is the language of

development and that continuing to work with DAG requires the acceptance of this timeline with all its vagaries. His statement, however, also reveals the intention of the community in engaging the participatory process. In repeating DAG's focus on development as a collaborative process in which the city and community must work together, Luzuko emphasizes the power that Zanele retains. "Our councilors aren't there to decide *for us*," he says, drawing on DAG's aspirations for shaping collaborative action, but also reflecting the intention of Ta-Bonani's statement that the community is a "time bomb," one willing to play along but also not willing to be ignored.

Despite feeling largely abandoned by the City and by the processes of development that have brought limited services to surrounding communities but bypass Zanele, residents continue to desire development and many still hope that it will eventually reach them as well. Despite the contradictions of the participatory process, DAG remained a potentially potent ally at the individual or community-level; indeed, the following year the organization offered a position within a paid training program to one of the community leaders.

Conclusion

Participation, as part of a process of subject making, is often complicit in reproducing existing patterns of marginality despite aspirations of radical alterity. In framing residents as those who must "build capacity" in order to move forward a development process stalled at municipal and national levels, participation becomes a guise for absent political will. As with other engagements between residents of Cape Town's informal settlements and city staff, the experiences and knowledge of community

members are summarily dismissed (Miraftab 2003, 2004; Storey 2014). The focus on "capacity-building," and on the need for residents to follow appropriate processes of political engagement, suggest that successful development is something emerging from community will and docility—even while the experience of communities negates this premise. Communities and individuals are seen as subjects with minimal agency, in need of guidance within the neoliberal city; they are assumed to lack the capacity to engage their existing knowledge without the assistance of contracted NGOs.

The role of individual actors cannot, however, be understood in isolation, but must be contextualized by municipal and national approaches and politics. DAG's engagement with Zanele was heavily constrained, both in scope and duration, by factors beyond their control. Indeed, despite any intentions otherwise, DAG's role was not to refigure informality, but to produce a set of discrete recommendations. The limitations of such approaches are emblematic of widespread inadequacies in addressing the developmental needs of informal settlements; as Durand-Lasserve observes, most conventional policy responses to informality are "simply treating the symptoms and cannot be considered as structural and sustainable policies" (Durand-Lasserve 2006:210). DAG's intervention in Zanele was also marked temporally: limited in duration and constrained by the inability of staff to manage long-term outcomes. DAG staff were unable to predict how or if the city would follow-up on the plans produced by the participatory process, and thus relied upon vague timelines for developmental outcomes. Despite these constraints and broader faults, DAG's work still resulted in the reproduction of existing hierarchies of power. This article is thus not only about the failure of participation, but, rather, attempts to understand participation as a modality of

subject-making which relies upon shifting temporalities and agentive contradictions in order to reproduce and justify persistent marginality.

Analyses of the shortcomings of participatory development schemes are as old as participatory development itself (Vengroff 1974), with many identified examples of how participatory work can mask or reproduce existing relationships of power and marginality (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Cornwall 2002, 2008; Miraftab 2003; Harrison 2012). Scholars have long argued for the necessity of basing participatory work within existing community organizations (Costa, Kottak, and Prado 1997) and for providing spaces inside NGOs for community responses to processes and outcomes (O'Reilly and Dhanju 2010), even arguing for the radical potentiality of a reworked participation (Hickey and Mohan 2005). This article seeks to add to these critiques and suggestions through an analysis of the banality of power's reproduction (Secor 2007) and the temporalities of subject-production (Auyero 2012) within the actual practices of participatory development.

As community members experience the material and socio-political implications of living within spaces of "infrastructural violence" (Rodgers and O'Neill 2012), their reactions cannot merely be understood through categorical binaries like active/non-active (Banks 2008), or participator/non-participator (Piper 2010). Ethnographic engagement with the politicized practices of individuals and communities reveals the complexity of interactions in and around participatory processes. As processes of urban planning (Miraftab 2003; Barrios 2011) and NGO practices (Erickson 2012) related to development are increasingly shaped by neoliberal policies and rhetorics, forms of community engagement are further reworked. An acknowledgement of the internal

contradictions of participatory practices, and of the temporal processes that justify these contradictions, makes clear the complicity of varied actors in the reproduction of marginality.

