Social capital for whom?

A case study of the implementation and practices of community-led enumerations in

Stellenbosch Municipality 2011-2013

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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party right and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Abstract

In the 2010 Human Sciences Research Council Review, Robert Mongwe had a two-page entry on *Race, Class and Housing in post-apartheid Cape Town* (Mongwe 2010: 18-19). Mongwe explores the question of whether housing policy in South Africa since the end of apartheid, may have been "paying disproportionate attention to recent migrants living in informal settlements" at the expense of addressing the needs of "coloureds and Africans who were born and bred in apartheid-era townships" (Mongwe, 2010:18). Informal settlements have become the most spectacular and visible material manifestation of poverty in South African. They hold appeal for politicians, activists and tourists. The 'environmentally degraded informal settlement in a rapidly growing city" (Parnell and Mosdell 2003:1), one may argue, has thus also become the site for some of the most desired and most spectacular confrontations between political parties, residents and local government to contest the battle to defeat poverty. There is, I argue, a sort of 'fetishisation' of informal settlements in the contemporary South African urban space. It has homogenised urban poverty and biased development focus to informal settlements, with potentially detrimental effects in how local governments may approach poverty alleviation and sustainable development in their jurisdictions.

Drawing on field work within the Stellenbosch Municipality and survey data from the Municipality's collaboration with Slum Dwellers International (SDI) affiliated SA SDI Alliance between 2011-2013, I look at their efforts to make poverty legible and act on it through importing SDI data methodologies and practices for organising communities in relation to the Municipality. As a consequence of partly being blinded by sight, and accepting almost a default position of where poverty resided in the Stellenbosch Municipality, they may have perpetuated the trend Mongwe describes and, as a consequence, lost an opportunity to sustainably grow

politically relevant social capital for the poor and the institutionalisation of SDI's community organisation practices within the Municipality.

In November 2011, upon request from the Manager of the Stellenbosch Municipality's newly created Informal Settlements Department, Slum Dwellers International (SDI), the global network of the urban poor, through its local affiliate network, the SA SDI Alliance formally partnered with the Municipality in November 2011. I focus on the activities and processes of the formal MoU signed between the parties to generate better and more accurate data and knowledge for planning and development interventions for poor communities within the Municipality. Through a case study approach, and drawing on participant observation field work research within the Municipality and GIS and survey data analysis, I describe and analyse these efforts. SDI, sees the data collection processes, which it has been honing across the Global South since the late 1970s, as a process through which urban poor communities may take a lead in development planning as a means to gain social and political capital – a means, as it were, to emancipation and participation for the poor in the democratic processes of their cities.

I cast my research against/within the themes of social capital development drawing on, among other, the conceptualisations of Elinor Ostrom, James Coleman and Anirudh Krishna, as well as, Elisabeth Povinelli's concept of social belonging.

Opsomming

In die 2010 Human Sciences Research Council Review het Robert Mongwe ń tweebladsy-inskrywing oor ras, klas en behuising in post-apartheid Kaapstad geskryf. Mongwe ondersoek die vraag of behuisingsbeleid in Suid-Afrika sedert die einde van apartheid moontlik "oneweredige aandag aan onlangse migrante wat in informele nedersettings bly" (Mongwe,

2010:18) gegee het, ten koste van die aanspreking van die behoeftes van "bruinmense en Afrikane wat gebore en getoë in die apartheid-era formele nedersettings is" (Mongwe, 2010:18). Informele nedersettings het die mees skouspelagtige en sigbare materiële manifestasie van armoede in Suid-Afrika geword. Hulle is aanloklik vir politici, aktiviste en toeriste. Die "omgewingsaftakelende informele nedersetting in 'n snelgroeiende stad" (Parnell en Mosdell 2003), 'n mens mag aanvoer, het dus ook die setel geword vir sommige van die mees gewenste en mees skouspelagtige konfrontasies tussen politieke partye, inwoners en die plaaslike regering om die stryd om armoede te oorkom, teen te staan.

Ek wil graag aanvoer dat 'n tipe 'fetisjering' van informele nedersettings in die hedendaagse Suid-Afrikaanse stedelike ruimte bestaan wat bevooroordeeld is teenoor informele nedersettings, en dit het stedelike armoede gehomogeniseer, met potensiële skadelike gevolge in die manier hoe plaaslike regerings armoedeverligting mag benader in hul jurisdiksie-gebied.

Uitgaande van veldwerk binne die Stellenbosch Munisipaliteit en opnamedata van die Munisipaliteit se samewerking met Slum Dwellers International (SDI) se geaffilieerde SA SDI Alliance tussen 2011 en 2013, kyk ek na hulle pogings om armoede interpreteerbaar te maak en daarop te reageer deur SDI data metodes en praktyke in te voer om gemeenskappe binne die Munisipaliteit te organiseer. As 'n gevolg van gedeeltelike verblinding deur sig en deur amper 'n verstek-posisie te aanvaar van waar armoede in die Stellenbosch Munisipaliteit aanwesig was, het hulle moontlik die tendens bevorder wat Mongwe beskryf en as 'n gevolg die geleentheid verloor het om op 'n volhoubare manier polities-relevante maatskaplike kapitaal vir die armes te kweek en die*i*nstitutionalisering van SDI se gemeenskapsorganisasie praktyke binne die Munisipaliteit.

In November 2011, op versoek van die Bestuurder van die Stellenbosch Munisipaliteit se nuutgeskepte Departement van Informele Nedersettings en Slum Dwellers International (SDI), die globale netwerk van die stedelike armes, deur sy plaaslike geaffilieerde netwerk, het die SA SDI Alliance formeel met die Munisipaliteit in November 2011 in vennootskap getree.

Ek fokus op die aktiwiteite en prosesse van die formele Memorandum van Verstandhouding (MvV)wat tussen die partye geteken is om beter en meer akkurate data en kennis vir beplannings- en ontwikkelings-intervensies vir arm gemeenskappe binne die Munisipaliteit te genereer. Ek beskryf en analiseer hierdie pogings deur 'n gevallestudie-benadering en konsentreer op deelnemende waarneming veldwerk-navorsing binne die Munisipaliteit, opname-data-analise en maak ook gebruik van geografiese inligtingstel vir verdere analise.

SDI beskou die data-insamelingsprosesse, wat die organisasie sedert die laat 1970's dwarsdeur die Globale Suide geslyp het, as 'n proses waardeur stedelike arm gemeenskappe die leiding mag neem binne ontwikkelingsbeplanning as 'n manier om maatskaplike en politieke kapitaal te werf – 'n manier om, as 't ware, bevryding en deelname vir die arm mense in die demokratiese prosesse van hul stede te bekom. My navorsing fokus op temas rondom maatskaplike kapitaalontwikkeling, onder andere die konseptualiserings van Elinor Ostrom, James Coleman en Anirudh Krishna, asook Elisabeth Povinelli se begrip van social te behoort.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the staff of the Stellenbosch Municipality Informal Settlement Management Department. Your everyday courage and dedication to transforming the lives and living conditions of the poor in this Municipality remains very much underappreciated.

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Acronyms

ANC   – African National Congress

BNG   – Breaking New Ground Policy

CORC   – Community Organisations Resource Centre

FEDUP   – Federation of the Urban and Rural Poor

ISN   – Informal Settlements Network

MOU   – Memorandum of Understanding

PfD   – Partnership for Development

RDP   – Reconstruction and Development Program

SDI   – Slum Dwellers International

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Chapter1: Introduction

"If there is a typical 'face of poverty' in South Africa then this picture is no longer only a rural woman engaged in subsistence agricultural production. It is an HIV positive child living in an environmentally degraded informal settlement in a rapidly growing city – without services and subjected to organised and household violence and vulnerable to global economic political regime changes" (Parnell and Mosdell, 2003:1).

"In twenty years what has been done in New York to solve the tenement-house problem?

The law has done what it could. That was not always a great deal, seldom more than barely sufficient for the moment. An aroused municipal conscience endowed the Health Department with almost autocratic powers in dealing with this subject, but the desire to educate rather than force the community into a better way dictated their exercise with a slow conservatism that did not always seem wise to the impatient reformer." (Riis, 1890: 144)

This is vignette about the faces and spaces of poverty and impatient reformers. Poverty has remained an enduring part of our social condition. To make visible who the poor are and where they live has been a sustained effort for much of our modern history. Ameliorating, alleviating and eradicating poverty, has for long been a worthy moral and human ambition and pursuit.

From Charles Dickens' vivid descriptions of its horrors visited upon especially children in industrialising London (*David Copperfield, 1863*), Charles Booth's poverty maps (available at booth.lse.ac.uk), Jacob Riis' flashlight lit photography and descriptions of the lives of the poor and their living conditions in late 19th century New York City tenements (Riis 1890), to Charles Baudelairre's poetry - some of the major themes within *Le Spleen de Paris* ((1869) 2009) include the city and poverty. The World Bank's annual conference on Land and Poverty since 1999 has maintained the importance of poverty alleviation as a political imperative. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) till 2015 had the eradication of poverty as its primary goal (see: https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/) and the new global development agenda the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2016 – 2030, primary goal it to end poverty (see: https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdgs) .

As a social phenomenon, poverty has its own particular artefacts, objects, subjects and potential for making and imagining alternative social worlds. And for those interested in such artefacts and imaginings of alternative social worlds, I wish to argue such emerged within the context of the Partnership for Development (PfD) between Stellenbosch Municipality and SDI through its local SA SDI Alliance codified in November 2011 Memorandum of Understanding (MoU 2011). This MoU was a concrete move for the Municipality towards progressive local government and alleviating poverty within it most depressed spaces, as well as, as response to the violent service delivery protests that threatened municipalities across the country and were conceptualised by Alexander (2010) as the rebellion of the poor. Within the SA SDI Alliance the Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC), is the professional support organisation and the Informal Settlements Network (ISN), Federation of the Urban Poor (FEDUP) and Utshani Fund are the social movement community-based organisations. CORC

| ISN would be the alliance partners interacting most directly with the Municipality on a day-day basis.

The focus of this thesis is to explore the category of 'the urban poor' as a concept, and the concept of politically relevant social capital, and how these were conceptualised and operationalised within the work and practices of the MoU 2011. The SDI rituals of data collection or enumeration, savings and learning exchanges to organise and transfer knowledge and skills between informal settlement residents, have long been positioned as a means that would generate social and political capital for communities and in so doing strengthening their capacity to negotiate and build relationships with their local government (Arputham, 2012; Chitekwe-Biti et al, 2012, Farouk and Owusu, 2012; Patel and Baptist, 2012; Patel, Baptist and D'Cruz, 2012; Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2013; Beukes, 2015). I explore the potential of these practices as they unfolded within the context of the MoU 2011 and informal settlement upgrading processes to generate politically relevant social capital for the urban poor in general within Stellenbosch Municipality.

I draw on La Due Lake and Huckfeldt's (1998) conceptualisation of politically relevant social capital as "social capital that facilitates political engagement…that is produced as the consequence of political expertise and information that is regularly communicated within an individual's network of social relations" (La Due Lake and Huckfeldt, 1998:570). The ways in which SDI federations organise, transfer knowledge and build their social networks within and between settlements and then leverage these practices and social relations for gaining access to government and other relevant stakeholders, is an almost textbook expression of La Due Lake and Huckfeldt's conception of politically relevant social capital. With a local

government committed to informal settlement upgrading and having expressed that commitment with a resourced agreement, the conditions for the informal settlement communities to participate within their development in a meaningful manner were close to ideal.

In the MoU 2011, the Municipality expressed its desire to "improve the circumstances of residents of informal settlements and backyard precincts within its jurisdiction" (Stellenbosch Municipality, 2011:1). The MoU 2011 included as an annexure a list of 22 informal settlement and backyarder communities recognised by the Municipality, and which would be included in the work to be covered by the MoU 2011. The Municipality further expressed its awareness that the improvement of conditions within these settlements "could be achieved by a participative and incremental approach to each project" (Stellenbosch Municipality, 2011:1). As the implementing agent, CORC, along with its alliance partners (ISN and FEDUP), agreed to be the "provider of technical expertise and seed capital for participative and incremental programs" (Stellenbosch Municipality, 2011) to support the improvements desired by the Municipality within the informal settlement and backyarder communities within the Municipality. The MoU 2011 included a list of, and budget lines for, particular services to be provided, that both parties agreed would achieve the objectives of the agreement. The activities would include:

1) Building an urban poor platform through a network of informal settlements and backyarders;

2) Developing infrastructure and human capacity in informal settlements and informal backyards to manage partnership projects;

3) Engaging local government and other tiers of government through hosting dialogues and participating in exchanges.

The partners also agreed to "establish municipal wide forums on urban development" (Stellenbosch Municipality, 2011:23) by establishing links with other institutions like universities and NGOs at both local and international levels. They would also research and design a "financial facility that [would] incentivise community participation in informal settlement upgrading" (Stellenbosch Municipality, 2011:23). The final component of the agreement was to document the process for the purposes of "learning, monitoring and evaluation" (Stellenbosch Municipality, 2011:23) so that the knowledge derived, would contribute to the methodologies and policies for municipal wide informal settlement upgrading within Stellenbosch Municipality.

The total budget for the 2011/2012 financial year to resource the MoU 2011 was ZAR 3,5 million. The bulk of this was the Municipality's financial contribution at ZAR 2 million, with the remainder contributed by the implementing partner. The largest part (55%) of this budget, ZAR 1.935 million was for partnership projects within the informal settlements and backyard communities. These collectively identified projects around the "provision of basic services, aligning with Neighbourhood Revitalisation and the Integrated Development Plan (IDP)" (Stellenbosch Municipality 2011) of the Municipality would include the enumeration and data collection activities, which would command a total budget line of R 400 000 (Stellenbosch Municipality 2011).

This massive financial contribution by the Municipality would greatly impact the already skewed power differentials between the partners. Further, the signing of the MoU 2011 was taking place within a climate of what an Isandla Institute discussion paper described as South

African civil society considering much of the participatory processes of local government as "be state-driven and -determined" (Isandla Institute, 2012:5). According to the Good Governance Learning Network (GGLN), there was a perception among civil society actors at the time that the participatory spaces created by local governments for consultation with communities were very much "invited spaces" (GGLN, 2011:120) "with limited participatory potential" (ibid) and formalised and accessed on government's terms. As I will elaborate in detail further on, the Municipality initiated contact with SDI and invited them into the Municipality. The process of engagement and dialogue between the Municipality and the informal settlement residents did not emerge from bottom-up mobilisation and organisation by the communities by means of SDI's ritualised practices of women-led savings, data collection and peer-peer learning. Within the context of the history of segregation in Stellenbosch, the Municipality was very much still an aggressive and unapproachable opposition in the perception and memories of the majority of its residents. Furthermore, the Municipality with its generous resourcing of the activities of the MoU 2011, tilted the balance of real and perceived power and control, even more to its side.

However, there was nothing symbolic or contrite about the intentions and implementation of the MoU 2011. It may have lacked for in legitimacy and acceptability from the point of view civil society or other actors. It may even have maintained the power relations between State and citizens, especially in Stellenbosch. However, South Africa is generally a big social State with a large social care apparatus for the poor and indigent and as such the State's power is almost inevitable where it co-insides with the rights and entitlements of poor and vulnerable citizens. However, for all its real and imagined shortcomings, it was anything but insincere and I would witness officials often putting their careers and even bodies on the line in its defence and need to exist.

Who is SDI?

SDI has been at the forefront of making poverty visible in the cities in which it works and sounding the 'voice of the urban poor' in local and global dialogues for alternatives to evictions and collaborative in-situ upgrading between city governments and their poor. The distinction in SDI around the voice *of* the urban poor rather than a voice *for* the urban poor is an attempt, according to SDI, to return subjectivity to a population that has been rendered the 'object of development'. In order for development to function, one may argue, it has historically required the complicity of science to render for it the objects upon which it can exert itself. Part of SDI's success one may argue, has been to make science complicit in its practice to show the poor as capable drivers and not recipients of development and poverty alleviation.

SDI is a networked social movement of federated community-based organisations founded on alliances of women-led savings groups and their supporting NGOs, or professional support organisations (PSOs) as they are now known (see: http://knowyourcity.info/who-is-sdi/about-us/). Through daily or weekly savings, members save small amounts of money collectively in savings groups. Saving money together is the foundation of building trust within the group and it provides a personal and collective safety net upon which members can draw (see: http://knowyourcity.info/our-practices-for-change/). At the personal level, savers often save for a specific purpose such as provision for school fees for their children, improving and maintaining their dwellings and even building entire houses. At the collective level, when sufficient resources are available, members can access their collective funds for loans during emergencies such as health care, or over the longer term to set up income-generating projects.

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For small community projects such as drainages or water tanks, members also use their savings to cover 20% (twenty percent) of the cost of the project and simultaneously this contribution may be used to leverage a low interest loan for SDI's Urban Poor Fund International (UPFI) for the remaining 80% cost of the project. The loan is the collective responsibility of the group or savings scheme and members within the group assume horizontal accountability for each other to maintain repayments. This model then aggregates at the network level where SDI uses the collective monetary capital of the network and the contributions of savers to leverage donor and grant funding to support programs and fund the UPFI (http://www.upfi.info/home/).

