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Citizenship Green Paper

Citizenship and Public Participation in the City of Johannesburg

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September 2008

This document covers the following issues: how citizens of Johannesburg understand the concept of “citizenship,” how they understand what it means to be an urban citizen, and how theories of public participation link to understandings of citizenship. In addition, the document includes a summary of best practices, national and international, in respect of active citizenship and public participation.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The aim of this project was the preparation of a Green Paper on Citizenship which could inform the City of Johannesburg's strategies for the promotion of **active citizenship**. In accordance with Chapter 2 of the Constitution and the Municipal Systems Act of 2000, the COJ has committed itself to encouraging participatory processes and introducing a **culture of citizenship** that will contribute to a **deepening of democracy**. The City ultimately envisions a new kind of **governance from below**, with citizens actively making their voices heard and assuming responsibility for their duties as citizens.

The project took the form of an extensive international and local best practice survey of work on participatory governance and active citizenship. In addition, the research also included nine focus groups including 62 Johannesburg residents. The purpose of the focus groups was to determine a random selection of Johannesburg residents' views on issues of citizenship. The project also interviewed individuals, including ward councilors, with specialist knowledge of city processes.

Over the course of this project, it has become clear that, despite considerable evidence of the City's commitment to promoting popular participation, a significant proportion of the City's residents remain unable to exercise their rights to participation in any meaningful way. The **deepening of democracy** in South Africa, and specifically in the COJ, **is a work in progress**. As part of this process, the capacity of residents as well as of city officials needs to be strengthened as the way forward will demand both a more active civil society which can express the wishes of citizens and a more responsive and effective COJ management which can ensure the delivery of services and real engagement with citizens.

The research reveals that City officials may face a number of obstacles when they attempt to enhance citizen participation. It is very important to avoid **stakeholder or consultation fatigue**, which can result when stakeholders feel manipulated by authorities. This tends to happen when stakeholders make the time and effort to participate but then either feel that their inputs are not taken seriously or when they

see no noticeable effect from engaging in consultation processes. It is thus crucial that participatory initiatives should be reserved for situations where citizens can make real contributions and where authorities have the resources to ensure that decisions are implemented in a **visible** manner.

In all the project phases, the focus was on exploring approaches to and experiences of **active** rather than **traditional citizenship**. The shift between these two conceptions of citizenship is represented in the table below:

Traditional Citizenship	Active Citizenship
Rights and Obligations	Powers and Responsibilities
Focused on the Civil Society-State Relationship	Focused on all Policies Affecting the Lives of Citizens
Government Context	Governance Context
Electoral Participation	Civic Participation

In order to establish a background against which the rest of the Green Paper should be read and understood, the paper also provides a history of the concept of citizenship and an overview of the public participation processes that the COJ has already implemented. An analysis of the recent upsurge in xenophobic violence in terms of active citizenship and the interventions of local government serves to demonstrate some of the most urgent challenges currently facing the city in its interactions with residents.

While there are many different approaches to facilitating citizens' participation, there is broad consensus that different communities and particular segments within the same community will respond best to specifically tailored techniques for encouraging active citizenship and participatory local governance. To get the most from best practice guidelines, it is thus important to keep in mind that

The "process, expertise and technology are transferable, but not the solution"
(*Habitat Debate* 2006)