Despite the structural force of such processes, and outside assumptions of absent capacity, communities retain their ability to act, utilizing available resources and opportunities. Zanele's involvement in the participatory process was, itself, largely performative: with more than two decades of empty promises around development behind them, few residents believed in the possible realization of DAG's grandiose plans. The creation of new local capacity was not, for Zanele residents, understood to be the likely outcome of their engagement. Residents knew their role and played it ably, espousing the profundity of the process in the official debriefs while critically examining its inadequacies afterwards. The working of time was also apparent to residents; as Ta-Bonani framed the community as a "time bomb," he noted that all actions remained possible, and that residents—despite being seen as peripheral subjects—did not lose their ability for further engagement.

Chapter 4 Endnotes

1— Pseudonyms are used to reference both specific informal settlements and individual people throughout this paper.

2— A draft of the development matrix had been presented within the City, according to Pan, Armitage, and Van Rynveld 2015, and a draft was obtained by another local NGO in May 2015 and data released publicly, although it was not yet made public by the City itself at that time: http://www.groundup.org.za/article/city-chooses-not-invest-informal-settlements_2982/

3— My thanks to Megan Sheehan for suggesting this final, astute observation.

CHAPTER 5, CONCLUSION

The Politics of Urban, Ecological, and Infrastructural Relationships within Informality

Troubling Active Citizenship: Participation and the Praxes of Democracy

This dissertation asks how community members engage in, respond to, and are produced as particular subjects through varied modes of participatory governance and development. Participation itself emerges as a contested domain, produced at the intersection of neoliberal governance, practices of civil society, and everyday actions. I argue that an ethnographic examination of participation as a set of grounded practices and logics provides a critical point at which to understand the juncture of neoliberalism and democracy. By placing this examination within a set of practices, policies, and politics related to infrastructure, I provide a further foundation, critically and materially, for these discussions.

Significant development work since the 1990s has focused on building "good governance" in developing states, largely by increasing participation in local policy and community projects (Gaventa and Valderrama 1999; Cornwall 2002). This approach marks a change from development aid in the 1950s-1980s focused on funding national governments (Howell and Pearce 2001), which resulted in catastrophic debt and the implementation of equally catastrophic Structural Adjustment Programs by the IMF on behalf of international creditors (Abrahamsen 2000). The "good governance" approach

posits that the incorporation of the voices of marginalized communities into civil society—broadly defined as "the public realm of organized social activity located between the state and the family" (Tostenson, Tvedten, and Vaa 2001:7)—will support the internal construction of stable, democratic local and national governments (Mitlin and Sattherwaite 2004). In the context of weak states, this approach is used to emphasize "the efforts and capacities of civil society to provide basic services in the wake of various forms of 'state failure'" (Gandy 2007:249). "Good governance" projects create or bolster civil society institutions defined in the style of Western democracies (Koonings and Kruijt 2009), including local community-based organizations (Smit 2001; Tostensen, Tvedten, and Vaa 2001).

In informal areas of the global south, development and development-focused governance, have focused on empowering the "squatter citizen" (Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2004), especially through participatory urban planning and informal settlement upgrading (Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell 2002). Such projects propose to build "strong, effective local processes that help to address the multiple deprivations faced by large sections of the urban population… processes that involve and are accountable to this population" (Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2004:11). The idea and discourse of empowerment is central to this development approach, and the model subject of a "good governance" project is the "active citizen," engaged both in the expansion of civil society and in the participatory methods of development work (Cooke and Kothari 2001).