Data collection in SDI has its origins in the slums of 1970s Mumbai, when slum communities began using self-enumeration or self-census to collect data about their communities in order to stay evictions of their settlements (Arputham, 2012:27-30). According to Patel and Baptiste (2012) writing on the need for slum dwellers to count themselves, to be counted "implies that you are considered part of the legal city (Patel and Baptiste, 2012:1), i.e. that you have social and political agency. The task of self-enumeration thus provides a means for marginalised communities to organise themselves and become statistically visible to authorities and build confidence within their own capacity to change things in their settlements. As the late SDI president Jockin Arputham (Arputham, 2012:27) put it,

> Doing the enumeration also helps to mobilise the people living there. Ask them to go and count the number of poles and they do so and report back. This helps to organise the community so the community does not

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depend on outsiders. This is doing their own documentation. It does not require a big education to count the poles. Even illiterate people can collect this information. So we used enumerations not only to collect information but also to help the community organise.

It is the assertion of SDI that these data collection and mobilisation practices make poverty and the poor in cities visible and that it also creates and fosters social and political capital for poor communities – i.e. a means towards emancipation and participation for the poor in democratic processes as they come to co-produce not only knowledge, but also the social infrastructure to enable and sustain localised participatory development. Federation members use both local and global peer-peer learning exchanges to share and transfer knowledge and skills around savings, data collection practices and project development and implementation.

The data collection practices and tools of SDI include; informal settlement profiling, mapping and enumeration – the door-door surveying of slum households. Collectively these data collection practices are also known as the enumeration. The enumeration in SDI is a powerful method and practice, by means of which marginal populations have successfully co-opted and inverted the power of statistical visibility. Enumerations and statistical representations are, as Hacking asserts, "part of the technology of power in a modern state" (Hacking, 1991:181). Statistics is a language of expert knowledge and expert knowledge is the purview of governmentality.

Governmentality, conceptualised, by Michel Foucault, refers to the particular form of rational government that emerges post-sovereign power, as opposed to the centrality of overt violence

and force as a requirement for governing by a sovereign (Foucault 1991). It requires expert knowledge of populations as "it links technologies of the self with technologies of domination, the constitution of the subject to the formation of the state" (Lemke, 2002:3). In an effort to describe the collective practices by means of which ordinary citizens have come to invert the power of statistics, Bruno and Didier in 2013, "coined" (Bruno, Didier and Vitale, 2014:199) the concept 'statactivism' to refer to the ways in which social movements have re-appropriated "statistics' power of denunciation" (Bruno, Didier, Vitale 2014:199) and operationalised and actioned statistics for action between "disclosure and affirmation" (Bruno, Didier, Vitale 2014:200).

By insisting on collecting their own data and designing and managing the practices and process that support it, SDI federations have been able to effectively "challenge the representations" (Bruno, Didier, Vitale 2014:200) of the reality and lived experience of urban poverty. Concluding on the need for slum dwellers to produce their own data, Patel and Baptiste (2012) concluded: "the capacity to produce relevant and up-to-date, detailed data through surveys, mapping and enumeration remains one of the powerful ways in which they [slum dwellers] do contribute to solutions – and get their voice heard and respected" (Patel and Baptiste, 2012:9). This moves slums dweller communities to co-producers of not only information, but also the design and implementation of solutions in their settlements.

Diana Mitlin (2008) argues, "co-production has been primarily considered as a route to improve the delivery of services, and it has rarely been considered as a route through which the organised urban poor may choose to consolidate their local organisation base and augment their capacity to negotiate successfully with the state" (Mitlin, 2008:340). For example,

between 2006 – 2009, the Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor (GHAFUP) and their support NGO, People's Dialogue on Human Settlements, successfully used enumerations in Old Fadama, Accra's largest slum, to make visible the large scale economic activity and contribution of the slum, provide a more accurate account of population numbers and change "government's perspective on informal settlements and helped shape policy away from forced evictions toward participatory relocations or rehabilitation" (Farouk and Owusu, 2012:47). According to Farouk and Owusu, the enumeration of Old Fadama cleared up the dispute around population numbers in the settlement and stay the imminent threat of eviction "as the community suddenly had a face; there was some data about it, some public recognition of its existence and some organisational capacity that gave residents a new voice in civic affairs" (Farouk and Owusu, 2012:51). In addition, even though the community had to go through several enumerations with new local governments, it lend traction to the Federation's recognition within the community and at the level of the State that they were a serious and dedicated development partner committed to a long term agenda to upgrade settlements, but also move government policy into a positive direction for slum dwellers in Accra.

Similarly, in Zimbabwe, "a settlement profile, mapping and enumeration of Magada, an informal settlement in the town of Epworth just outside of Harare" (Chitekwe-Biti et al, 2012: 131) would come to provide the basis for an innovative and "first of its kind" *(ibid)* in-situ upgrading approach between residents, local and national government. In this plan, residents were able to express their own development priorities and influence the design of the settlement plan (Chitekwe-Biti et al, 2012: 131).

Through their self-organisation and defining which data and information to collect, these communities generate discussion within and between their settlements, form networks and strengthen leadership capacity. According to Patel and Baptiste (2012), to "produce the information about current situations […] allow […] residents to assess the problems they face, understand their own resources and consider their priorities" (Patel and Baptiste, 2012:8). This enables them to collectively engage in dialogue among themselves and with their local governments and negotiate for improvements and upgrades of services based on their own agenda, rather than being reduced to recipients or beneficiaries of development. These practices have not only succeeded in defining a constituency for slum dwellers within their cities, but have contributed to what Bruno, Didier and Vitale (2014) would describe as some of the hallmarks of statactivism, By making real the existence of "other numbers and other possibilities" (Bruno, Didier and Vitale, 2014:212), "defending and producing new categories" (Bruno, Didier and Vitale, 2014:209) and "redefining the objectives of public action" (Bruno, Didier and Vitale, 2014:211).

My thesis will examine and interrogate the efforts of the Partnership for Development to make poverty visible and legible and design interventions to alleviate poverty by effectively trying to 'import' SDI data methodologies and its other rituals and practices for organising communities into the Municipality – a context which had no history of organic emerging and growing of these practices. As such, it asks whether the urban poor in the Municipality were in fact made visible by the community-led data collection activities as anticipated and whether they gained the promised social and political capital to participate in the development of their communities? Or, did political motivations and bias, under-appreciation of context, and lack of capacity on the part of the implementing agents to absorb and adapt to a quickly evolving process which included powerful political actors within both the municipality and local

communities, colour how and where these activities were implemented and impact on the potential success of the programme? Was this effort to become just another expensive and costly development project or did it open up new ways to think of and innovate progressive and participatory local government programmatically within the Municipality?

I would argue, that perhaps as a consequence of partly being blinded by sight, petty politicking and accepting an almost default position of where poverty resided in the Stellenbosch Municipality, these well-meaning actors may have perpetuated the trend Mongwe (2010) describes and potentially lost an opportunity to sustainably grow politically relevant social capital for the poor and the institutionalisation of SDI's community organisation practices within the Municipality. Perceptions and re-active decision making may have skewed and won over empirical facts and informed decision making focused on the longer term and sustainability. Through a case study approach, I describe the efforts of co-production for participatory and collaborative informal settlement upgrading and reflect on their potential success and contributions to progressive local government, despite not achieving and completing many of its visionary plans.

I spend approximately two years from the beginning of 2012 with my Honours project to the end of October 2013, the first year of my Master's research, working within the Informal Settlements Department as an intern. I focus on the activities and processes of the formal MoU (2011) and in particular on the efforts to generate better and more accurate data and knowledge for planning development interventions for the informal settlement communities within the Municipality. I draw on field work within the Stellenbosch Municipality from my time as an

intern, survey data from the Municipality's collaboration with the SA SDI Alliance between 2011-2013 and the South African Census 2011.

While the Census 2011 collected detailed data on informal settlements and backyarder communities, the Informal Settlements Department of the Municipality still felt "partially blind" (Scott, 1998:18). The poor were illegible to the State. There was no "detailed map" (ibid) of who they were, where they were and, most importantly, the Municipality needed what Scott describes as a measure, a metric, that would allow it to render what it knew into a common standard necessary for synoptic view of the upgrading of informal settlements (UISP) and may have felt that their "interventions were…crude and self-defeating" (Scott, 1998:18). Generating grounded and local knowledge about the poor populations within its jurisdiction was seen by the newly formed Informal Settlements Management Department within the Stellenbosch Municipality (SM) as crucial to delivering on its mandate. Like other municipalities and government entities in the country, the Municipality relied on the authority of the National Census for data to inform their planning, and felt that this data was not adequate. A 2013 report by the Housing Development Agency (HDA), the South African government agency "mandated to assist organs of State with the upgrading of informal settlements" (HDA, 2013:5), acknowledges the limitations of the Census 2011 data available for analysis and variables unavailable for analysis (HDA, 2013:6). Such data, for example, as the "material of main dwelling, age of dwelling and relationship to head of household" (HDA, 2013:6) considered by the HDA as "pertinent" (HDA, 2013:6) for the upgrading of informal settlements, was not available from the Census.

Chapter 2: Background and Research Question

2.1 The urban poor in South Africa

Racialised spatial segregation under apartheid (Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950 and Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950), and the social and material dispossession it accompanied, in the making of the urban South African socio-economic, political and cultural geography informs with "a long hand the misery that befalls" (Buck-Morss, 1991), the urban poor in South African cities today. Segregation, influx control and access to lower levels of education and limited job opportunity, all contributed to poverty in cities then and today. Seekings and Natrass (2005:330) describe it as follows:

> If the most advantaged segment of the black population consisted of the urban insiders (those with section 10 rights under the pass laws), then the most disadvantaged were the families of farm workers evicted from white-owned farms in the 1970s and dumped in remote bantustans at a time of high unemployment; resettled without any access to agricultural land and lacking education, nonagricultural skills, access to schools, or contacts in urban areas, they (and their children) were sentenced to enduring poverty.

And this poverty, one could argue, would endure in new forms in the cities of post-apartheid South Africa. Seekings and Natrass have shown how the remarkably high levels of inter-racial inequality at the end of apartheid "resulted, directly and indirectly, from the apartheid distributional regime" (Seekings and Natrass, 2005:168). Post-apartheid, as the distributional regime began shifting and more black Africans were entering income levels in the top deciles, it would be the intra-racial, i.e. the within-racial, inequality that would widen within the black

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African population (Seekings and Natrass, 2005: 300-345). In addition, a slowing economy and high unemployment rates and low capacity within local and the national government to deal with a changing urban demographic and demand on urban services would all contribute to maintaining poverty overwhelmingly along 'race'.

Informal settlements have become the most spectacular and visible material manifestation of poverty in South African. They hold appeal for politicians, activists and tourists. The "environmentally degraded informal settlement in a rapidly growing city" (Parnell and Mosdell, 2003), one may argue, has also become the site for some of the most spectacular confrontations between political parties, residents and local government in the battle to defeat poverty. There is, I wish to argue, a sort of 'fetishisation' of informal settlements in the contemporary South African urban space that is biased towards informal settlements and has homogenised urban poverty, with potentially detrimental effects in how local governments may approach poverty alleviation in their jurisdictions. This fetishisation obscures and renders invisible the 'slow violence' (Nixon, 2011) of poverty and exclusion experienced by a population that might as well be as efficiently tucked away as the shacks they call home.

'The urban poor' is a concept so ubiquitous now that it often travels, or at least those who invoke it, expect it to travel, without friction as a self-contained noun. It is no longer, only, the once-upon-time description reserved for an economic and demographic category that emerged during the 1980s and 1990s as a result of "economic crisis and structural adjustment policies introduced in the Third World" (Wratten, 1995:11). Urban poverty is a complex systems problem, and the 'urban poor' a polyvalent and composite concept, embracing a wide spectrum of conditions departing from low incomes, levels of social and political inclusion/exclusion,

particular forms of insecurity with regards to access to education and livelihood opportunities, to food, security of tenure and political security. 'The urban poor' are hardly ever a homogenous group. 'The urban poor' may at once be a population and a class. With regards to class we would have to acknowledge that there is a stratification within, and that the degrees of deprivation, exclusion and access differ within the groups we may call 'poor' in cities, and that poverty itself is a term that can be measured in relative and absolute terms and thus fluctuates in meaning across different contexts.

Urban poverty is also a terrain occupied by competing groups and interests. Even in SDI this had become clear as early as the mid 1980s. The Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC) is the founding professional support organisation of the SDI Network (http://www.sparcindia.org). In 1985 SPARC initiated the census of pavement dwellers in Mumbai is response to the exclusion of pavement dwelling communities in the 1976 slum census by the government of Maharastra (Beukes 2015: 8-9). According to SPARC, "the obsessive concern with slums […] led to the neglect of pavement dwelling as presenting an equal – if not greater challenge to urban planning and development' of Indian cities (SPARC 1988: 6 cited in Beukes 2015:8-9). In the 2010 Human Sciences Research Council Review, Robert Mongwe wrote a two-page entry on *Race, Class and Housing in post-apartheid Cape Town* (HRSC 2010). Mongwe (2010) explores the question of whether housing policy in South Africa since the end of apartheid, may have been "paying disproportionate attention to recent migrants living in informal settlements" at the expense of addressing the needs of "coloureds and Africans who were born and bred in apartheid-era townships" (Mongwe, 2010:18).

2.2 Informal Settlements and Housing policy

By the early 2000s the backlog in the government's targeted and subsidised low-cost housing program was increasing. Research done by CORC and the ISN in Stellenbosch Municipality estimated that at the current rate of housing delivery within the Municipality, the current residents in its informal settlements could expect housing delivery in 130 years (Fieuw, 2013:5). Preliminary results from the enumerations completed, indicate a predominantly youthful population in informal settlements, with most residents between 16-35 years of age. At a rate of 300 low income housing units per year (Stellenbosch Municipality 2012:18), this cohort may in their lifetime, not access a formal house within the Municipality.

In 2004, the South African government introduced the Informal Settlement Upgrading Program (UISP) as part of its *'Breaking New Ground': A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements* policy (Huchzermeyer, 2006:41). UISP was developed within the context of the MDGs and therefore the 'Cities Without Slums' ethos of Cities Alliance (CA) [1]. A marked departure from the entirely housing delivery driven program of the Redistribution and Development Plan (RDP) model, the UISP acknowledged that informal settlements were a complex structural problem, and that housing delivery was only part of the solution. It was geared to approach informal settlement development as a 'long-term commitment' related to "poverty eradication, reducing vulnerability and promoting social inclusion" (Huchzermeyer, 2006:48). In its Third Generation Integrated Development Plan 2012-2017 (IDP), Stellenbosch Municipality included as part of its strategy "facilitating the progressive in-situ upgrading of informal settlements (Stellenbosch Municipality 2012:99).

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[1] Cities Alliance (CA) is the global partnership supporting cities to deliver sustainable development. Late President Nelson Mandela was a patron of CA and SDI is a Consultative Group Member of CA.

Informal settlements in South Africa faced two major challenges at the start of the first decade the 21st century.

1) The South African government was signatory to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), of which Goal 7 Target 11. The South African government would translate this into an "obligation" to eradicate slums by 2014. Huchzermeyer and Karam (2006:2) argue that MGD7, Target 11, was commonly invoked by political leaders to frame their commitment to deal with poverty and informal settlements.

2) Chronic poverty was still understood as a rural phenomenon, at the cost of paying attention to rising urban poverty. As Parnell and Mosdell (2003) argue, "post-apartheid demographic reality counters the stereotypes that have depicted South African cities as predominantly white, adult, male places: in fact, African women and children make up the bulk of the total urban population" (Parnell and Mosdell, 2003:3). Linked to this was that urban poverty was in general poorly understood or ignored.

According to Parnell and Mosdell, "[t]he legacy of apartheid means that African, coloured and Indian people, who form the majority of the urban population, bear the brunt of poverty". Further, given that inequality was on the increase within the old apartheid categories of race, the available classifications of poverty lacked nuance (Parnell and Mosdell, 2003:4). Seekings and Natrass argue that by the 1990's intra-racial class differences became even more entrenched in a society "thoroughly divided by class" (Seekings and Nattrass 2005:4). They continue that "under apartheid, discrimination within classes (by race) exaggerated the effect of inequalities between classes", but that, post-apartheid, "interclass inequality [became] the driving force of overall inequality" in South Africa (Seekings and Nattrass 2005:4).

2.3 Research Question

With a general lack of granular statistical data available on informal settlements around which to plan the provision of services, and a long history of mistrust between the local government and poor communities, the Municipality embraced the practice of community-led enumerations as a platform from which to engage communities – thus opening space for them at the negotiating table. The purpose of community- led enumerations were, within Stellenbosch Municipality, framed threefold. Firstly, the reports provide a *status-quo* of the settlements in terms of demographics and physical make-up to the Municipality. Secondly, the enumeration supplies the NGOs partners of the Municipality, CORC and Informal Settlements Network (ISN) with data to inform their community programs. Finally, the enumeration should serve as a platform from which the community may more concretely frame their arguments for the development of their settlements and access to basic services (Enkanini Enumeration Report 2013).