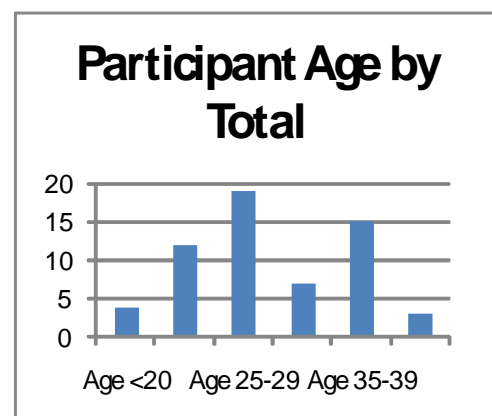
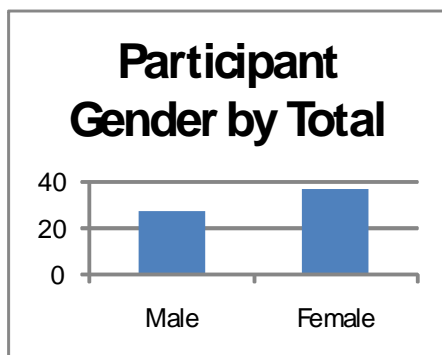
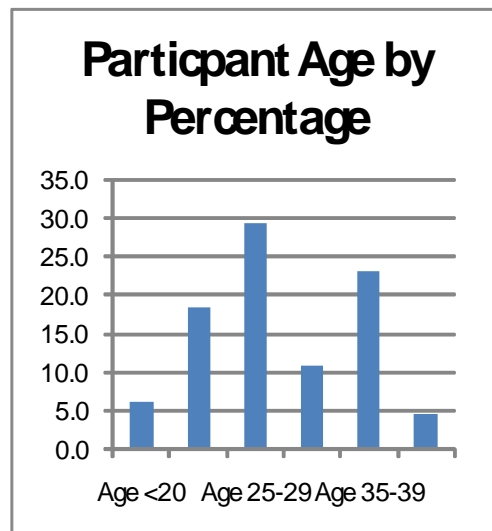
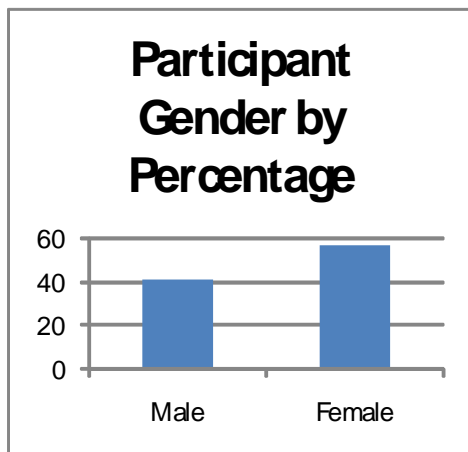
The literature review reveals that it is necessary to collate projects and to compile best practice guidelines from the parts of the projects that functioned successfully while learning from the aspects that failed. In other words, a search for definitive best practices is likely to end in disappointment but the more difficult task of analysing even partially successful practices is necessary to excavate lessons from the work that has been done. In this chapter we identify projects and interventions that have been implemented in specific communities and that have included best practices with respect to encouraging active citizenship and participatory local governance. These projects are explored to ascertain and explain precisely what mechanisms were employed and how they were employed to lead to successful outcomes. The literature tends to deal with participatory citizenship in terms of the ways in which citizens and local governments address certain issues. For this reason and for the sake of structural simplicity, we organise the interventions according to the issues they are meant to address. These subsections are health citizenship, housing citizenship, citizens making their cities safer, environmental citizenship, spaces and skills that set the stage for effective citizen participation and participatory budgeting. While some of the practices will be particularly useful for the specific issue they are being used to address, others will have the potential to be replicated successfully in many different kinds of interventions.

The following groups were interviewed:

- Group 1: External migrants. This group consisted of Zimbabwean women from different areas and with a mix of occupations
- Group 2: External migrants. This group consisted of Congolese men from different areas and with a mix of occupations
- Group 3: Internal migrants. This group consisted of men who have migrated from elsewhere in South Africa to Johannesburg. They were from different areas and they had a mix of occupations
- Group 4: Street traders. This groups consisted of South African women who were working in the CBD and Soweto
- Group 5: Informal settlement residents. This group consisted of South African men who were living in Sweetwater and Protea Glen

- Group 6: Faith-based group. This was a Christian women’s group from Ebony Park
- Group 9: South African women. The women in this group were from Lenasia and, although they had a mix of occupations, some of them were teachers
- Group 8: South African women. These women were all secretaries from the Western suburbs
- Group 9: University students. This group included male and female students from South Africa

Groups 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 9 can be categorised as low income groups while groups 7 and 8 were middle income groups and group 6 was a mixed income group.



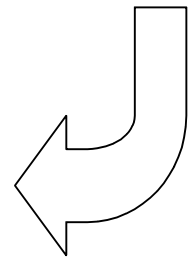
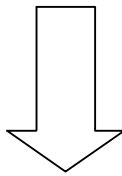
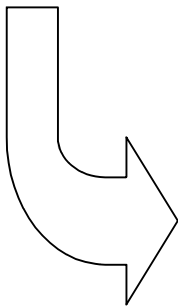
A moderator asked each group to respond to certain predetermined questions. When asked about their understanding of citizenship, it emerged that for most people citizenship remains an issue of nationality. People did not seem to associate themselves easily with the concept of **urban citizenship** at a local level. The groups were also asked about the responsibilities of citizens. For most groups, not committing and fighting crime were primary responsibilities of a citizen. The second most-mentioned issue in the responsibilities of citizens related to the cleanliness of people's environments. The question about what constitutes a "good citizen" revealed that **participants understand "good citizen" as being something different to being a "citizen"**. Good citizenship is about helping out one's fellow human beings, about personal relationships, and about relationships in one's immediate community. In other words, while citizenship is a status tied to the nation, good citizenship is a quality tied to behaviour towards one's fellow human beings – and not the state (or in this case, the city). Initiatives targeting a culture of citizenship should tap into this feeling, not into feelings towards a particular organisational entity.