The argument that participatory projects unilaterally empower communities and deepen emerging democracies has received significant critique (cf. Escobar 1995; Cooke and Kothari 2001; Miraftab 2003; Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell 2002). Participatory

approaches have been decried as reproducing hierarchies of power (Abrahamsen 2000), using communities for the "agendas of outside actors," and as tools of neoliberal governance that work by "constructing participants as consumers" (Cornwall 2002:54). Nevertheless, participation remains a strong current in development and governance work across the global south. Related research has increasingly divided individuals into groups of the "active" and "non-active" (Banks 2008) or "participators" and "non-participators" (Piper 2010), to delineate those engaged in categories of formalized civil society action. Such academic divisions reinforce the institutional nature of most governance work in development, and, as well, ignore the multiple ways communities enact and respond to power through other means (Tostenson, Tvedten, and Vaa 2001; Robins, Cornwall, and von Lieres 2008; Holston 2008; Kabeer 2006).

Research with social movements offers one frame for examining the re-workings of participation against the depoliticizing effects of neoliberal urban governance. Significant recent research on social movements in South Africa has focused on movements emerging from within economically marginal peri-urban areas in which access to housing and basic infrastructure continues to be inadequate (Ballard, Habib, and Valodia 2006). These are material conditions that movements and scholars have labeled part of the unfinished struggle for democracy (Robins 2008; Etzo 2010). While dissatisfactions with inadequate services are clearly seen as ongoing inadequacies in state assistance, movements do not necessarily cohere around an anti-state vision (Thompson and Nleya 2010). Rather, many utilize strategies of both engagement and opposition as they make claims and seek resources (Oldfield and Stokke 2007).

These tensions within activism reflect the "everydayness" of politics within many South African radical social movements (Patel 2008; Gibson 2008; Pithouse 2008), and they echo calls for research on global south movements to ground analysis within the daily lives of those they study (Robins, Cornwall, and von Lieres 2008). An everyday politics can be seen through a focus on social movements as knowledge producers, examining both movement practices and experiences (Casas-Cortés, Osterweil, and Powell 2008; Aparico and Blaser 2008; Oldfield 2015). This approach builds from Escobar's writing (Escobar 2008) on the social production of movements, and from Haraway's broader work on situated knowledge (Haraway 1991).

The central character in participation is framed as the "active citizen" (Cooke and Kothari 2001). Contentiously, social movements in South Africa sometimes also utilize this term; it is a recognition of their position seeking to complete unfulfilled struggles against Apartheid, as subjects still working to attain recognition as full citizens (Bryant 2008; Robins 2008; Etzo 2010). By examining participation itself as contested, I argue for the need to understand politicized actions as resulting from a complex set of experiences—the overlap of unfinished development, latent democratic rights, and everyday experiences that cohere around infrastructural assemblages in informal spaces.

Infrastructural Promises: Ties between Margins and Centers

The following excerpt from my fieldnotes presents the events of one morning in February 2014. I arrived at the Westtown informal settlement to interview Khuthala, a local civic leader and an active member of social movement organizations:

> We arrive to Westtown to find that two very silver nice cars are blocking access to parking. The Tamkhulu (grandfather) who works as caretaker for the

community building—and who is ever the problem solver—guides me to drive on the sidewalk around the cars to park. As we unload, someone runs up to the other cars and begins to hurriedly get inside. I realize that it is Cebo, a worker from the Water and Sanitation Department, and wave a hello. He walks over to talk briefly before running off to another meeting. Apparently he is in Westtown to walk around with the contractor who will be designing the flush toilet system here! As one of the mayor's press releases last year did note, Westtown was scheduled for flush toilet construction this year, along with several other informal sites across the city. Apparently the city is doing some work to move ahead with that, including meeting with the councillor for this ward and bringing contractors to the site. They have not, however, met with the community about it.

As I walk into the hall, Khuthala asks me what Cebo is doing here. She says that people will ask her about it, assuming she should know what is happening. If she doesn't know, it looks like she is either an ineffective leader, or is withholding information from the community.