The enumeration is within SDI positioned as the basis of the making of a unique social and political argument for the urban poor, thus building their capacity in both social and political capital in issues related to their development. A glance at the discourses invoked around social capital and political legitimacy based on enumeration data from within SDI indicate that it is first seen as a point of departure for participation and contribution to "local and national government policy" (Patel and Baptist, 2012:10). The Federations invoke the slogan "knowledge is power" and "our unity is our strength" within the context of their data collection process. The dictum / aphorism "knowledge is power" is originally attributed to the empiricist Francis Bacon. Next, legitimacy takes on a more material political form in terms of what the federations conceive of as inclusion or the right to the city, which includes the right to security of tenure and access to basics services. "When a local federation or neighbourhood needs

services and legitimacy within a city, city federations, national federations and SDI often have to undertake many advocacy processes to make that happen, asserting the rights to the city of those currently excluded" (Patel *et al*, 2012:24). Having led SDI's data collection process for 4.5 years across 17 countries in Africa and parts of South-East Asia and Latin America, I remain a strong advocate for this capacity of the data collection process (Beukes, 2015). Yet, 'social capital' is a difficult concept to define and measure, and may be more dependent on historic specificity and context as much of the literature would assert (Dasgupta and Serageldin 2000).

According to Prakash and Selle, social capital is "generally understood to mean the social structures and networks necessary for sustaining collective action, the supposed normative contents of these structures (such as trustworthiness and reciprocal relations), as well as, - frequently – the outcome of collective action achieved through such structures" (Prakash and Selle, 2004:18). Ostrom argues that social capital is an "essential compliment" to forms of capital human and physical capital and drawing on her own work, and others like Coleman (1988) and Putman, Leonardi and Nonetti (1993), defines it as the "shared knowledge, understandings, norms, rules and expectations about patterns of interactions that group of individuals bring to a recurrent activity" (Ostrom, 2000:176).

I, for one, am interested in what the production of social capital means within the context of the SDI data practices, and the "degree to which the concept can be made operational for the purposes of analysis and policy" (Arrow, 2000:17). I am interested in what La Due Lake and Huckfeldt (1998) define as "politically relevant social capital". The kind of social capital that "facilitates political engagement" (La Due Lake and Huckfeldt, 1998:570). I thus take this question to the particular context of the MoU 2011 and how it unfolded during 2011 – 2013,

the impacts it had, and may continue to have, on the understanding of urban poverty in secondary cities in contemporary South Africa, as well as the interventions that local governments design to intervene within this complex domain.

I am thus interested in how far the interventions in Stellenbosch Municipality were able to create/produce social capital for the urban poor communities within the Municipality, and if this capital became at all 'politically relevant'. That is, could the partnership build/strengthen a social infrastructure within the urban poor communities that could sustain dialogue and negotiation around informal settlement development and upgrading within the Municipality?

For the purpose of this thesis, I approach the urban poor within the South Africa context, as a population. In its most basic form, population is defined as "a particular group or type of people living in a place". Population, thus has distinct characteristics and is located geographically/spatially. Within Stellenbosch Municipality the spatial location of the poor included both informal settlements and backyarder communities. Following Parnell and Mabin, I argue, that the place where poverty lives more ubiquitously, and ever more frequently in South Africa, is the informal settlements in its cities. However, that it is also important to understand informal settlements in more granular demographic detail and park some of the mainstay assumptions around what development for both place and residents requires. These settlements are most often located physically, socially and economically on the margins of South African cities. There is an historical ontology as to where and how poverty expresses itself in urban South Africa. This speaks to and of, among other things, historically produced inter and intra-racial class differences and inequalities (Seekings and Natrass 2005), an unprecedented youth population and the bearing these have on the making of marginal urban communities.

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Like Hacking, I share an interest for the "dullest of subjects…statistics" (Hacking, 2002:48) and therefore the "biopolitics of populations", as he says Foucault described it (Hacking, 2002:49). The ways and manners with which groups of people or the entire social body is described and inscribed through measurement and statistics, and how using these governments intervene, exert and manage power (ibid). For Foucault, population is "undoubtedly an idea and a reality that is absolutely modern in relation to the functioning of political power, but also in relation to knowledge and political theory, prior to the eighteenth century" (Foucault, stp:25). Thus, population as an object of modern government, rather than class, gives me the concept through which to read for a form of politically relevant social capital within the practices of self-enumeration of SDI federations.

I am also interested in what Hacking calls 'dynamic nominalism' – how that what is named does not merely remain passive, but begins to act in the world, and its structures within ways particular to that naming – "what comes into existence with the historical dynamics of naming and the subsequent use of the name" (Hacking, 2002:26). I would argue that once the urban poor were, perhaps unintentionally so, named exclusively as those living in informal settlements within the Municipality, they began to act in un-anticipated ways. It is thus also that I turn for an evaluation of the ethics and emancipatory potential of these practices to Elisabeth Povinelli's concept of alternative social projects. Alternative social projects are, according to Povinelli, engaged in questions of social belonging and abandonment.

Social projects, according to Povinelli, "are not fixed things…they are not 'things' so much as aggregating practices, incessantly fixing phenomena and co-substantiating practices" (Povinelli, 2011:8). According to Povinelli, "[s]ocial projects disaggregate aspects of the social

worlds and aggregate individual projects into a more or less whole" – something "definable and describable" (ibid), however they remain "neither something or nothing" "between potentiality and actuality" in "indeterminate oscillation" (Povinelli 2011). The Stellenbosch Municipality and its partners, I would argue, tried to disaggregate the complex dynamics of urban poverty alleviation into smaller individual projects of building community engagement, surveying and documenting issues quantitatively, designing financial instruments that were responsively pro-poor, and then tried to aggregate them again into something "definable and describable" – progressive informal settlement upgrading – but did they miss some of the parts of the whole when putting it all back together again. Or was the whole greater than its parts and they failed to recognise this in time? Or did new ways of naming things take allow them to take on a dynamism of its own?

Working with Povinelli's concepts of "social belonging", "abandonment" and "endurance", I wish to ask whether we can use the historical specific moment of the Partnership for Development to read these efforts as a moment in which politically relevant social capital could have been attained for the urban poor communities of Stellenbosch Municipality? How did or could the collaborative process around knowledge production as they unfolded on the ground and in the bureaucratic spaces of the Municipality constitute and impact the broader social project, ala Povinelli? Povinelli defines projects as "the thick subjective background effects of a life as it has been lived; and these thick subjectivities provide the context of moral and political calculation" (Povinelli, 2011:6). Within spaces of intense human suffering, where suffering is cumulative and durative, what Rob Nixon has described as 'slow violence' (Nixon 2011), it is not enough to merely describe - our intellectual explorations and endeavours must also produce a public good, and as such we must interrogate and bring to account what we observe and describe both morally and politically. Poverty alleviation remains perhaps the

greatest moral and socio-political imperative of our time. Vast amounts of resources go towards it every day. Especially within the context of increasing resource scarcity and apathy towards poverty alleviation we must make all our efforts and resources count.

2.4 Significance and Rationale of the study

The Census 2011 put the population of Stellenbosch Municipality, WC024 within the Winelands District Municipality within the Western Cape province of South Africa at 155 727. The Municipality's 831.1 km^2 was divided into 22 electoral wards. The most populated areas were the wards around the centre of Stellenbosch town. Based on distribution along 'race', the largest group was 'Coloured' at 52%, followed by Black African 28% and 18% White. Representation by other groups was negligible or virtually absent.

A lack of granular data on informal settlements and backyarder communities within the Western Cape, which has South Africa's highest levels of informality, may be obscuring the extend of poverty within the province at both relative and absolute levels. This impacts poverty alleviation policies and programs, and may even affect the security and stability within the Province. The Census 2011 reported that within the Western Cape, 105 282 or 6.2% of households were living in informal dwellings in backyards. Another 11.2% or 191 668 households were living in informal settlements. This comes to a total of 17,4% - about 1.3 times the rate in South Africa[2].

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[2] Census 2011: Statistics South Africa (2011) South African Population Census 2011. Indicators derived from the full population Census https://wazimap.co.za/profiles/province-WC-western-cape/?release=2011

In Stellenbosch Municipality, the percentage of households living in informal dwellings was 25% higher than the provincial level. At 22.2% of households in the Municipality, this number combined the 5.4% of households in backyard dwellings and 16.7% in informal settlements. In its Third Generation Integrated Development Plan (Stellenbosch Municipality 2012), the Municipality estimated the housing need as follows: "over 20 000 units (comprising some 6 000 informal dwellings, 9 000 backyard and overcrowded households, and rural households in need of accommodation" (Stellenbosch Municipality 2012:25). As the numbers are not disaggregated, it is unclear how the Municipality defined/recognised and differentiated informal settlement and backyarder communities, as I will show later. The Municipality drew on statistics from 2001 – 2007, using percentages without disclosing the absolute numbers in reporting the gains it had made in reducing dwellings in informal settlements (Stellenbosch Municipality 2012:25).

The question remains, in how far were these percentages impacted by population growth and migration, as well as, the very violent response to containing informal settlements through its Prevention of Illegal Eviction (PIE) unit (see Annual Report 2012)? Was the Municipality deliberately, or unknowingly, relying on outdated statistics? What was becoming clear though was that there was little understanding and agreement on who and where the poor were within the Municipality. And perhaps this situation was not unique to Stellenbosch Municipality.

At the start of the MoU 2011, 22 informal settlements and backyarder communities were included. During 2013, the Department was reporting updates on only 17 informal settlements. What had happened to 5 communities? In the Annual Report of 2012 it was included under informal settlements. It has a long history and varied built fabric consisting of formal homes, backyard shacks and several zones of informal settlements. It has become a collection of

different neighbourhoods within an at once single but very diverse community. Yet, it was aggregated as one settlement in the MoU's Annexure A.

There remains a myth floating around the Western Cape in certain circles, that the increased population is a result of in-migration from predominately its poor brother, the Eastern Cape. As I disaggregated the migration data for Enkanini, I observed that 63% (892 of 1329), the majority of enumerated head of household respondents, had come from the Kayamandi's various sections. In addition, the majority of residents were males aged between 25-29 years old.

In Figure 1 below, I reproduce a table I included in the final report I prepared for the Stellenbosch Municipality on the Enumeration of Enkanini. It shows the section or community within Kayamandi which respondents indicated they had moved from into Enkanini. Meaning 'taken by force', this table may also hint as to why residents decided to name their settlement Enkanini.

Kayamandi Section	Number of heads of household	%
Zone O	363	41
Snake Valley	187	21
Hostel	157	18
Costa Land	62	7
Kayamandi	77	9
Watergang	46	5
Total	**892**	**100**

Table 1: Disaggregation of Migration Pattern for Enkanini

In 2015, as part of my work with SDI, I published a working paper in the Human Settlements series of IIED. By then I had travelled to, and was curating data on, slums in 14 countries in

Africa. While researching the paper, which included the history of the SDI data collection process, I had the great fortune of re-discovering an almost forgotten artefact from SDI's data process archives. Conducted in 1985 by the SPARC, SDI's founding professional support organisation, *We, the Invisible – the census of the pavement dwellers,* like the population it sought to make visible, it had almost itself become invisible. Reading *We, the Invisible* scratched again at the discomfort I felt with the SDI slogan at the time of being 'the voice of the urban poor'. We were covering but a small fraction of 'the poor', yet we were in the process of making and defining an entire population and claiming it as a constituency. Did the same thing happen in Stellenbosch Municipality?

2.5 Limitations

This study is focused on a specific moment in history and within a very specific geographic and political context. While Enkanini was the second largest informal settlement in Stellenbosch Municipality in 2012, and its demographic makeup resonated with the demographic makeup of the municipality with regards to 'race', it was unique in terms of its proximity to the Stellenbosch city-centre as well as its gender and age distribution. A total of 2994 structures were counted in Enkanini during the enumeration, but only 2215 households were ultimately surveyed – i.e. 74% when rounded. The community itself was not a single entity, despite it being considered one. The community itself divided into Upper and Lower Enkanini and both sections claimed a specific identity.

I include in this study the broad profile data of the informal settlements in the Stellenbosch Municipality. This exercise was reported to have been by and large superficial, including very little grounded engagement with the local communities. Reportedly it was performed over the course of one or two afternoons by professional staff from CORC. It does however offer the

geographic location of the informal settlements within the Municipality and estimates on their population and access to basic services. Though not as detailed as the enumeration, the profile is an essential part of the data collection practices of SDI. The settlement profile offers a snapshot and bird's eye view of the settlement, collecting data on the settlement's history, estimated number of structures and households, access to basic services and community prioritised development priorities. For the settlements which were not enumerated in the, it was an important means to gain recognition within the institutional structure of the Municipality.

Given my position as intern within the Municipality, I was definitively, for the communities and the other researchers, 'on the other side', and that limited my interaction with community members and entry into Enkanini, specifically. However, I was able to move around and interact more freely with community members and Municipal officials within other settlements like Langrug and Sewende Laan. Thus, my reading of and interaction with the case, is very much from within a 'deep hanging out' and participant observation from within the Informal Settlement Management Department of the Municipality and within other settlements and with their residents. I engaged with Enkanini through its data, maps and statistics. Through how it moved within the imagination and the everyday reality of the officials within the Municipality as well as how other informal settlements brought it into relation with their own settlements. I shared my days there perpetually caught between 'seeing like a state', decoding what the data was revealing and how it moved within the everyday work of the Municipality and imaginations and perceptions of other informal settlement residents. It is thus also why I have chosen to read my research experience as a case study, rather than as an ethnography. I do this, so that I may, as Cousins (2012) provokes us, to look for "the political as somewhere between

the singularity of the event and the everyday coexistence that is always already political"
(Cousins, 2012:41).

2.6 Organisation of the thesis

Chapter 1 introduces the thesis and its key theoretical concepts and key actors. Chapter 2 situates and elaborates the background context, research question and the tensions I wish to explore between the key concepts, the significance and limitations of the thesis and finally outlines the structure of the thesis. In Chapter 3, I further elaborate the introduced key concepts and anthropological themes that the thesis will use and explore and review relevant literature on social capital. In Chapter 4 I describe the of approach my study as a case using description, analysis, interrogation and reflection and elucidate my method of participant observation and deep hanging out, as well as, select analysis of the enumeration data of Enkanini. Chapter 5 introduces the rationale of the Partnership for Development (PfD) from the point of view of the one of the men whose brainchild it was. I also share my key research findings, analysis and sub-conclusions in this chapter. Not only did I produce the final analysis of the enumeration data for Enkanini, I also co-authored the final report which was submitted to Council towards the end of 2013. In Chapter 6, I will conclude through a reflection and evaluation of the case study in relation to the research question.

the latter may be challenged contemporarily by media, especially social media and technology like the internet, however that is not the focus of this thesis.

James Coleman's classic 1988 article on social capital remains one of the analytical foundations of the concept and is still referred to in contemporary discussions of the concept. Coleman echoes Bourdieu to the extent that he too conceives of social capital as a resource that agents have access to, it is productive and is "defined by its function" (Coleman 1988:16). It incorporates features of both structures in society and the kinds of actions it avails to agents. According to Coleman, the structural characteristics that allow social capital to function requires a healthy flow of information, norms and applicable sanctions, obligations and the expectations of the structure to remain trustworthy (Coleman, 1988). It is his concern with structures that appeal to me for this thesis as I believe that a disavowal of the importance that structure plays that contributed to some of the challenges experienced by the Partnership for Development. The limitation of social capital for Coleman is that its value may be restricted to the specificities of the context within which it is produced. That is, it is only as useful or valuable in as far as it supports the achievement of specific goals and interests for the actors involved, i.e. the context of the social network matters (Rose, 2002:167).

While Bourdieu's descriptions of social capital remain important departure points and I draw value for my analysis on his emphasis of the need for durable, reciprocal and more or less institutionalised relationships and recognition, they had a primary concern with the role of education and educational attainment as a means to attain and maintain social capital. This thesis is concerned with development planning. The learning that happens in these spaces is most often and predominantly outside of formal education structures. Horizontal peer-to-peer learning for skills transfer is an important, yet informal means of learning for many of those

marginalised from formal education and even basic literacy as a consequence of poverty and the life outcomes it holds. Organisations such as SDI (http://knowyourcity.info/our-practices-for-change/) argue for the pedagogic value of its rituals and practices, yet these remain rarely acknowledged or less valued within formal learning spaces that structurally and systemically marginalise poor people. Part of the practise of SDI is to increase recognition and legitimacy for the knowledge slum dwellers produce (Beukes, 2015; SDI, 2018) During a learning exchange with academics and community members at the Sustainability Institute during July 2017, a professor, drew on the 'fact' that the photographs that accompanied the narratives in our qualitative study of poor people's knowledge and experience of energy use in Ghana, showed that 'these people' are illiterate, in order to challenge the validity of their knowledge and experience for our understanding of the energy landscape in Accra.