The discussion of people's experiences of being citizens in Johannesburg repeatedly raised concerns about personal safety, the South African Police, health, unemployment and housing. When asked about participation and hindrances to participation, it became clear that people had very little knowledge about city powers and functions. Those who were aware of the ward council system found it poorly facilitated by the city and tended to complain about their ward councillors. There was a strong sense that councillors were "going through the motions" of facilitating participation rather than encouraging substantive citizen power. And if people did feel as if their voices had been heard, and if the ward councils had involved community members, the city did not deliver on what people discuss. Lack of delivery is thus a major stumbling block in support of the public participation system as it results in the frustration associated with **stakeholder or consultation fatigue**. What is at issue here is the perception of delivery as much as delivery itself. So, while the utility of public participation at a theoretical level is not in dispute, opinions of its practice are more complicated.

Lack of knowledge of public participation

If knowledge, a) lack of time/ ability to get to meeting venues or b) ward council system is ineffective and/or too focused on party politics

If council system is effective, lack of delivery still an issue.



Lack of public participation

However, despite the lack of familiarity or enthusiasm around council processes, the fact that people felt participation in principle was a good thing meant that participation was directed to other, non-city processes. Although it is difficult to know how honest people were being when they talked about community involvement, a significant number of people were involved in participatory and decision-making processes through, for instance, their churches or other similar bodies. These, though, are more small-scale and more local in effect than city-wide initiatives. People clearly felt comfortable with helping out in their immediate vicinity, but more alienated from wider processes.

In addition to the data produced by the focus groups, councillors from the following regions were interviewed, either telephonically or in person: B, C, D, E and F. Although a number of councillors commented on their constituents' lack of

knowledge about the rights and responsibilities of both citizens and local authorities, the **councillors' own understandings of citizenship** were not much more sophisticated than those that emerged in the focus groups. The councillors' main concerns had to do with corruption and incompetence amongst city official as well as failures in service delivery. Most councillors described participation in their wards as poor, but they tended to disregard people's involvement in churches, charity organisations and NGOs.

Some recommendations were made as to how the COJ might use the research as the basis for a citizenship strategy. The recommendations are made subject to an awareness that the COJ is constrained in terms of how it may function, and that ideal solutions around generating citizenship may bear little relationship to what the city is capable of achieving, given its own set of responsibilities and constraints.

Concepts of citizenship are very poorly understood across the board. If you want people to know what being a good citizen means, you need to tell them. This includes council employees and councillors.

Any attempt to grow a culture of citizenship needs to understand citizenship in terms of what we have outlined above. Crucially, any strategy would take into account the need to 'rebrand' notions like 'culture of citizenship' with 'being a good citizen'. The former is too vague for most people to understand. To rephrase this in terms of the COJ's previously-agreed upon formula of citizenship, people are most readily able to understand the social component of citizenship.

[legal component] + [political component] + [social component] = [cosmopolitan citizen]
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Further, strategies to encourage good citizenship need to be multi-faceted. While ward committees are an effective way to promote the political component outlined above, another level of strategy is needed to promote the social component. Ward councillors and committees, because of their party political nature, should not be the

only avenues of COJ contact with different regions. Over-focusing on ward committees runs the risk of stakeholder fatigue.