Khuthala has lived in Westtown since the late 1990s, when it was founded by the relocation of people from another informal area slated for development—but not the development of housing. Later, people from other communities were also resettled here. Khuthala says that the residents moved here were told that this would be their permanent home—that the land was meant for permanent settlement and not just temporary habitation. This, then, assumes that the site can be plotted individually and developed for full services, with houses built. Despite that, the community still has bucket toilets and communal taps fifteen years later. And, of course, there aren't formal houses. In comparison to Zanele however, the situation seems better: here there are roads (unpaved but largely passable), the community isn't as densely settled, most have electricity, and there is some form of sanitation—even though everyone hates it.

When I ask Khuthala what you should get as a citizen, she says: "Services. So that we are similar with white areas, with toilets inside. We aren't able to go out at night. We should have streets, lights, toilets, medicine, (health) clinics…" When I ask what she does get as a citizen, she answers forcefully: "I don't have rights. Are they there? I don't have any."

In relation to Westtown's future, I ask if anything will change. Khuthala says: "Nothing (will change). They will put those toilets, then leave again."

Khathala, as an active organizer with local social movement organizations that framed their work through the language of "active citizenship," here rejects the belief that her own nominal inclusion in democratic citizenship denotes her access to rights. Even though she daily works to engage her neighbors in campaigns seeking improvements to

basic services, policing, and health care, the persistent material exclusions of everyday life demonstrate the latency of democratic inclusion. Her narrative reinforces an understanding of citizenship as one founded not only in abstract political inclusion, but in the material markers of modernity (Hart 2008).

More than a year and a half later, in September 2015, I return to visit Westtown and meet with Khuthala. We walk through the community and I note the continued reliance upon bucket toilets. What had happened with the flush toilets that the City had been planning, and which the community had still hoped for when I left a few months after the discussion with Cebu, the city worker? It was, Khuthala said, another empty promise, maybe a way to "look busy" before elections. She said she never again saw Cebu in Westtown, nor had she heard explanations for the failures to move forward with sanitation infrastructure project. Few had believed even that the city planning would result in infrastructure construction; as another Westtown resident had cynically said of the city's plans: "That's what they say with their mouths." Khuthala remained involved in local leadership in 2015, which should have meant frequent interaction with the ward councillor; but, he, too, had long been absent from Westtown's community meetings. Her hopes for working through formal municipal processes in order to access services for her community had, yet again, hit a dead end.

For Khuthala and Westtown—as for community leaders in Zanele and other informal settlements—permanent and sufficient infrastructure for basic services existed only in an elusive future, the promise of which was steadily waning. Her attempts to engage with city staff and elected officials, even around specific and publicized plans to build infrastructure within her community, produced nothing. Her work evaporated in the

absence of realizable accountability, lost to processes of urban planning that defaulted to privatized, temporary, or pre-existing services. Material and political marginalization is thus reproduced in the disjuncture between neoliberal practices and democratic promise; the collapsing of democratic potentiality within the space of the marginalized periphery.

This dissertation argues for an examination of this nexus through the scope of infrastructural assemblages, which acutely bring together everyday material and political everyday worlds. Indeed, social relationships and material landscapes are co-produced through the practices of governance and the everyday experiences related to infrastructure in urban margins. To understand the politics of this production, I examine in my three articles the practices and rhetorics of participation which link municipal governance to daily life.

My first article, "Making Experience Legible: Spaces of Participation and the Construction of Knowledge in Khayelitsha" (Storey 2014), examines how the practices of "invented" community participatory spaces critique the processes of "invited" municipal processes (Cornwall 2002; Cornwall and Coelho 2007). As community members engaged in a social audit that evaluated the delivery of sanitation services to informal settlements under a municipal contract with a private company, residents linked everyday experiences with infrastructure to data collected in the audit. The result was the production of a situated knowledge (Haraway 1991) which presented legitimacy for experience at urban margins, and offered a critique of municipal practices of participatory governance which reinforce technocratic knowledge and re-craft citizens as customers of the neoliberal city.