Krishna (2002) explores three hypotheses of how social capital might matter. According to Krishna those who have criticised the concept of social capital have among other argued that it is a "result rather than a cause of institutional practice" (Krishna 2002:14) and thus has "no independent conceptual basis" (Krishna 2002:14). Some maintain that despite limited value, its "explanatory value is partial" (Krishna 2002:14). In his *Active Social Capital: Tracing the Roots of Development and Democracy* (2002), Anirudh Krishna thus recasts "three contending positions" (Krishna 2002:15) of social capital "in terms of alternative hypotheses" (Krishna 2002:15).

The first thesis is the 'Necessary and Sufficient Cause' thesis. According to this position, "[persons] bound together in dense social networks, infused with norms of reciprocity and trust, are better able and more inclined to act collectively for mutual benefit and social purposes" (Krishna 2002:15). This position derives primarily from the work done by Putnam et al (1993).

For proponents of this thesis, and I would argue SDI is one, social capital, as collective action driven by mutual trust and benefit is "both necessary and sufficient for explaining societal outcomes" (Krishna 2002:16) and the larger structural conditions of either state or economy may even be overcome through it. Thus, social capital alone is an adequate explanation for how strong societies may be build.

The second thesis holds that social capital is rather an "effect or residue" (Krishna 2002:17) of political action. This thesis challenges "the issue of origins" (Krishna 2002:13) of the first thesis as well as, its dismissal of structural influence. For proponents of the second thesis, "[collective] action occurs when incentives are right, and it falters when these incentives are weak" (Krishna 2002:21). One of the challenges the SDI network model has faced in South Africa is that South Africa has a large system of social safety nets for the poor. SDI's savings rituals have especially found little traction among members of the ISN. The South African Constitution 1996 is inscribed with a deep ethical orientation towards care for the poor and marginalised. The Bill of Rights, Chapter 2, includes the access to adequate housing, health care, food, water and social security. These entitlements have been proposed as part of the reason why the SDI model of savings for provision of basic services within informal settlements in South Africa has not taken off sustainably.

The third and final position Krishan examines is the "Partial Causal Value" thesis of social capital (Krishna 2002: 22-26). This position acknowledges the heterogeneity that there may exist between groups of agents that need to co-operate and the need for strong intermediary agents to do the linking work between these agents. According to this thesis, "social capital is brought to bear upon institutional performance through the mediation of agencies or conduits" (Krishna 2002:26). One may argue that CORC | ISN as the implementing agents of the MoU

were the mediating agents between the communities and the Municipality. But this would mean that the communities of the poor within the Stellenbosch Municipality would already have possessed high levels of social capital – that is, shared norms, high levels of trust, co-operation, mutual and reciprocal collective action. As Ostrom (2000) would content "social capital is hard to construct through external intervention" (Ostrom 2000:172). CORC | ISN was very much external to Stellenbosch Municipality. CORC is Cape Town based NGO and the ISN a social movement with its leadership coming predominantly from Kayalitsha and other Cape Town informal settlements. Therefore, in the eyes of the informal settlement residents they were very much outsiders. The historical context of apartheid would have further contributed to this perception of 'other outsiders' from Cape Town within the backyarder and 'coloured' informal settlement communities within Stellenbosch. This may or may not have contributed to the fact that CORC | ISN focused its attentions first and foremost on the predominantly black African settlements of Langrug, Enkanini and Mandela City.

3.2 Politically relevant social capital

For La Due Lake and Huckfeldt (1998), the "production of politically relevant social capital through networks of social relations is affected by various individual-level factors and by organisational affiliations and membership" (La Due Lake and Huckfeldt 1998:575). They define politically relevant social capital as social capital that "facilitates political engagement" (La Due Lake and Huckfeldt 1998:570). This kind of politically relevant social capital is produced within contexts of political awareness, but, also expertise through active engagement and sharing information through and across the network of social relations (La Due Lake and Huckfeldt 1998:570).

Chapter 4: Method

As I started my field research, relations between the Municipality and the community of Enkanini were very tense (Zibagwe 2016). The relationship between the Municipality and CORC was also tense, as the Municipality was not satisfied with the quality of the enumeration reports produced, the quality of the data and data processing. While the enumeration commenced in August 2012, the verification of data was not complete and I would begin the preparation of the final report in February 2013. While the final report submitted to Council was dated October 2012 for political reasons, the report in fact was only completed in much later in 2013.

While enthusiastic about the data that was collected during the enumeration and the surveying techniques, I also became curious in understanding why the relationship between the partners were breaking down and how that would impact the informal settlements communities access to participatory development and continued dialogue with their Municipality around the development and upgrading of their settlements. Yin (1994), argues that questions of why and how within contexts where one is attempting an understanding of a "contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context" (Yin, 1994:1) and "when the investigator has little control over events" (Yin, 1994:1), lend themselves well to the case study approach. Like many aspiring social anthropologists, I had imagined myself writing up a deep ethnographic study of the lives of the poor in Enkanini and elsewhere in the Municipality, but as mentioned before, access to 'the field' as I had imagined it in my research proposal became impossible both to political conflicts within the community and my positionality as an intern working within the Municipality. Also, my research interest changed as it does and I became more interested in

the particular details of everyday life within the context of executing the MoU 2011 than only the spectacular politics that surrounded it.

Yin (1994), argues that as a method of research the "case study contributes uniquely to our knowledge of individual, organisational, social and political phenomena" (Yin, 1994:2). The Partnership for Development was at once an organisational, social and political phenomena. It was about what was happening organisationally in as far as both the Municipality and the SA SDI Alliance engaged within each from within their own organisations and institutional imagination and also with each other as organisations and institutions. At the same time it was also a social and political phenomena is that a historically conservative Municipality with a large and complex bureaucracy was innovating in the way and manner in which it approached development for the poor and vulnerable.

Municipalities in South Africa are heavily regulated by the Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA)[3], which leave officials very little wriggle room in how the financial resources of the Municipality is disbursed and managed. The very manner in which the Informal Settlement Management Department managed to structure the financing of the MoU and its implementation was an innovation. For example, even procuring small items like water faucets would normally have required several pieces of paper work and approvals. Within the implementation framework of the MoU though, the Department officials could go out and buy

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[3] South African Government. Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act. [Online] Available: https://www.gov.za/documents/local-government-municipal-finance-management-act-0 [September 9, 2019].

a needed water tap from the local hardware store and submit a receipt for re-imbursement. This sped up routine and emergency maintenance within informal settlements significantly.

One may argue too that the *raison d'tre* of SDI is to challenge the social and political imagination and space of the poor for themselves and in cities at an institutional level. Not only does SDI value and promote sustained dialogue between communities and their cities, but it has a deeply pedagogical orientation towards acknowledging and sharing the knowledge of poor people among themselves and to the outside world. The practices in SDI may be described as Janus-faced – perpetually looking inward and outward. The lessons and values of the organisation is that the lives of poor people matter and that they contribute and have much more to contribute to the development of society. They have their own voice that does not require translation – SDI is the voice *of* the urban poor. These are the foundational strengths of the organisation both internally and externally. During my time at SDI, it always fascinated me with what courage and self-esteem women and men who would in their everyday hardly elicit a glance of acknowledgement from politicians in the streets of their cities, could shift the power dynamics to their benefit, be it in a local government forum or on the world stages of international development.

Case studies, Yin argues, help us to "understand complex social phenomena" (Yin, 1994:3). Complex social phenomena, like poverty, defy linear understanding as they are composed of many different simultaneously interacting pieces and moving parts. There are both absolute and relative definitions of poverty, and both these distinctions measure or count for policy interventions a range of different variables or aspects across socio-economic and political

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factors. Measures of poverty, which then come with their own set of policy frameworks for intervening and alleviating or managing poverty, include the World Bank's 'Dollar-a-day' poverty-line for purchasing power parity (PPP) – since 2015 this line is at U\$1.90. The Alkire-Foster Method uses a multi-dimensional measure of poverty and assigns weights to "overlapping or simultaneous deprivations" (see: https://ophi.org.uk) and includes in its basket access to education, health care and ownership of assets. It builds on the Human Development Index (HDI) developed during 1990 for UNDP, and drawing on the work of Amartya Sen among others. The multi-dimensional poverty index (MPI), is perhaps one of the measures of wellness or un-wellness and poverty that combine the broadest scope of factors that interact within the complex social phenomena that poverty is.

In addition to the task at hand which the Partnership for Development proposed to tackle, namely to alleviate poverty within the Municipality through main infrastructural interventions, the landscape and the character of who the poor were varied significantly across the Municipality. While black Africans in the large informal settlements of Langrug and Enkanini were the largest visible population of the poor, there was and remains a significant number of backyarder residents, predominantly in the 'coloured' neighbourhoods of Idas Valley and Cloetesville, as well as Kayamandi, which were never enumerated. There was also heterogeneity in terms of the location of the informal settlement and how they came to be there. The larger informal settlements were located in close proximity to the town centres: Langrug in Franschhoek, Mandela City in Klapmuts and Enkanini in Stellenbosch. The majority of residents in these settlements spilled-over from adjacent formal townships. The smaller informal settlements scattered around the predominantly rural parts of the Municipality were more often than not established by farm workers who were displaced from farms where they

had worked. Thus, adding to the complexity, there was a heterogeneous poor population with different and varying historical relationships to social and political power, and disenfranchisement within the Municipality.

The Partnership for Development was itself an experimental space, attempting to innovate the ways in which informal settlement residents in Stellenbosch Municipality were approached both socially and politically. It has many of the characteristics that could make it a viable consideration for Povinelli's concept of 'alternative social projects. Municipal officials would later tell me that what they desired most from the partnership was the building of a social infrastructure through which they could engage their communities. The Department itself had highly trained technical staff, and the Municipality itself was, and remains, one of the best resourced Municipalities in South Africa, both fiscally and in terms of human resources. There was also among the 'surplus officials', as Adam Phillips, manager of the Department at the time described them, a genuine desire to change the way in which informal settlement communities lived. The Department was made up of entirely 'coloured' and black African staff and on my many walks with them, whether in town or in the settlements we visited, they were genuinely respected and held in high regard.

At its core, my research question is concerned with what is and what does the social capital, that is 'politically relevant', look like that is produced by the SDI Enumeration. How did its production, if at all, manifest in the Partnership for Development in Stellenbosch Municipality, and why was it possible in this time and place? These types of how and how questions, Yin argues, are explanatory and lend themselves well to the case study approach (Yin, 1994:6).

Embedded, like a layered Russian doll within this question, is also the question of whether the SDI Enumeration could itself qualify as an alternative social project. How its data collection processes produce social capital institutionally within the organisation, and how it actually produces a form of capital that is tangible, the data or information. Historically SDI federations have viewed their data as an advocacy tool and a means through which to leverage resources and dialogue from the government. As I started working at SDI in 2013, the major seismic shift in viewing data as capital, with an available monetary value had already begun. SDI refers to the data the communities collect as an 'asset', but with the digitisation of the data and its exposure to data ecosystems beyond its own, as well as the need to diversify its income streams, SDI would in the years 2013 and up to the time I left in 2018, regularly revisit the idea of monetising its data. I had, and continue to have, several objections to this from both a technical and ethical perspective, and I will elaborate these later as they have bearing on the case at hand.

I also employed qualitative interviewing method in the form of semi-structured interviews looking to "elicit a story" (Edwards and Holland, 2013:32). As I started my research during the implementation phase of the partnership, it was necessary to understand the key actors' histories in the project and learn the story through their perceptions of "time and memory" (Edwards and Holland, 2013:32). This method worked particularly well with Adam Phillips as he was a natural story teller and oral historian, as may be seen from my interview with him, which I transcribed and described with as much 'flavour' as it was told to me.

My time at the Municipality was as an active participant, subject to the same pressures as the staff of the Department to deliver on constantly moving deadlines whilst dealing with the 'live'

action of development implementation on the ground in the settlements. Thus, many of my interviews were "walking and talking" (Edwards and Holland, 2013:45) in nature. I accompanied staff of the Department through much of their day-to-day activities "asking questions, listening and observing" as they moved through their routines and social interactions. This was a very useful technique as it was easier to 'travel' with them, rather than trying to 'mine' information and data at set times (Edwards and Holland, 2013:12).

A primary critique of the case study method has been that it is not generalisable yet, my hope is that this case study will, in the very least, contribute to the peer-peer learning pedagogy of the SDI Network and provoke further elucidation and critical engagement with my own research and that of others.

Chapter 5: The practice of enumeration in Stellenbosch Municipality

"Officials of the modern state are, of necessity, at least one step—and often several steps—removed from the society they are charged with governing. They assess the life of their society by a series of typifications that are always some distance from the full reality these abstractions are meant to capture. The functionary of any large organisation "sees" the human activity that is of interest to him largely through the simplified approximations of documents and statistics" (Scott, 1998:76).

Stellenbosch Municipality remains an odd mix of rural and urban. At its centre is Stellenbosch town with its university core encased in a super-modern bubble with access to first world infrastructure ranging from water and sanitation services, shops, restaurants and high-speed internet. Stellenbosch Municipality comprises a total of 831.1 square kilometres. The 2011 Census put its population at 155 727 and approx. 187 people / sq. km. This vast municipality thus comprises mostly of farmland with Stellenbosch town being the most populated part of the Municipality.

The Informal Settlements Management Department is part of the Directorate of Human Settlements within the Municipality. The department manages and plans the strategies and implementation in terms of provision of services to, and the upgrading of, informal settlements. It also facilitates short-term employment programs through the Extended Public Works Program (EPWP) and prevents illegal land invasions (Stellenbosch Municipality 2012:51). The Partnership for Development agreement between the local authority, NGO and community,

provided a means through which to broker more direct community engagement and participation through practices like community-led enumerations and regular community meetings around the implementation of development projects.

The primary function of the Informal Settlements Department was to implement the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Program (UISP). UISP seeks to "cater for the special development requirements of informal settlements" (DHS 2009:9). It acknowledges informal settlements as part and parcel of the South African socio-political and economic geography. Under the program, funding is made available to municipalities "to carry out the upgrading of informal settlements [...] in a structured manner" (DHS 2009:9). This includes accelerating security of tenure for informal settlement residents, improving the provision of, and access to, basic services, like water and sanitation, as well as empowering residents around housing development in their settlements (DHS, 2009:9).

I met Adam Phillips[4] for the first time on a warm Stellenbosch afternoon in November 2012 in his spacious office on the third floor at the Stellenbosch Municipality. A charming and jovial man, with an easy smile and guttural laughter, which would make you miss the intense scrutiny of his eyes behind his glasses. I found his dress rather casual for a manager in the highly conservative bureaucracy. He wore jeans, sneakers, a T-shirt and a black baseball cap with the word "Jesus" embroidered in bold red letter. This, I came to know was part of the provocative expression of his 'rebellious' personality. He liked T-shirts with slogans, and his particular

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[4] Not his real name

favourite, especially for Municipal Council meetings, was apparently one with the blue Facebook logo and the message "I got your friend request and declined it".

He was not alone in his office the first time I met him. He ushered me to the small round 4-seater conference table away from his desk, which dominated the room. At the table was an Indian gentleman, he introduced him as 'his good friend'. At the end of my fieldwork tenure at the Municipality, the two men were barely speaking, but now I'm rushing ahead.

On this afternoon, they were amiable towards each other and Phillips was indulgent, both to 'yet another' researcher from the University on his doorstep and towards 'his good friend'. The Municipal buildings are literally half-way between the university's main campus and the Theology campus on Dorp Street. My first-year philosophy professor, who started his career in Theology used to tell us that depending on which side of Victoria Street you were on, you were either on the domain of philosophy or theology. The municipality is on the theology side of Victoria Street.

Although, it is the back door of the Municipality that opens onto Ryneveld Street, this historic street has always been the axis of law, order and church in Stellenbosch. Its starting point, which nowadays houses the Theology Faculty, was the Drosty, or legislature in historic Stellenbosch. Next to it, the now renovated and modern Rosenhof apartment block used to be the town prison, on top of which often rogue and disobedient slaves used to be punished by lashing, and even hanging. The Moederkerk, the seat of the Afrikaner Dutch Reformed Church, with its white and black spires, towers above all surrounding buildings at the intersection of Ryneveld and Church Street, down the road.

On September 27, 2013, I would interview Phillips again for the specific purpose of this thesis.

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It would be the one time when we would have the opportunity to sketch his narrative most fully for me. I think he was also aware that it may be one of the final time he could and our conversation was laced with deep and even philosophical reflections, of course he was also deeply animated and animating. It was as if he was trying to have recorded his vision and hoped for a sincere retelling. I do hope I will manage that, but with the added caveat that I also knew him to be a very screwed politician and very deliberate in his actions and words. Where I have pulled direct quotations from our interview I have put these in double parentheses " " and omitted standard referencing to ease reading and maintain the flow of the conversation and also to allow the reader to read a little between the lines.