In addition, strategies around the promotion of urban citizenship also need to take into account the different ways in which people understand themselves to be residents of a city. Some associate as workers, some as permanent residents, and almost all interact chiefly with only small areas of the city. Few people really think of themselves as citizens of the vast region known as Johannesburg. Strategies to promote citizenship would therefore respond to way of thinking. Such a strategy might respond to the particular needs of a community, and might well work through already existing social assistance/ church/ community projects. This might include intervention strategies that display COJ commitment around delivery, but do not necessarily involve participation.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Since 1994, South Africa has been guided by policy and legislative frameworks that facilitate participatory governance. The centrality of citizen participation in South Africa's governance is enshrined in Chapter 2 of the Constitution while the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 articulates the requirements for citizens' participation at municipal level. The terminology of the legislation makes it clear that the involvement of citizens is more than a suggestion as it refers to their "right" to participate and to the council's "duty" to encourage such participation¹. In 2002 the City of Johannesburg adopted a policy on public participation as part of its ongoing project of developing "a culture of community participation through creating conditions for local communities to participate in the affairs of the City"². The Executive Mayor of Johannesburg, Amos Masondo, reaffirmed the City's commitment to these values in a speech to the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) in Sebokeng on 12 March 2007 when he noted that the City "engages in participatory processes aimed at deepening democracy – not merely token consultation or manipulation". In terms of **Arnstein's ladder of participation** (1969), the mayor thus distinguishes between tokenism and substantive citizen power and aligns the City's policies with the latter. Arjun Appadurai (2002) explains that this is a new kind of "**governance from below**".

1.1 The Challenges

Despite the "considerable evidence" of the government's "commitment to promoting popular participation and creating opportunities for the voices of the poor to be heard", a significant proportion of the South African population remains unable to exercise their rights to participation in any meaningful way (Tapscott, 2007:82). It is, however, important to realise that this is not a problem that is unique to South Africa or even to newly democratic or developing countries. On the contrary, the literature reveals that highly developed countries are increasingly seeking innovative ways of

¹ Municipal Systems Act 2000, sections 4 (c) and 5 (a).

² Policy Framework for Civic Education, draft 2. 22nd November 2006.

involving their citizens in governance because of a growing concern that people are not contributing or belonging to their communities as citizens. When citizen participation is primarily reduced to participation by elite, resource-rich and organised civil society groups, the result can be a downsizing rather than a deepening of democracy. **The deepening of participatory democracy in South Africa is a work in progress** and lessons can be drawn from communities ranging from as close as Bonteheuwel and Durban to those as far a field as Bolivia and the United Kingdom.

1.2 Accessing the Benefits of Citizen Participation

Existing research on the benefits of citizen participation suggests that the investment will be richly rewarded in terms of the democratic fruits that it can yield. The ultimate goal driving the commitment to active citizenship is “a vision of strong, active, and empowered communities – increasingly capable of doing things for themselves, defining the problems they face and then tackling them together” (Blunkett, 2003:1).

Increasingly, however, there is a recognition that this vision can only be realised by working on both sides of the stakeholder equation. In other words, both the capacity of community members to participate and the responsiveness of city officials to such participation need to be encouraged. Cornwall and Gaventa (2001:32) note that, “[i]n both the South and North there is a growing consensus that the way forward is found in a focus on *both* a more active and engaged civil society which can express demands of the citizenry *and* a more responsive and effective state which can secure the delivery of needed public services”. According to the Commonwealth Foundation (1999:76,82), **the capacity of residents as well as of city officials thus needs to be strengthened** as both participatory democracy and responsive government are “mutually reinforcing and supportive”.

While citizens’ participation has been addressed by national government, it is a particularly important issue for local government because this is the level at which the needs of citizens are most immediate and apparent and at which they are most able and likely to access government. Hemson (2007:10) identifies three levels at which citizens can participate in local government:

1. The most formal level at which citizens can participate by voting in municipal elections
2. Citizens can make their voices heard by becoming involved in official structures such as ward committees or consultation meetings. This type of participation has also been referred to as “**invited participation**” (Ballard, 2007:19)
3. People can exercise their citizenship rights and fulfil their citizenship responsibilities by engaging in a wide variety of social practices and movements, ranging from organising memoranda and marches to joining or establishing community organisations. When citizens initiate such participation outside official structures, they are said to be involved in “**invented**” **spaces of participation**.

In addition to the ideological goal of encouraging active citizenship and participatory governance in order to deepen democracy, a number of very tangible and immediate benefits also result from increased citizen participation. When citizens are actively involved in local governance they “are able to feel ownership and a sense of affinity for the system, beyond merely viewing local government as an engine for service delivery” (Mathekga and Buccus, 2007:16).

Such a scenario “recognises the agency of citizens as ‘makers and shapers’ rather than as ‘users and choosers’ of interventions and services designed by others” (Cornwell and Gaventa, 2000).