My second article, "'I dump it in that dirty place': Ecological Care and Neoliberal Responsibility in South African Informal Settlements," argues that neoliberal policies and practices rely upon a logic of individual responsibility that serves to blame informal settlement residents for the persistent inadequacies they experience in access to basic service. Through an examination of public service campaigns produced in 2015 by the City of Cape Town, I identify the government's approach to individual action as one that decontextualizes both limited formal infrastructure and the everyday actions necessitated in spaces of infrastructural violence (Rodgers and O'Neill 2012). In juxtaposition, I present ethnographic data about the experience of everyday life in the Zanele informal settlement, including the complex social and material relationships that result in the production of shared dumping sites. My analysis of everyday actions as representing a politicized logic of care, which links space, infrastructure, waste, and daily life in overtly political frames, draws from literature in medical (Mol 2008; Wool and Messinger 2012), environmental anthropology (Escobar 2008; Rademacher 2011), and urban political ecology (Lawhon, Ernston, and Silver 2014; Silver 2014). I argue that analyses of everyday practices *as* care forces us to rework neoliberal rhetorics and identify the critical need for examining spaces of informal urbanism (Simone 2004a; Pieterse 2008).

My third article, "Contradictions of Capacity-Building: Knowledge, Time, and Participatory Development in Cape Town's Informal Settlements," examines how the active involvement of informal settlement residents in participatory planning processes results in further marginalization. Through a discussion of the engagement of Zanele residents in an NGO-directed and nationally-funded participatory development project, I argue that participation's focus on building capacity can be understood through a double

contradiction: “capacity building” assumes both that knowledge must be created, even while relying upon it already existing; and, that NGO-assisted agency is necessary for development to occur, although still insufficient. These contradictions are managed through a chronopolitics of participatory work—understandings of time that works to justify and subsume these paradoxes. This article engages with work on the temporality of infrastructure and development (Larkin 2008; Auyero 2012; Hetherington 2014), contributing a mechanism through which internal contradictions are managed and developmental subjectivities reproduced.

In sum, these article present participatory logics, practices, and policies as central to understanding the problematic intersection of neoliberalism and democracy in informal urban spaces.

Future Research Directions

Based upon this research, I have developed a series of future research questions. This work starts from more theoretical questions on place and goes on to applied examinations of the practices of constructing informal infrastructure.

How can an examination of informal and everyday infrastructural assemblages challenge divisions between public and private services? How might this help us think through people’s complex negotiations with neoliberal service provision? As scholars work to examine the techno-political terrain of neoliberal urban infrastructure as it manifests across national and local scales (von Schnitzler 2008, 2013, 2014), neat divisions between public and private infrastructure are troubled. Drawing from work in philosophy (Honig 2013), in addition to urban political ecology (Bakker 2000, 2003; Gandy 2004; Swyngedouw 2004, 2005), we must ask what it means for community

members to face increasingly limited public services. How do changes in access re-work ideas about the "public-ness" of infrastructure itself?

How might we understand the work of social movements on service access in terms of environmental justice? Does this framework offer a clear perspective for analysis, representing the claims and need of communities in South Africa? Or, is another framework warranted? As anthropologists and other social scientists increasingly engage with questions of social justice and environment in cities of the global south (Auyero and Swinstun 2009; Rademacher 2011; Björkman 2015), an existing framework of environmental justice based primarily on North American examples (Bullard 1990; Checker 2005; Sze 2006; Little 2014) needs to incorporate the complex experiences of injustice globally.

How is democratic participation changing in terms of engagement in elections and perspectives on the role of voting in terms of the material promises of citizenship? From my observation of the 2011 and 2014 elections, I found that a complicated relationship existed between party politics and local discontent in Cape Town. While residents of Khayelitsha voted largely for the ANC and EFF, in interviews many residents expressed their dissatisfaction with the processes and internal workings of all party politics. While discord around infrastructure is plainly evident in Cape Town and in other cities, as discussed in my introductory chapter, relationships to parties as representatives of memory and struggle are far more complicated (Robins 2008; von Schnitzler 2008; Hart 2011). Further research around voting and elections would allow an examination of the political terrain of informality that included this critical aspect.