He began his narrative by explaining that the Informal Settlements Department was a new department within the Municipality staffed with civil servants for whom there was no longer a neat fit within the new bureaucracy. He would describe the upgrading of informal settlements as an add-on or aside, rather a footnote of mainstay housing policy. In the 1970's, he said, new emerging theories around housing and social development began. The idea was that housing was about 'more than bricks and mortar' – it became a verb – a doing word – not a noun or description. Internationally, according to Phillips, democratisation opened up a greater stake in housing development processes. This had strong resonance with the with new government that emerged from the liberation movement in South Africa.

According to Phillips, some of these ideas or ideals were, however, lost in official housing policy in post-apartheid South Africa. According to him, during the negotiated transition, progressive thoughts were sacrificed for a centralised housing development process run by developers and officials, with an ancillary role for poor people, i.e., the beneficiaries. He argued

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that both the policy and the outcomes were developer driven, with less of a focus on upgrading informal settlements, and with an attitude of "we will build our way out of the existing [housing] backlog". While Phillips may have felt that housing policy in South Africa post-apartheid was another part of the negotiated transition, Parnell and Mabin (1995), in their analysis of planning and urban segregation, notes that South Africa was, and remains deeply embedded in international ideologies and processes of urban planning. They assert *"the main counter to apartheid thinking on urban problems and approaches came from equally modernist quarters, [albeit] politically oppositional ones…, the general modernist means – the enlarged state, the powerfully ordered intervention – characterised the ANC alliances' Freedom Charter every bit as much as they did the schemes of apartheid"* (Parnell and Mabin, 1995:60).

The ushering in of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and the eradication of slums as part of their poverty alleviation goals, were in South Africa, according to Phillips, "curiously and ignorantly adopted and connected to the 2014 deadline – both naïve and bizarre and devoid of common sense". According to Phillips, government funded access to housing opportunities for families had their value located in a "construction program". For Phillips, this resonated, in both "real and symbolic" terms, with the preparation for the 2010 World Cup. Huchzermeyer (2006) has shown how South Africa interpreted the 'Cities Without Slums' slogan as having 'inspired and legitimised a particular focus on doing away with informal settlements" (Huchzermeyer 2006). While she also argues that the 2014 deadline had political implications, as it marked the end of the first 20 years of ANC rule, it is her 2004 analysis of the underlying ideological approach to informality in South Africa in which I find resonance with Parnell and Mabin's argument around the modernist planning orientation of the ANC government.

Phillips saw the 2004 *Breaking New Ground (BNG)* policy as government coming to its senses. The upgrading of informal settlements had a more activist character for Phillips, and he described it as having regained the 'texture, flavour or shape and form that [had been] lost in [the previous] policy formulation". In the foreword to *"This is my slum: the upgrading of Langrug"* (CORC 2012), he would describe it as follows:

> Informal settlements upgrading is one of the key objectives of Stellenbosch Municipality, in fact, it is the DNA of our organisation. Therefore, while the Municipality continues to focus on in-situ upgrading of the physical infrastructure, it also concentrates on improving the social fabric and cohesion of its urban poor. Through this process we hope to restore dignity to informal settlement dwellers whilst complying with the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and its broader City development agenda (CORC, 2012).

In the Stellenbosch Municipality, Phillips would come to champion the implementation of this policy. The man who wears the Facebook T-shirt and the 'Jesus' baseball cap, with his clear and outspoken political affiliation and pride in his struggle background, would necessarily be a thorn in the flesh of the opposition-run Democratic Alliance (DA) Municipality[5]. He would be given his 'ancillary department' and staff it with 'surplus or redundant officials' as he described his staff. The number of 'surplus' officials assigned to Phillips's department was 5. The municipality at that time employed 1300 staff. "Redundancy", he said to me, "is an

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[5] In 2011, the Democratic Alliance (DA) held 25 of the 41 Council seats and the ANC only 11. The remaining seats were held by 5 other parties at 1 seat each. See: https://www.westerncape.gov.sa/text/2012/11/stellenbosch-municipality-rmt.pdf

anomaly in the career of the civil servant", and he was hoping that in 20 years he may be able to look upon these movements with greater favour. Perhaps he was already very much aware that he would be made redundant himself very soon. At the end of his first 5-year tenure as director/manager, the Municipality would not renew his contract.

However, Phillips was excited for the opportunity "to serve in slums", having grown up in one himself. The mandate of the Informal Settlements Department was to "get a handle of slums" in the municipality. To "engage, upgrade and provide services'". He argued though that it was necessary to first "know and understand" slums and, in order to do this, one has to "respect, honour and partner" with slum dwellers. He sketched the traditional/historic approach to slums/informal settlements as follows: "These were despised, obscured and avoided spaces. They were neglected and left to waste away. Normally a few families would be relocated into an RDP house. A kind of modern -day intervention in intervention". As I asked him how one would approach the task set for him, he became even more animated. The key, he said, was "how do you know them - in their everyday practice and projects?"

As Scott argues knowing for the official makes it possible to discriminate interventions of all kinds, public health measures, political surveillance and relief for the poor (Scott, 1998:19). I turn to Scott only for understanding the State's need for statistics and legibility, I do not follow some of his other arguments for example that 'an incapacitated civil society' (Scott, 1998:21), was part of the mix in Stellenbosch Municipality. Within the Municipal Systems Act (2000), government is instructed to create 'a culture of community participation' where civil society has a direct interest and influence on the design of governance arrangements", according to

Fieuw (2013:66). Even though the civil society actors within the MoU 2011 were not indigenous to Stellenbosch they drew on an extended local civil society network e.g. the Good Governance Learning Network and Isandla Institute as well as, the global network of SDI – all of which had demonstrated capacity in dealing with the State. To demonstrate this point further, I return to Parnell and Mabin's (1995) argument, that urban planning in South Africa, both pre and post 1994, has been deeply rooted in modernist planning ideals and centralised planning. For example, the RDP housing policy was designed and funded by national government. Provincial and municipal government were then the implementers of this policy, being tasked with different responsibilities for service infrastructure and the actual house. And although policy makers in South Africa have defined the problem of informality in human settlements from a technical perspective, with a focus on the illegality of the settlement process, of the land use and the building type, the legitimacy of science and technology as a total means to progress was not uncritically or un-sceptically accepted within SA society.

In addition, the process in Stellenbosch had a champion (Phillips) who was shaped and honed by civic engagement. He was a veteran of the struggle for democracy who understood and lived this struggle at both an intellectual and deeply personal/emotional level. According to Phillips, he set out to 'manage' the slums under his jurisdiction "coming from a particular intellectual tradition". He described it as "falling back on struggle policies and the intellectual traditions of the Left". His impulse was to connect with common humanity, learn from those he grew up with, "those who reared me and my siblings, who I owed a great debt".

Grace Davie, in her *Poverty Knowledge in South Africa* (2015)*, describes how activists used a

combination of strategies during the struggle to make the plight of the poor visible and use this as a political tool. According to Davie, in the historic production of poverty knowledge in South Africa, "liberal social reformers, radical activists and so called 'organic intellectuals' absorbed what experts said about inequality, about the economy, and about minimum needs, and then used human science knowledge to speak back to employers, to white society, to the apartheid state, and to international organisations" (Davie, 2015:4). These qualities and experiences, I would argue, were at the core of what Phillips would often call 'the flavour' of what he brought with him into his everyday practice as an official of the new State.

For Phillips, his was a professional mission inscribed by 'a personal debt'. He wanted his work in slums to "reflect their spirit and aspirations". He wanted to make others see what he had seen his whole life: the "good, smart, industrious, patient, honest 'salt of the Earth' people", he knew. He believed that these were people who would, in his words, "given a single opportunity make [a] seminal contribution". With this belief, and his deep reverence for poor people, it "wasn't difficult to sort out [the] philosophical values and central mission of everyday practice and how to treat people".

But how to do this? Who exactly were these people and where were they? There were at the time, twenty-two recognised informal settlements within the municipality. Three out of the twenty-two (Langrug, Enkanini and Mandela City) were large, the others were relatively small. Phillips decided to put into practice a number of what he termed "strategic tools".

1) Surveys and enumerations *adapted* from SDI and CORC.

2) Social Facilitation

3) Community Capacity Building

4) Public Works Programs

As he noted, "With no knowledge of profiles and demographics of families [how could you proceed] …you cannot pretend, as many still do, if you don't have the numbers". There was no doubt in his mind, and in the minds of his colleagues and the communities, that he was the champion of this process. Phillips suffered from serious health problems during most of my internship and field work tenure at the Municipality during 2013. Both the engineer within the department and a community leader, on separate occasions, told me that "If David was here" the challenges in Enkanini would be sorted out very quickly.

In his first strategic tool, as described by Phillips, he clearly set out to 'adapt' rather than 'adopt' the enumeration practices of SDI/CORC. It is not clear whether this was only his reflection at the time of our interview, when the appearance of cracks in the partnership starting to become visible, or whether he had this conviction from the start., Signs of this uncertainty and tension are evident in this extract from our conversation: "I called them [SDI] up, went to see them and they almost fell off their chairs. There was lots of suspicion and serious reservations on their side. We have struck a fairly unique relationship. It served our and their purpose" (pers. Interview). According to Phillips, in the end, CORC was 'wholly uncapable' of taking the project to where he had anticipated.

When I asked him more explicitly about his role in the enumeration exercise, he would go on to describe that he saw his role as, "not only to implement the rituals they (SDI) have, but to revamp and redo their approach". He saw this as "ground-breaking and novel" work. Stellenbosch would be the first Municipality to revisit (this) technical instrument called enumeration and revamp it". The SDI data collection process and the data they collected were according to him, "not adequate (as a) strategic tool for government and budget and planning". It had to change. It was fine for the purposes of mobilisation (of communities), but the quality and kind of data (they collected) was "rubbish".

Phillips would take an active role in the enumerations and would participate/or rather lead, not only the actual training of the enumerators, but also, with his self-described "over-powering personality", he would take the "liberty to demand" the revisiting of the forms, reporting and data capturing. Some community members would later describe the training day as a lot of 'talk-talk-talk' by the Municipality. He would go on to tell me that: "SDI has a particular view and understanding of enumerations, which is not wrong, but in my judgement, so much can be done with enumerations. I have begun to offer an alternative perspective on the application and objectives of enumeration". Further, he argued that "SDI was still stuck in a medieval, pre-Copernican world. That in this post-modern age, SDI (was) required to make [the] shift that is required". According to him, traditionally/historically, SDI has had the role/mentality of the "Superman Matchmaker", who would mobilise and organise communities, and bring them together with the government. This, he argued, was still relevant in countries where the government was an "opposing force and real enemy" of the people. However, he emphatically stated: "Not in South Africa, not in Stellenbosch. We have turned it around, inverted it, [now] in government [there was] a voice for the poor". His department "will officially adopt, sanction and pay for community enumerations [and that] was the fundamental difference".

At the start of my internship and on many occasions during and after, Mr. Norman[6], who was my supervisor during my tenure at the Municipality, and who remains a valued colleague, friend and mentor, would tell me that it was not that the information and data do not exist, it was that we do not know how to put it together and put it to work. I experienced this first hand on the weekend of March 14, 2013, when Zone O, Kayamandi, burned down in its entirety in

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[6] Not real name

a single night, leaving almost 5000 people homeless (https://www.iol.co.sa/news/south-africa/western-cape/kayamandi-fire-victims-rebuild-their-lives-1495312).

By the time I arrived in Zone O that morning to help with the data collection, several Municipal and National government departments were already on the scene, and these were not just the emergency and disaster relief agencies. Parked outside the community hall in Kayamandi was a state-of-the-art mobile unit from the Department of Home Affairs issuing temporary ID documents to residents who had lost all theirs in the fire. Getting a temporary ID document issued was crucial as most of the residents in Sone received some form of social grant. SASSA, the social grants administrator of the South African government, was also on site, occupying a row of computers towards the back of the hall, verifying people's status to ensure that they received both disaster relief and would receive their grants on time. The Municipality's Housing Department was on site and residents would call 'Aunty Jenny', an official within the housing department, to vouch for their existence on the housing register and their presence in Zone O.

No enumeration had been done in Zone O, so my task was very much sitting next to Mr. Norman and capturing resident's details into an xcel spreadsheet, which would be used to co-ordinate the disaster relief. Residents of in informal settlements disasters received 20m^2 of material which included poles, plastic tarp and iron metal sheeting to reconstruct a shelter. Not only did the Municipality need to ensure, and be able to account, that all affected residents received construction materials, but also that people did not take advantage of the disaster to erect new, unauthorised structures. This sounds mean, and even cruel, but by the afternoon, I had several cases where structure numbers of especially elderly women had been claimed by

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others in the settlement, thus delaying their access to building materials. We used a system of neighbour verification, or Aunty Jenny, to make sure people made it onto the list. Zone O was also electrified and residents could use the numbers of their prepaid electricity meters to verify and claim their addresses.

In the weeks and months following the Zone O disaster, Mr. Norman would put us interns to task to create a single page form that would collect data on informal settlement residents within the Municipality. Using the data and information that already existed within the Municipality, or other government agencies. This would help the Department to not only support residents at a time of an emergency or disaster like the Zone O fire, but also to create a single aggregated database into which different departments within the Municipality could tap into to plan their tasks and interventions. Why would the Project Manager of the Informal Settlements Department make this request, after the Department had been spending more than a year and almost half a million Rand in developing a database of vulnerable and marginal residents in its jurisdiction?

Often, we search for sophisticated answers to everyday and what Phillips himself describe as informal settlements upgrading as a mundane problem. We add complexity where simplicity may be the required and prudent path forward. Poverty is a complex systems problem, yet, I would argue, we have become blinded by complexity, searching and even inventing it where it can be avoided. By no means do I wish to dismiss the efforts of the Municipality and its partner-based approach to informal settlement upgrading during 2011-2013. The process, I will argue, opened up spaces for both progressive municipal officials and communities in the Municipality to engage in development and poverty alleviation in innovative and creative

ways. It added a social conscientiousness to the approaches to development interventions that didn't exist before. One of the successes of the program, I would argue, is that it gave poverty a face in Stellenbosch – even if it was not the face that most people expected – or the one that was politically advantageous.

5.1 Key findings and analysis

The promotion of dialogue and inclusion into planning processes at the local government level, has been a way in which SDI Federations have committed to approach development with their cities. The initiative or drive for these kinds of engagements historically came from SDI. In a reversal of this usual practice, in Stellenbosch in 2011, the Municipality had invited SDI Affiliates to join them in developing a new kind of development strategy for understanding and improving the lives of its residents in informal settlements and backyard shacks. That meant there were no existing savings groups within Municipality and the Municipality led and financed the data collection activities. In the following section, I elucidate my three key research findings around why I believe that the Partnership for Development did not succeed in using the SDI data collection practices and processes of profiling and enumeration to generate lasting and sustained 'politically relevant social capital' for the poor communities in Stellenbosch.

I argue:

1) The methodology used for data collection, the analysis and presentation of reports was neither uniform nor approached systematically, and this brought into question the validity of the data collected, and its use value beyond advocacy purposes.

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2) That driven by political, rather than the real material and social needs of the poor in Stellenbosch, both the champion of the Partnership for Development, Mr. Phillips, and the implementing agents (CORC | ISN), failed to take time to understand the demographic realities and context of the poor in Stellenbosch in 2011. For one, they misunderstood the distribution of the poor in terms of the racial demographic in absolute numbers and who this demographic was voting for. Second, they responded to assumptions rather than rely on the data they had available and were collecting. In doing so they

As I neared the end of my fieldwork and internship tenure at the Municipality in October 2013, the word was out that the Municipality would not renew the contract of the Manager of the Informal Settlements Department. It would also not be entering into a renewed agreement with CORC | ISN. While Langrug had become a world-famous example of informal settlement upgrading, and was a darling for both SDI and local and international researchers, the community and Municipality were at loggerheads as work began on the biggest investment in the settlement to date – the construction of the centre road. In Enkanini the residents had breached the fence that kept the settlement contained from spreading up the Pappagaaiberg to the south west of the settlement and was essentially a 'natural' buffer between the settlement and the Devon Valley farms.

So, was the entire project and process doomed? I will conclude my analysis by arguing that it was not. The Partnership for Development open up a space to imagine development and poverty alleviation differently. It opened up the potential for imagining alternative social projects that could nurture and foster new kinds of approaches and relationships between the

Municipality and poor communities. The Informal Settlements Department has increased in sise since I left. In addition to having swankier offices, it had expanded its internship program and retained and managed to attract development agents committed to real and grounded change. The seats in the reception area were rarely empty and a quick glance in its visitor's register showed that individual community members approached the Department directly on a daily basis with issues that previously were thought to require mediation.

The work of the Partnership for Development highlighted that the poor are not homogenous – that the concept of the 'urban poor' is too easily appropriated and yielded without due consideration to the observation that the concept veils and obscures important differences that impact the policy and practical interventions of well-meaning folks. This experience inspired me to join SDI and lead the network-wide digitisation of their data process, challenging the SDI Network during – and of course – beyond my tenure, that even they as the leading voice of the urban poor globally, have a limited awareness of who the urban poor are contemporarily, where and how they live and more importantly how they imagine themselves being part of the greatest social project of our time – life and living in the city.

5.2 The validity, usefulness and use value of data collected

5.2.1 Introduction

Key finding: The Municipality was dissatisfied with the pace at which data collection was proceeding and the kinds of analysis, reporting and presentation of the data that was forthcoming from CORC | ISN.

There were major challenges with the quality of the data and the verifiability of data especially on households that were enumerated in Langrug and Enkanini, the two largest enumeration

conducted. The tone of the reports was more attuned to audiences for advocacy, and not adequately oriented to the Municipal officials who had to make real-time technical decisions based on the data. The reports were very text-heavy and verbose, and all started out with a long (and often a copy and pasted) introduction of partnership context, the role of CORC | ISN and, in the case of the Sewende Laan Report, details about data collection in SDI Affiliates beyond South Africa and learning exchanges participated in (CORC 2012).

Handing me the Sewende Laan Report for editing, Adam Phillips had told me something along the lines of "I don't need to be told people are poor, I need to know what I can do about it". The report he gave me, was heavily marked with red ink, correcting everything from grammar and spelling to highlighting calculation errors in tables, to questioning claims that had no empirical evidence. For example, in the original Enkanini enumeration report, it was claimed that the settlement had predominantly female headed households. This was a direct contradiction to the enumeration data inside the report, which indicated that most households in Enkanini were single member male households. The claim around the prominence of female headed households was most probably an artefact from the advocacy narrative of the SA SDI Alliance. While the reports were clearly not professionally written or edited, one has to appreciate the context in which they were written, and their value for communities who had never before seen their settlements and lives documented and heard their story told from their own perspective. On my first trip to Kenya for SDI, Henry Otunge, one of the first Federation members there to have mastered GIS mapping, told me that the first time he saw his settlement on a map, he no longer felt like a squatter. What I believe CORC | ISN missed in the context of the Stellenbosch partnership, was that the communities were not their only audience to report to. And instead of acknowledging and adapting to the situation, the professionals would often

take the stance that they were not service providers to the Municipality, but partners. However, when looking at the context of the Municipality and the MoU, this was perhaps exactly what they were.

The budget line for Activity 1, to build the "urban poor platform through networking" was R400000. There were clear activities and deliverables defined for this and I outline them in full here:

Activities:

- Mapping of all informal settlements and their assets

- Provide technical support around GIS Mapping

- Mobilising Communities (approx. 3 months/cluster)

- Capacity building for community structures and community-based organisations, support and initiate community-led enumerations.

- Setup savings schemes in all informal settlements

Deliverables:

- Meeting/s and minutes

- Local exchanges for community leaders

- Capacity building workshops, savings sheets

- Enumeration/settlement database

- GIS database

- Community Maps

- Savings scheme

- Improved community participation

The fact that the Municipality would pay for the data collection, as well as, the expected data products and community structures, seemed to have rendered the partnership very concretely transactional. There was also a clear expectation from the Municipality's side that they would receive a material product – the data organised and aggregated in a spatially referenced database. The mobilisation of communities was requested by the Municipality – Phillips went to SDI and CORC | ISN were very much 'outsiders' in the Stellenbosch Municipality, at an institutional and community level. Rather than the 'organic' mobilisation, starting with savings groups and mobilisation at the street level, as was customary in the SDI processes until then, ISN arrived with a minimal footprint in the Municipality, and was seen as coming from Khayelitsha to organise communities. ISN set up what was known as the Working Group within Langrug, made up of ISN leaders affiliated to the SA SDI Alliance. At a meeting in April 2013 called by the local councillor in Ward 2, who felt she was being undermined by the Working Group activities in Langrug, it was explained that the Working Group was set up as an 'interim platform to address the development issues within the community" (Meeting minutes 23 April 2013). The Councillor countered that she herself was in the process of 'electing a committee' which was to address the development issues in Langrug.

For various reasons, including their failure to include the local ward councillor? in their activities, especially on the brink of an election year, the Working Group thus failed to establish themselves as legitimate actors within the development space in Langrug. Both ISN and CORC were very much seen as an outside NGO by the communities, and a service provider by the Municipality. Although it would seem that the councillor's position was the result of politicking, especially since a large-scale road development project was coming to Langrug, I will argue that CORC | ISN's inability to read and adapt to the political context in Stellenbosch played a major part in the outcomes of the partnership.

For one, in the voices of the young technical professionals of CORC, who were all young men, newly graduated from planning schools, there was often a militant tone towards the Municipality, even in the presence of Municipal officials. With one of the younger professionals, I often found it difficult to understand whether he was speaking and acting as an activist or a professional. On one field visit during winter to assess the drainage problems in Langrug, for which the Municipality had for weeks requested the presence of CORC, the CORC architect arrived in fine leather handmade shoes. Standing in my gumboots next to the Municipal officials in their occupational health and safety issued work shoes, I finally saw these young professionals through the eyes of both community and the Municipal officials I was working with.

5.2.2 Analysis

My impressions as I sifted through the data and reports were that CORC | ISN had neither the experience, expertise, nor the capacity to deal with a data project at the scale that was required in Stellenbosch Municipality. The enumerations of Langrug and Enkanini showed a promising start, with beautiful hand drawn maps rendered by the community and then overlaid onto satellite imagery and superimposed with analysed survey data. One of the first times I saw Enkanini was on a map produced during the enumeration as the one shown here below.
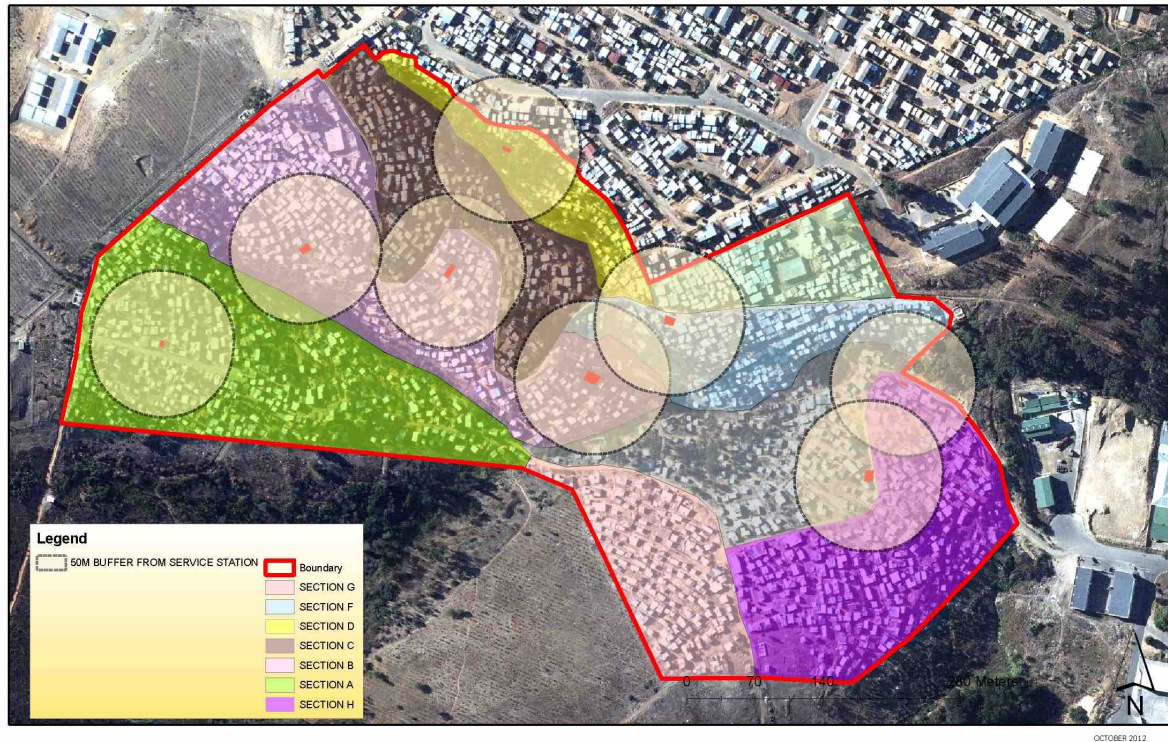
**ENKANINI
50M PROXIMITY FROM SEVICE POINTS**

Figure 1: Enkanini Map (Source Stellenbosch Municipality)

As a map-geek, the hand drawn community maps and their consequent GIS rendering held particular appeal. Here I was seeing and holding in my hands what had first excited me about SDI data processes. I describe this elsewhere, drawing on James Corner's description of the 'agency of mapping', as the mapping work of SDI Federations being to "neither reproduce, nor impose on existing maps", but "rather [to] uncover realities previously unseen or unimagined even across seemingly exhausted ground […] remaking territory over and over again (Corner 1999:213 cited in Beukes, 2015:15).

Figure 2: Community map of Langrug (Source: CORC)

The Informal Settlements Profile was conducted prior to my first arrival at the Municipality. It would become the first report I would edit and restructure in the format that would be useable to the Municipality. The document CORC had produced had more the tone of an advocacy document, and the technical data the Municipality required was obscured within text, or missing completely. Under the guidance of the project manager (PM) of the Informal Settlement Department, I would learn what information was required to include in the monthly

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reporting for both the Department and other sections in the Municipality, such as finance and engineering.

The finance department, for example, would draw on this data in part to calculate the number of indigent households in the Municipality, for which the Municipality could then draw a subsidy from the National Government as Equitable Share allocation based on the "level of income enabling indigent households to pay for a basic package of municipal services and/or the municipal property value that sets the level at which property tax will not be levied" (Stellenbosch Municipality, 2013:2). The National Framework for Municipal Indigent Policies was part of the social safety net and distribution of resources of government for the poorest and most indigent households thus making provision for the delivery of free basic services. These free basic services include water, sanitation, energy and refuse removal. Each Municipality then designed and implemented Indigent Policies based on their own basket of criteria, and required households applying for this grant to produce proof of its indigent status.

5.2.2 Sub-conclusion

The Partnership for Development could be described as a socio-technical systems intervention in the design of how the Municipality approached upgrading of informal settlements. Baxter and Sommerville (2010) describe socio-technical systems designs (STSD) as a coming together of human, social and organisational design considerations. This is an approach to design thinking in organisations that "takes into account both social and technical factors" (Baxter and Sommerville 2010:4). One may look at the upgrading of informal settlements as a complex systems problem with varied and interconnected moving parts and stakeholders. Within Stellenbosch Municipality it included the communities, which are neither homogenous in their

demands or expectations, the Municipality, which is itself a complex system of politicians, bureaucrats and technical staff, and then the implementing agent of the Partnership for Development, which was a diverse group of professional staff and community-based organisations and their leadership. Appelbaum (1997) emphasises the importance of due consideration to "how relationships among various systems will be affected as they are all interconnected" (Applebaum, 1997:1). Given the already complex constellation of actors, it may have been prudent for CORC | ISN to adopt a more pragmatic approach.

5.3 Missing the train at a station called Context

5.3.1 Introduction

Making the plight of the poor, in the low hanging fruit that was informal settlements visible during 2013 was politically sexy, desired and spectacular. The country was heading into a general election in May 2014, the first after Nelson Mandela's passing on December 5, 2013. On the one hand, the government had vowed to eradicate informal settlements, which one may argue is the most visible materialisation of urban poverty, and on the other, Julius Malema's Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) were a real threat to the ruling ANC. Founded in July 2013 by then expelled ANC Youth League President, Julius Malema, the EFF hit the campaign trail with a message that appealed especially, to disenfranchised youth. The Mail and Guardian (https://mg.co.sa/article/2013-08-06-survey-shows-effs-policies-appeal-to-youth) reported in August that 37% of young people between 18 -34 years old found Malema's militant land nationalisation policy appealing. The article highlighted too that a previous poll conducted by the same consumer polling agency in June 2013 had shown, namely that 25% of South Africans polled would vote for a Julius Malema-led party. According to the M&G report, the EFF's support was largely in non-urban South Africa. In the 2014 election, the EFF secured 8 seats,

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or 10,30% of the vote in Gauteng (https://www.elections.org.sa/resultsnpe2014/), South Africa's most populous urban area.

In Stellenbosch Municipality and the Western Province, the Democratic Alliance (DA) was the ruling party. Adam Phillips made no secret of his political affiliation with the ANC, which caused me some discomfort as my personal conviction is that the bureaucracy of the State should remain politically neutral and serve all citizens equally, irrespective of their political affiliations. I argue in this section that, driven by political concerns, rather than the real material and social needs of the poor in Stellenbosch, both the champion of the Partnership for Development, Phillips, and the implementing agents, CORC | ISN, failed to take time to understand the demographic realities and context of the poor in Stellenbosch. For one, they missed the boat completely as to which racial demographic made up the largest population of the poor and who this demographic was voting for. The majority, 52% of the population in Stellenbosch Municipality was 'coloured' and the Democratic Alliance held sway in all their wards. The main activities of the Partnership were in Langrug, a predominantly black African informal settlement, right next to Groendal, one of the largest 'coloured' communities in the Municipality. By prioritising their interventions in informal settlements and, by 2013, ignoring the backyarder communities as part of the urban constituency they were attempting to serve, I would argue they missed both short term and long terms gains for the programmes of the partnership.

By its own estimates, the Stellenbosch Municipality put the population in backyarder communities at 9000 residents and informal settlement communities at 6000 residents (Stellenbosch Municipality 2012). The Informal Settlements Profile conducted as part of the MoU 2011 activities, and the data we would work within the Department in 2013, had the

population of the informal settlements at an estimated 13200 residents. So, if the Municipality almost underestimated the informal settlement residents by more than half, could it have done the same for the backyarder communities? Lanquedoc in Ward 4 (four) would be the only backyarder community to be enumerated by the Partnership for Development. The bulk of the enumeration resources would go to Langrug and Enkanini, the two largest informal settlements in the Municipality. I do not wish to undermine the value of these enumerations for the residents, and my argument is merely that it may have benefitted the Partnership for Development to have paid closer attention to the heterogeneity of the poor in Stellenbosch, as well as the demographic detail of the population of Enkanini within the wider context of demographic changes in South Africa and what this meant for the development demands of a changing and changed demographic.

5.3.2 Analysis

I draw on the Census 2011 results to show the demographic and socio-economic variability among the poor across the Municipality and then focus on the data for the four Kayamandi wards, Wards 12-15. For this analysis I draw on demographic, housing, service delivery and household income from the Census 2011 as released through the Wazimap web application. Census data can be difficult for ordinary citizens to unpack and yet understanding the results of the census is an important part of democratic participation.

Drawing on a web-based tool developed in the US for reporting census data, and in response to their enthusiasm for open data, the Code for South Africa team, now known as OpenUp, set about fund raising, and built an open source tool that would allow not only journalists, but also ordinary South Africans, to access and make sense of the Census 2011 data ahead of the 2014 election. Wazimap was born (https://wazimap.co.za/about).

I am a self-confessed and self-educated data geek and an advocate for open data. It is my conviction, that if, as a society, we find it necessary to produce information and knowledge about citizens and populations, then at least citizens and populations should have the right and the possibility to access that information, and such data and knowledge that is produced about them and use it to their benefit and in ways that do not harm themselves or society at large. Thus, drawing on the Census 2011 release on Wazimap for the Stellenbosch Municipality, I do both GIS analysis in QGIS and excel spreadsheets on the following select variables:

- Demographics: race and age

- Household: dwelling type and estimated annual median household income – which I differentiate further in an attempt to avoid the pitfalls the median values may present.

The rationale for choosing these variables is that they were I believe the ones the Informal Settlement Department ignored and which would have added much required nuance to their interventions for informal settlement upgrading. This analysis is for the demonstration and substantiation of my argument only, and it is by no means exhaustive. I layer the data and produce visualisations that support my descriptions rather than performing regressions to demonstrate correlation effects. I verified the Wazimap boundaries and used the official shapefiles of the Municipal demarcations in 2011.