How might access to land in urban centers, versus in peripheries, change the spatial and political landscape of the city post-Apartheid? This question builds from my existing research connections to link into a new social movement launched in March 2016 by several NGOs in Cape Town, seeking to change the city's location of affordable housing from edges to centers (Ndifuna Ukwai 2016). This campaign offers a fascinating site for research, as they attempt to link together tenant rights and access to land across multiple demographics. The work of the movement to identify central city plots that may be open for construction, and to imagine the reworkings of urban space, present new ways to engage movements as producers of knowledge (Escobar 2008; Casas-Cortés, Osterweil, and Powell 2008; Pithouse 2008; Oldfield 2015).

As policy approaches to the delivery of basic services and housing continue to change in the municipality, how do residents of informal settlements see the relationship between their presence on land and their collective valuations? In other words, how are feeling of "place" related to experiences within informality? This question builds from Augé's work on non-place and supermodernity, in which he posits that sites imagined as those of transit, and thus without historical meaning, are removed from an understanding of modernity (1995). Questions about the power associated with ideas about space and belonging can be found in further critical work within the discipline (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Calderia 2000; Low 2000; Abu El-Haj 2001; Holston 2008; Bank 2011).

From an applied perspective, how does the creation and maintenance of informal infrastructure intersect with everyday life? What are the labor draws of this work, and how is expertise created? How are social relationships within a community built, or frayed, by the work needed to access services outside of formal provision? These

questions link to more theoretical work on the incrementalism of informal service access within African cities (Pieterse 2008; Silver 2014), asking not for the meaning of these practices but, instead, for an understanding of their implications for praxis and sociality.

Concluding Thoughts

This dissertation argues that we should look to the daily practices and political engagements of marginalized communities to understand the intersection of neoliberal and democratic governance within the global south. Cape Town offers a particularly interesting site for critical examination, as a result of its complex social and political history (Besteman 2008). Although representative of the rapid expansion of urban informality, the persistent marginality of these communities, and the rush towards neoliberal governance across South Africa in the post-Apartheid era, the particularities of Cape Town's relationship with Khayetlisha offer a unique and important site of examination. The residential segregation of the city, and its unique political positioning between competing parties, present the necessity of addressing politicized memories and histories in understandings of lived experience.

With infrastructure expanding as a category of ethnographic objects (cf. Star 1999; Larkin 2008, 2013; Anand 2012; Hetherington 2014; Björkman 2015; Howe et al 2015), we are faced with questions on the materiality of their politics and particular social relationships (Miller 2005). For neoliberal practices and policies around infrastructure, which rely upon techno-political terrains that re-forge citizen-state relationships as those of consumer-provider (von Schnitlzer 2008, 2013), the experiences of marginalized communities becomes critical for contextual readings of infrastructure.

An approach that marries the examination of material and political understandings of infrastructure forces us to see the implications of access to services as not only central to everyday conceptualizations of citizenship, but also for understanding the unique difficulties of social movements working within this terrain. As my second article argues, the daily practices of "making do" at un-serviced urban margins become a foundation for the city's denial of further services. Thus, when communities use their means of constructing informal services, or live within landscapes of waste that are the result of inadequate sanitation services from the city, their daily lives and practices are framed as evidence of their irresponsibility and inadequacy as citizens. As everyday actions of informal residents are increasingly presented by the city within this logic, and concurrently understood this way popularly, social movements attempting to mobilize the residents face a wider public who utilize the circular rhetoric of the city to justify further marginalization of informal residents. An understanding of the connections between policies, practices, and logics of neoliberal governance is thus critical for examining the reproduction of marginality in the post-Apartheid city.

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