In the first map below, I have plotted the distribution of backyarder and informal settlements communities as recognised by the Partnership for Development in 2011 and outlined in the formal MoU. The data was provided in the form of a .kmz file produced on Google Earth by CORC.
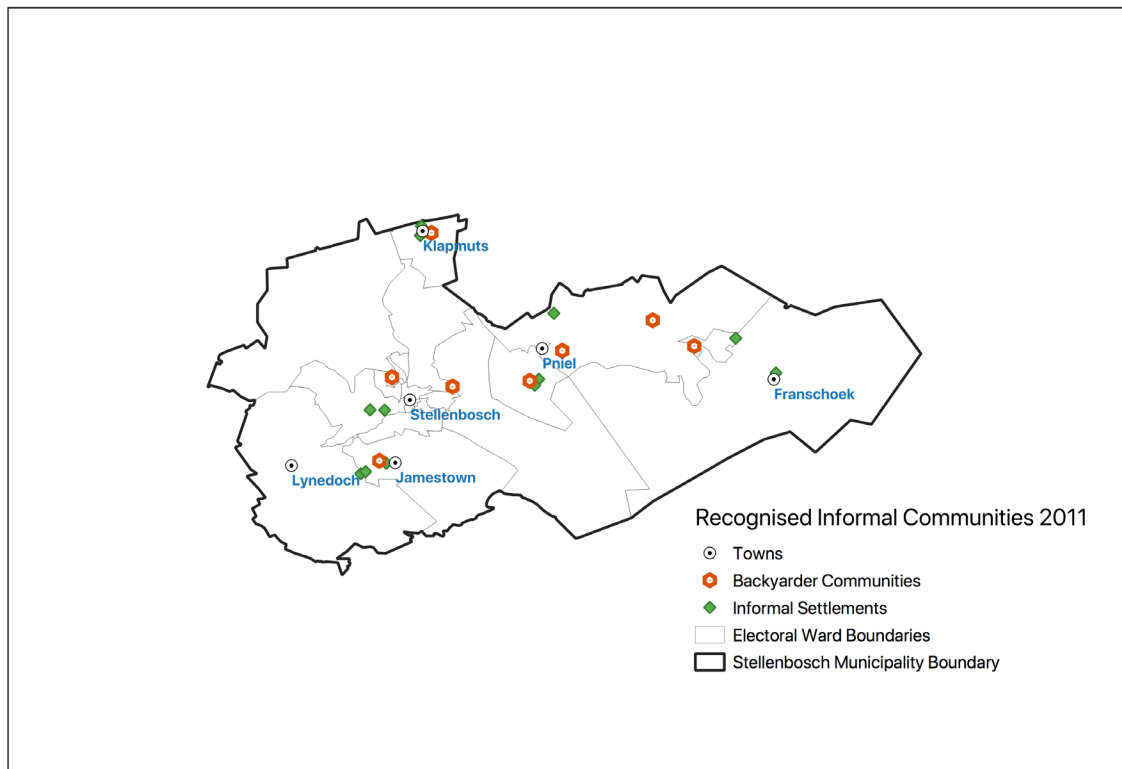
Figure 3: Distribution of backyarder and informal settlement communities in Stellenbosch Municipality 2011

A total of 22 settlements were listed in the MoU 2011 and included as Annexure A. However, only the location of 20 settlements were provided spatially. They would be ordered into 5 clusters along ward lines and assigned to the two field workers in the Informal Settlements Department. The backyarder communities in Jamestown, Idas Valley, Cloetesville, Lanquedoc, Kylemore, Klapmuts and Groendal would completely disappear from the monitoring list, despite their inclusion in the MoU 2011 as part of the urban poor in Stellenbosch Municipality. The map below also shows that Wards 12-15, the Kayamandi wards were clustered into Cluster 1. Stellensbosch was and remains to the largest extend defined by its segregation of space along lines of 'race'.
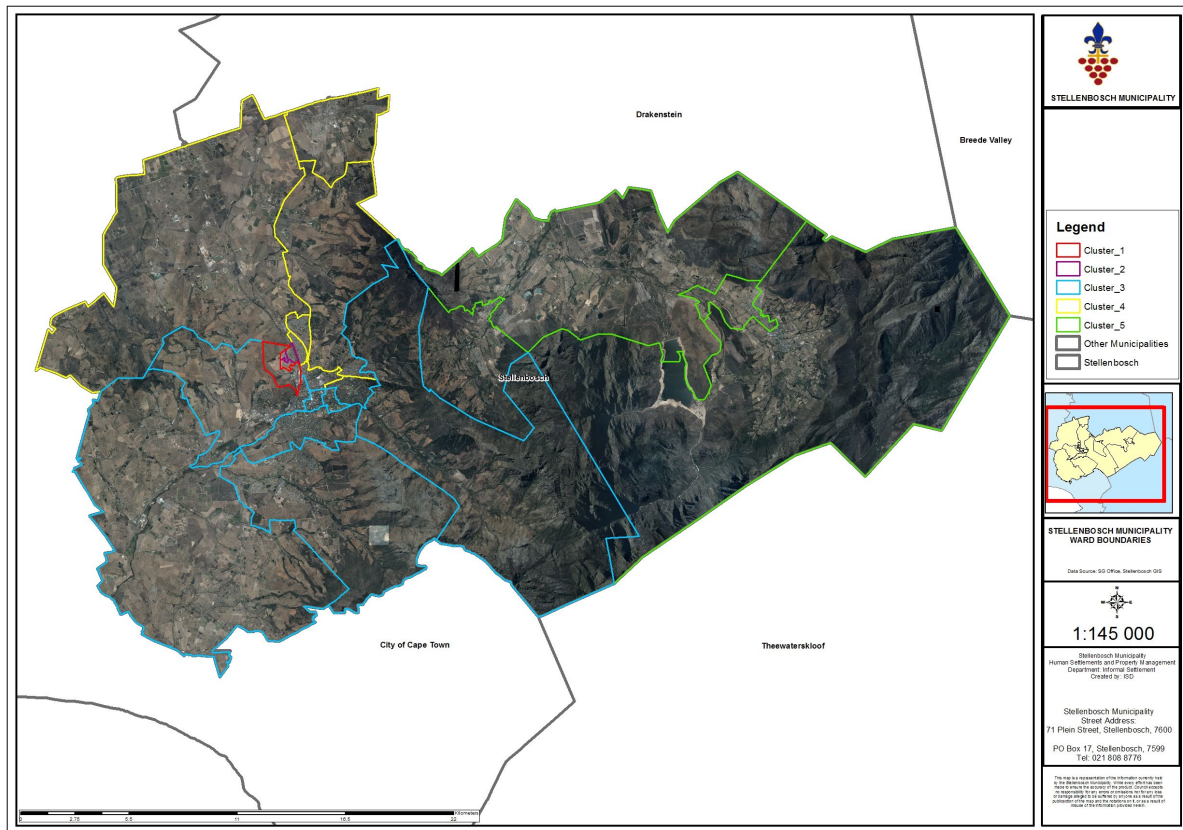
Figure 4: Clusters used for Informal Settlement Management (Source: Stellenbosch Municipality)

We cannot bracket 'race' from a contemporary analysis of poverty, place and population in Stellenbosch, but we need to take care that it does not become the only and sole focus of analysis of place and its affects and effects on the distribution of poverty and property. Parnell and Mabin (1995) argue that the "implicit acceptance of 'race' as a legitimate and primary category of inquiry has impoverished the understanding of residential segregation in the South African city" (Parnell and Mabin, 1995:1). They argue that the development of spatial segregation in South Africa is not as unique as is most often asserted in the literature of urban social history and geography in South Africa. That the "persistent treatment of South African urban segregation as unique" (Parnell and Mabin, 1995:24) limits the understanding and impact of urban management and modernism on the design and planning of South African cities in the early twentieth century. Rather than starting with 'race', they reflect on the "creation of race as part of the intricate development of modern urban society" (Parnell and Mabin, 1995:24).

While I share Parnell and Mabin's argument for more nuanced approaches in our analysis of urban South Africa, and concern to resist the desire and inclination to fetishise 'race', within the context of the socio-economic ontology of Stellenbosch, I acknowledge, even if not always explicitly, the role 'race' and patriarchy have played, and will continue play. For example, looking at the narrative Phillips invokes in the introduction to the Langrug enumeration report, *this is my slum* (2012), he claims the poor within the Municipality with the personal pronoun 'our'. His narrative during our interview is peppered with an almost paternal concern for the care and wellbeing of the poor in his jurisdiction.

Whether Phillips's fatherly concern was a personal or cultural impetus, I cannot tell. It may too have been a consequence of the political discourse and social policy in which he had come of age. Having grown up politically during the liberation struggle, he would have been deeply schooled in the in the manner in which social public policy played out during apartheid. Looking at the history of public health and social welfare policy in South Africa, Van Niekerk (2003) sketches out how racialised social policy for health and welfare were part and parcel of the apartheid era segregation and discrimination (Van Niekerk 2003:366). Van Niekerk traces the history of what he calls "dis-welfare" (Van Niekerk 2003:362) between 1948 – 1994. This era was marked and influenced by racialised access to public health and welfare that further relied on discourses around the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor, inherited from 1830s England and Wales (Van Niekerk 2003:364). ANC orientation to social policy reform was a) influenced by the Freedom Charter of 1955 (Van Niekerk 2003:365) and b) by the necessary de-racialisation of health and welfare care provision (Van Niekerk 2003:373).

However, Seeking and Natrass (2005) argue that the "formal de-racialisation of public policy in the last years of apartheid has not transformed an essentially inegalitarian system into an egalitarian one" (Seekings and Natrass 2005:46). Just as the poor white industrial class under apartheid was not the poorest of the poor, so too now the African working class was also not. As they continue: "the public welfare system in post-apartheid South Africa makes no provision for the many poor people who are not old enough for the pension nor young enough to qualify for child support. There is no provision for the long-term unemployed, nor for people who have never been employed" (Seeking and Natrass 2005:47). This group of people is predominantly the cohort Seekings (2014) describes as a) comprising a "demographic bulge" (Seekings 2014:70) in post-apartheid South Africa, and b) would likely "[entrench] some of the social, political and economic changes" (Seekings 2014:70) that were believed to be transitory (Seekings 2014:70).

The Census 2011, according to Seekings, showed that the largest proportion of South Africans were between 20 -29 years of age (Seekings 2014:3). For one, this group, according to Seekings, had already impacted the education system demanding more schools to be built and teachers to be employed as they were growing up. Now they were ready to enter the labour market and set up their own homes and raise their own families (Seekings 2014:71). I consider this trend together with earlier the work by Seekings and Natrass (2005) that showed that the intra-racial inequality was on the increase in South Africa (Seekings and Natrass 2005:155) and "accounting for between 50 percent and 59 percent of overall inequality" (Seekings and Natrass 2005:200). Now to take this into the context of the Stellenbosch in 2011 then more specifically Wards 12 -15 of the Municipality.

5.3.2.1 Demographics: 'Race' and age

I begin by mapping the spatial distribution of 'race' for black African and coloured populations as these are the populations I am interested in Figure 6 and Figure 7.
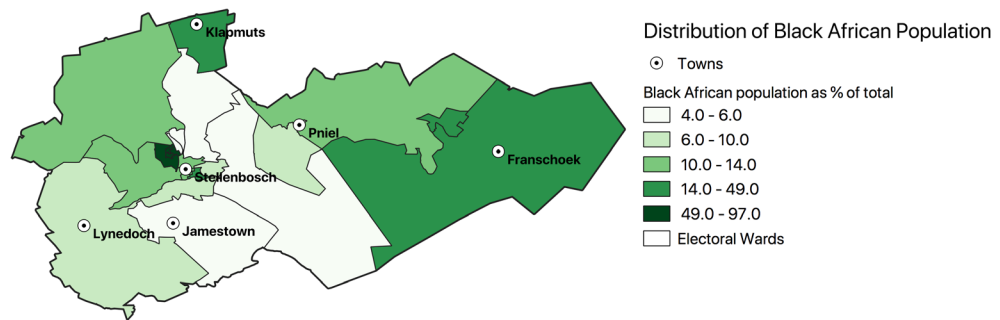

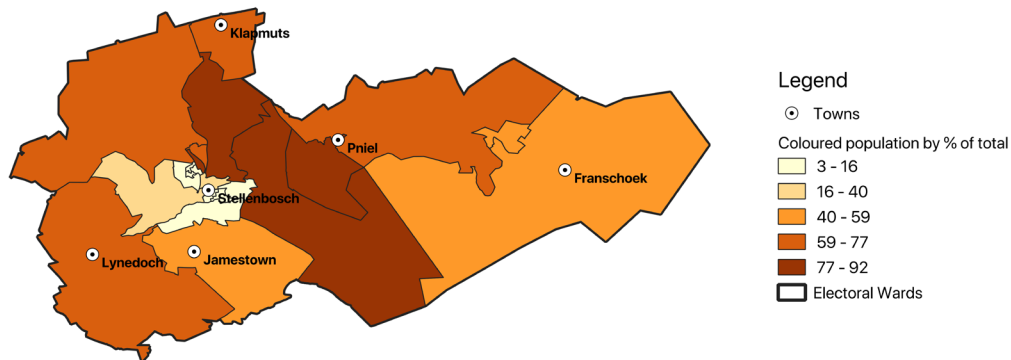**Figure 5: Distribution of Black African population**

Figure 6: Distribution of Coloured Populations

Figure 6 and Figure 7 above show how segregated the populations remained in Stellenbosch in 2011. The black African populations remained highly concentrated in the wards around the historically black township of Kayamandi. There were also higher percentages of black African populations in Wards 1 and 2 in Fransschoek and to the north in Klapmuts. This could be due to high demand for seasonal agricultural labour in these areas. The coloured populations are also predictably concentrated within the historically coloured townships of Idas Valley and Cloetesville in Stellenbosch. The coloured population was also the largest population group within the Municipality in 2011 and as a consequence is also more distributed across the Municipality. The smallest coloured populations in the Municipality are in Kayamandi and the high-income wards to the south of Stellenbosch town centre. These wards include neighbourhoods such as Die Boord, Dalsig and Brandwacht.

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As a next step, I am interested in the number and percentage of 20 – 29 years old residents in relation to the total population. Summarised in Table 1 below are the totals and percentages to total ward population for the age groups 20 -29 years old. The table shows that this demographic made up between 23% - 30.1%, that is between 1 in 4 and 1 in 3 persons falling into this demographic within these wards. It would look as if Seekings' (2014) 'demographic bulge' was definitely showing up in Stellenbosch Municipality.

Ward	Total population (TotPop)	Age 20 - 24yrs	% of TotPop	Age 25 - 29yrs	% of TotPop	Combined % of TotPop
10204012	7609	940	12,4	1352	17,8	30,1
10204013	1887	192	10,2	242	12,8	23,0
10204014	4028	493	12,2	645	16,0	28,3
10204015	9885	1167	11,8	1412	14,3	26,1

Table 2: Summary of age groups 20 - 29 years old across Wards 12-15

The four wards that make up Kayamandi cover a combined area of 3,55km^2 with a total population of 24 645 and 8779 dwellings according to Census 2011. The map below in Figure 8 shows the intersection of backyarder communities identified by the Partnership for Development for the purposes of the MoU in 2011 and the Census 2011 data for dwelling types. The Census differentiates between informal shacks not in backyards and shacks in backyard. The map shows the presence of backyarder shacks as a percentage of the total dwellings in the ward. The interval used is natural Jenks and shows the ratios range from 0% - 21.5% from the light to darker areas.
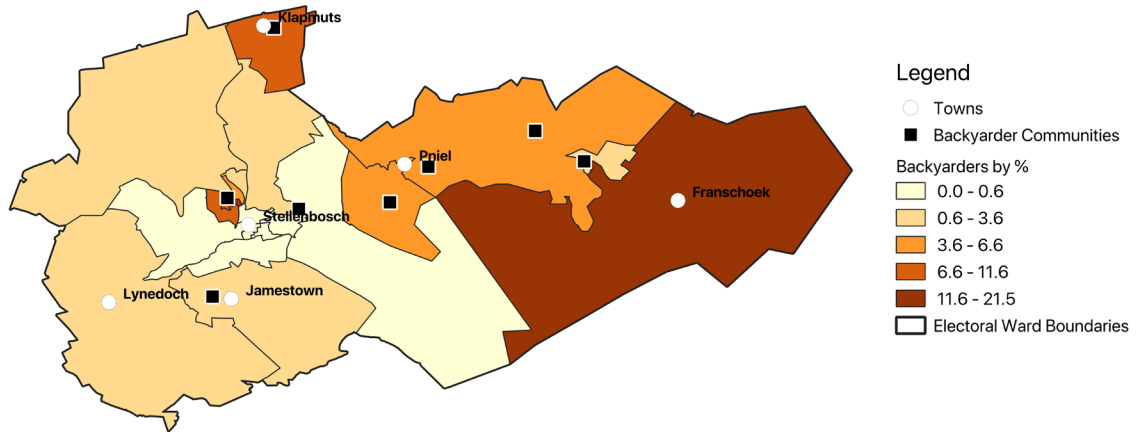
Figure 7: Distribution of Backyarder communities and percentage of backyard dwellings

Thus far the data has shown that the highest proportion and concentration of the black African population is the Municipality - 49% -97% of residents were black African. Next it showed that these wards also had high volumes of backyard dwellings, up to 11.2%. The majority of the black African and 'coloured' residents were living in backyard dwellings rather than in informal settlements. Backyarder shacks are the types of informal dwellings most often associated with the historic black African and coloured townships. And order to follow the data from Stellenbosch against Mongwe's (2010) argument, that these communities felt excluded by the development emphasis that was being put on informal settlements. Families put up wooden shacks known as Wendy houses or ones made of corrugated iron sheeting in their very tight backyards. These are often to accommodate adult children or used as rental units to supplement household incomes. Township houses during the apartheid era, also known as matchbox houses were typically around 40 square meters with yards barely wrapping around

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them. I remember visiting relatives or family friends in townships as a child and the houses were so densely packed that the chain metal fences that separated one house's yard from the next did not make sense to me at all to as barrier, because one could see and hear everything that was going on next door. This was very different from our own backyard into which my sister and I could hide away for hours playing in our garden shed that doubled as our playhouse or escape into the pepper tree in our front yard from our mother's long list of chores.

5.3.2.2 Household Income

On Wazimap the data for household income was presented as median annual household incomes. The data showed that these median annual household incomes fell in five main groups as shown below in Figure 9 within Stellenbosch Municipality. Households with respective median annual incomes of R14 600, R29 400, R57 300, R115 100 and R230 700. Figure 9 shows the distribution of the wards across these income groups. Seven of the twenty wards fall within the R57300 group. A total of eleven wards falls have a reported median annual household income of less that R30 000. In order to observe further granularity, I used the disaggregated data further for the group R14600 median annual income within which the Kayamandi wards fall into.
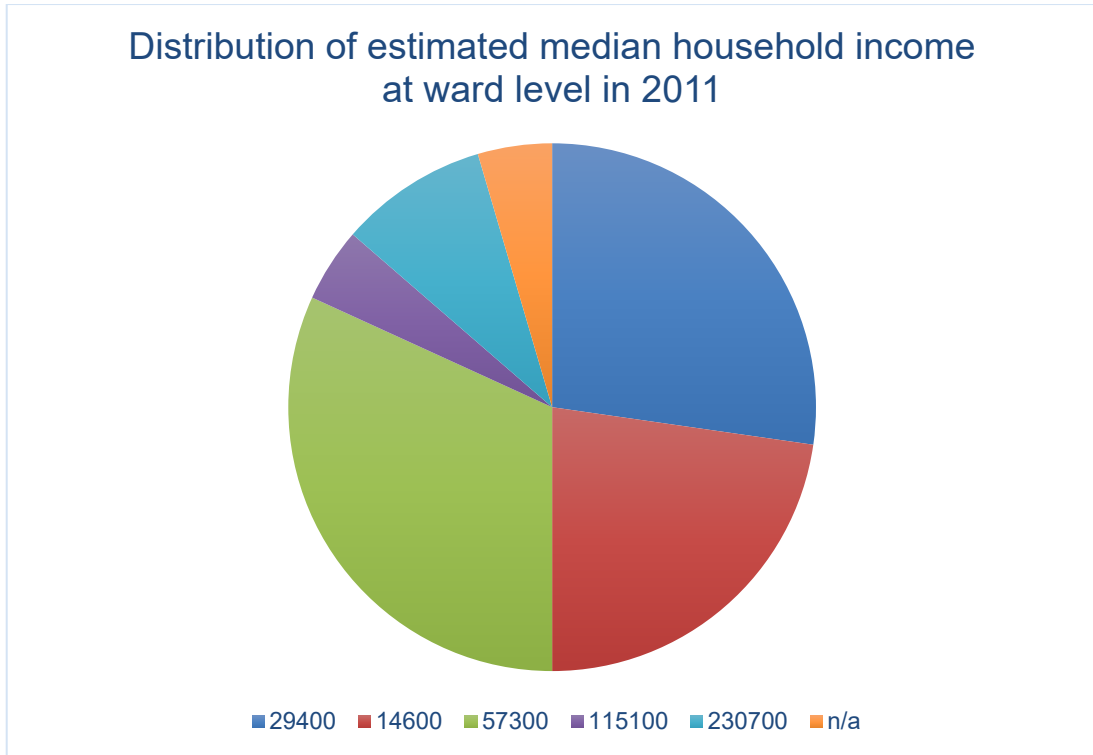
Distribution of estimated median household income at ward level in 2011

Legend: ■ 29400 ■ 14600 ■ 57300 ■ 115100 ■ 230700 ■ n/a

Figure 8: Median annual household income

Median Annual Household Incomce for Wards 12-15
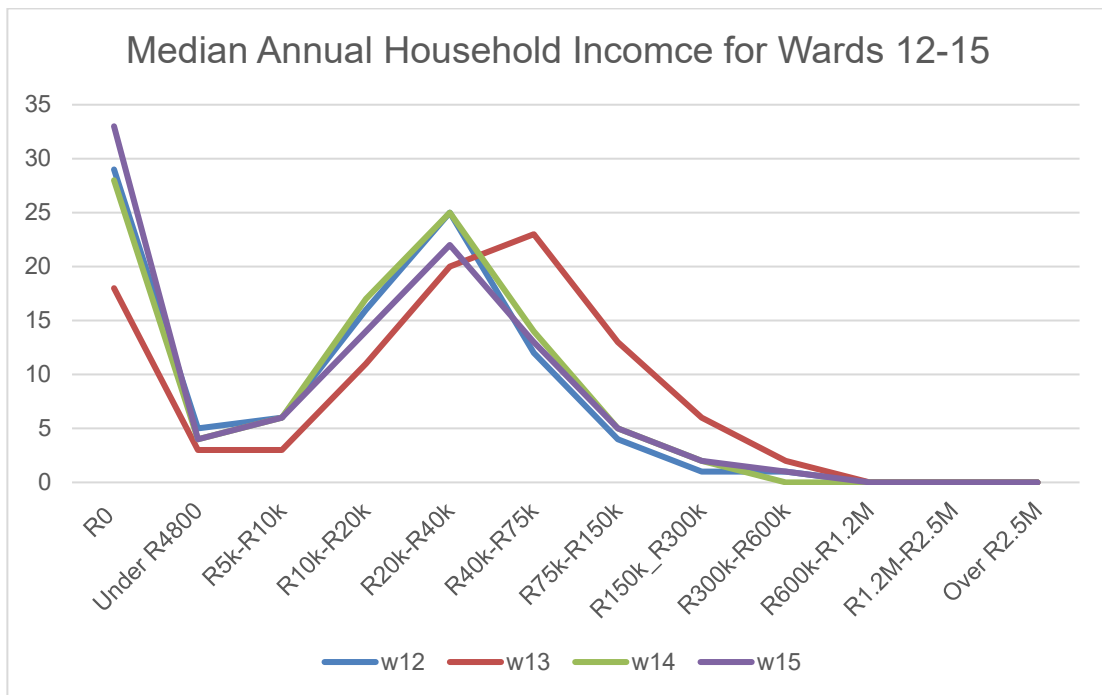

Legend: — w12 — w13 — w14 — w15

Figure 9: Disaggregation of median annual household income for Wards 12-15

Figure 10 above shows the disaggregated median annual household income for the four Kayamandi wards. Even though these are also median values it shows clear heterogeneity within these wards with regards to incomes. If they were homogenous, all the lines would have

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been on top of each other. I include this analysis here to show that there is more often than not stratification within urban poor communities. For incremental upgrading it may thus be prudent for policy makers and implementing agents to pay more attention to the nuances within communities as they plan development.

Drawing on the observations of the Enkanini enumeration, the majority of the population had reportedly migrated from their parental homes in Kayamandi to set up their own households in Enkanini. This observation was highlighted by the fact that the larger proportion of enumerated dwellings in Enkanini were single room and single occupancy dwellings. While overcrowding is often a characteristic associated with informal settlements, especially in the Western Cape, Enkanini was low density and sprawling in 2012. Around 52% (1165 of the total 2215) households enumerated were single person households. See figure below taken from my own analysis of the enumeration data of Enkanini performed in 2013 for internal use in the Municipality.
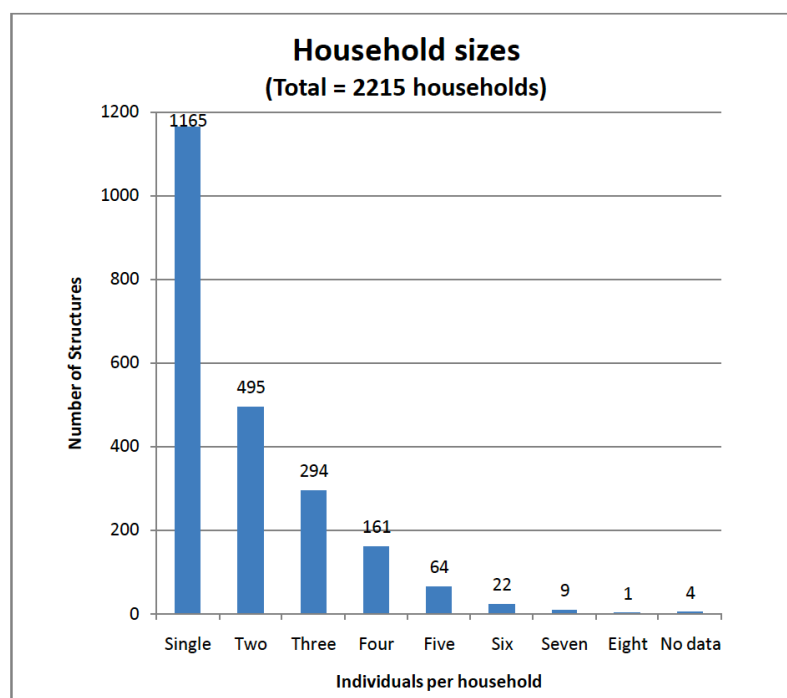

Figure 9: Household sises and individuals per household in Enkanani in 2012 enumeration (Source: Authors own analysis)

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5.3.3 Sub-conclusion

The Census 2011 held within it already good data on who and where the poor in Stellenbosch Municipality were. I would argue that this should have been the first port of call for the Partnership for Development in designing the enumerations in Stellenbosch. This would have given the program baseline data from which to then develop the particular and required nuances they required to illuminate the local particular conditions of poverty within the Municipality and design fit-for-place interventions, rather than working off an imported rubric. This kind of augmentation and complementation of census data was what SDI activists and communities worked towards since *We the Invisible* in Mumbai. The foundational data collection efforts of SDI were designed to address gaps in existing institutional data and in so doing not only provide the missing information, but literally use these gaps as entry points into dialogue with authorities.

In the case of Enkanini I would argue that these gaps and missed nuances included the disaggregated migration pattern showing the exactly who the young men who were setting up households in Enkanini were. It may have steered the Partnership for Development to explicitly address in their program the local, rather than assumed, causes of the proliferation of informal settlements like Enkanini within the Municipality and why these young men, most of them born in Stellenbosch were so justifiably angry in the local government's failure to provide housing and exclude them from meaningful participation within their city. Enkanini's migration pattern, the sises of the households and demographics with regards to age and 'race', coincide with the demographic Seekings (2014) describes as being part of the youth bulge visible in Census 2011. Following Seekings, I would argue that the granularity of the enumeration data with regards to migration, age and 'race', demonstrates that the households being set up in Enkanini were next generation households from families who had been living

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in or in the very least had long term connections to Kayamandi and therefore the city of Stellenbosch.

I would argue thus, that rather than a lack of data per se, there was more a lack of understanding and engagement with existing data that could have propelled the interventions of the Partnership for Development in a different direction. The investment in the enumerations were immense, both in capital and human resources and expectation. The budget earmarked for them was R400 000, with the largest portions going to the enumeration of Langrug and Enkanini. In addition, the social cost was also high. There would have been raised expectations from community members, activists and Municipal officials participating in the enumeration and supporting it. However, the lack of data analysis capacity and reporting skills within the SA SDI Alliance rendered these enumerations overwhelmingly, and one may even argue reduce, to an advocacy endeavour. Moreover, the question remains whether these enumerations kept up their promise to build social capital that was politically relevant for the urban poor communities in Stellenbosch.

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Chapter 6: Conclusion and Reflection

"Forget your perfect offering. There is a crack in everything. That's how the light gets in" *Anthem – Leonard Cohen*

How may we read social belonging for the population Seekings (2014) draws our attention to? Young people at the height of their vitality and productive age. Who persist in a kind of liminal space in the midst of a society and social order that at once require their strength and vitality, but constrained by socio-political and economic imaginations and ontologies. Persisting, not "in the abstract" (Povinelli 2011:78). How may we know what kinds of social capital they desire if the choices for how this may be built is still removed from them? They continue a struggle for recognition within a time where hegemonies from above and below are threatening to render them silent. For them as Povinelli continues "the dynamics of recognition depend on a temporal suspension of judgement that manifests as a social spacing – a bracketing of the other in a no-man's land of having been neither recognised nor denied recognition" (Povinelli 2011:76).

I am aware that I am treading a very delicate line, but my argument boils down to the following. There were a great many assumptions on both the side of the Municipality and SDI about who the urban poor in Stellenbosch were. Based on these assumptions the interventions within the Partnership for Development were framed to a) fit into the constraints of the upgrading of informal settlements program and b) to fit the political agenda in the run-up to the election. The Partnership for Development's MoU 2011was close to a dream realised for both the Municipality and SDI. Much was expected of it and much was hinged on its success. It was supposed to be the perfect offering in terms of progressive and partnership-based approach to informal settlement upgrading. Yes, there were many challenges and the capacities of both the

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Municipality and CORC | ISN were tested. Perhaps, they did as I argued miss the mundane reality of how public social policy and housing policy both during and post-apartheid and mass unemployment in a market dominated by formal employment opportunities, would affect a demographic that few were taking notice of. In doing so, did they miss the nuance of the urban poor in Stellenbosch Municipality and an opportunity to support the requisite politically relevant social capital for them?

The proliferation of informal settlements and the focus on their eradication in the run-up to 2014 national election, put political pressure on politicians and activists alike and in hindsight, reflecting away from the pressure of the time – one can always argue that things could have been done differently. Enkanini is but one settlement and Stellenbosch a very particular municipality, even in the South African urban space, but I would argue that this case highlighted important considerations in understanding the proliferation of informal settlements as perhaps the symptoms of an unattended diagnosis of internal migration and demographic changes in urban South Africa. And that these dimensions deserve more consideration in future research.

As Leonard Cohen says though, let us forget, or rather suspend the perfect offering and acknowledge the crack that the Partnership for Development opened up for more engaged action from communities, the Municipality and even Ward Councillors. When we consider social capital, especially politically relevant social capital within the complex constellations of power differentials and competing interests, it may be useful to take a broad and a long view of social relations and their potentiality. And look not for immediate results, but keep in mind that social capital is built over time and that the actors, all the actors, especially the less obvious ones, may capitalise on it and continue to utilise it.

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Personal Reflection on my research experience

The journey of this research and writing this thesis was an incredibly lonely experience. I chose, contrary and very much in opposition to my fellow researchers within the Enkanini research group and other researchers within our Department to understand the Municipality's role of what was happening in Enkanini and consequently other informal settlements within the Municipality. It was incredibly sexy and easy during 2011 – 2013 (perhaps even still today) to cast the Municipality as the villain within the dramatisation of informal settlements upgrading. Stellenbosch Municipality was not immune to the often violent service delivery protests that raged through South Africa in the run-up to the 2014 general election.

While I appreciate the work done by other researchers and agree that it has its place within the history of informal settlements upgrading in Stellenbosch, I was and remain deeply disturbed by what I can only describe as a seduction by and need for the spectacular that emerged in this kind of research. This is a disturbing turn I saw many of my fellow researchers taking. 'Sojourning' – a practice during which middle class students would live in informal settlements, a practice actively encouraged by faculty, has no place in ethical research. Informal settlements are not 'other spaces', they are a devasting testament to a deep societal failure of our democracy. The poor are not a research subject or object, they are our fellow human beings who deserve the best of our knowledge and compassion to ameliorate and alleviate the circumstances they have to endure. It is our role as anthropologists to witness and observe and then bring these into critical reflection and analysis. Social anthropology is perhaps always of necessity concerned with the mundane and very few of us will experience a Balinese cockfight and we should resist the urge to create our own.

The two years I spend at the Municipality was a politically intense and dynamic time. It would have certainly been a little more sexy to write a thesis about this – some have. But these events lacked detail for me and the everyday work in the Municipality has little to with paying attention to politics. I sifted through and organised a lot of data and updated reports. Unless one has a passion for it, it is dry and soul wrenching work. However, this data was often the difference between a person existing or not and a mundane database problem/inaccuracy for example not finding a women on the enumeration data base who wanted to extend her shack and who claimed she had been living in a settlement for many years, could escalate into a political issue and Municipal workers being blocked from a settlement to perform routine the next week.

A lot of the work consisted in collective learning with communities, ward councillors and finding loopholes to facilitate much needed interventions. I learned statecraft and gentle and not so gentle arts of negotiation. I learned the value of infrastructure. From the power of a bulk infrastructure carrying road, to the ditch that diverts water away a communal water tap to prevent children breaking out into unknown sores, to how the height of a toilet door in a communal toilet facility can make women feel safe or unsafe.

I was in the writing up of this thesis wholly inadequate in creating space for the voice of those whose lives and practice I had the privilege to witness and bring them with nuance and respect into a critical reflection that will do justice to their generosity and everyday struggles. It is my hope though, that what small measure of insight I brought here, will be a crack to let in the light and will encourage me and others to continue the slow work of witnessing the mundane and as I learned in SDI only open up the space for it to amplify its own voice and not be the voice *of* it.

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