Examples of the advantages of such a situation include:

- When problems arise and service delivery falls short of expectations, citizens are more likely to engage in the process of seeking a solution and less likely to express their dissatisfaction through protests or opting out of the system and thus exacerbating the problem.
- Involved citizens will also exhibit greater understanding of and confidence in the activities of their municipalities

- A municipality that enjoys the confidence of its constituents will, in turn, be more efficient and confident to experiment with innovative ways of service delivery.
- Efficiency and the quality of decisions will further be enhanced if the people who are affected by those decisions have a role in their formulation.
- The implementation of a theoretically sound policy or decision is often the stage at which a municipality encounters the greatest hurdles. This can also be eased by citizen participation since involved citizens will have greater understanding of what is being done and why it is being done.
- While attention has been drawn to the expense and time involved in citizen participation, it can also save money since communication can ensure that services will be delivered in ways that are appropriate and that they target the people who need them. From this perspective, citizen participation can thus help councils to make the best possible use of limited resources.

1.3 Tackling the Barriers to Citizen Participation

The crux of the challenge facing local government structures is to develop strategies which “ensure that effective participation becomes a mainstream feature of the activities of the authority and not a bolt-on extra” (Guidance on Enhancing Public Participation). Local authorities should, in other words, **foster a culture of participation** rather than merely encouraging participation in designated projects. Without changing the institutional culture of local authorities, they run the risk of appearing to pay lip service to the importance of participation. A study from the United Kingdom notes that participation initiatives may unduly raise the expectations of citizens while local authorities remain wary of sharing power. This could then lead to **stakeholder or consultation fatigue** if stakeholders feel manipulated by authorities who never really intended to consider their inputs seriously. Such an outcome has the potential to undermine the trust between a local authority and residents and the resultant disillusionment could find its expression in protests. Insincere attempts at involving citizens could thus paradoxically spark the very kinds of extreme citizen reactions that authorities try to avoid by involving citizens in the first place.

Instead of uncritically following the general trend which assumes that participation is always a good thing, a more selective approach to the utilisation of participatory initiatives is needed to ensure that they do not become counter-productive. They should ideally be reserved for “situations where participants can make a meaningful contribution and where resources are available to implement outcomes” (Richards, Sherlock and Carter, 2004). When these conditions are not present, it may be more appropriate to involve citizens at a lower rung on **Arnstein’s ladder**, for instance, by merely informing them about a decision that has been taken to address an emergency situation.

Some theorists are increasingly cautious and go so far as to refer to the “**tyranny of participation**” (Cooke and Kothari, 2001) where they warn that participation may be used to give decisions an unwarranted “veneer of democratic legitimacy” (Richards et. al., 2004) that allows the authority to dodge full responsibility for the outcome of a decision or a process. Even when participatory urban governance is adopted with the best of intentions in order to bring about true transformation, more and more commentators “have called for caution, highlighting the shaky grounds upon which such supposed progressive outcomes too often repose” (Lipietz, 2008:136).

When local authorities embark on the journey of making citizens real partners in a process of deepening and widening local participatory democracy, they need to be aware of the obstacles they may be facing along the way. These may include:

- Authorities may start from a space of hostility if citizens already blame the municipality for past failures and are negatively inclined towards the council and its officers.
- Citizens may also lack awareness about participatory opportunities that already exist. The City of Johannesburg is addressing this difficulty with a comprehensive citizenship education plan that aims to ensure that citizens fully understand their rights and the avenues that are available for exercising those rights.

- Citizens are also unlikely to devote their time and energy to participation if they sense that such an investment will be pointless since the authorities are unlikely to act on their contributions. In other words, when they feel that they are simply involved to rubber stamp decisions that have already been made the **consultation fatigue** that was mentioned above becomes a very real possibility.
- A further difficulty arises if decision makers in local authorities are unwilling to let go of complete control over the decision making process, even though they may offer rhetorical support for participation. This reluctance is understandable when one keeps in mind that these officials, rather than the citizens who contribute to the process, are ultimately accountable and must take responsibility for the outcomes.
- Finally, it is important that the authorities realise that certain segments of the community may feel that their participation is less valuable or recognised than that of others, for example the middle-class. A number of theorists have expressed concern that forums in which many stakeholders are included may be monopolised by interests that are already well organised and resourced. As a result, citizens who lack these attributes may find that their engagement is de-legitimised.

These dangers mean that any strategy on citizen participation should adhere to a number of guidelines, regardless of the specificities of the particular project that is being undertaken. Some of the most important guidelines are summarised below:

- The starting point of any participation strategy should be a clear understanding of the current situation and the goals of the strategy. The City of Johannesburg has articulated the objectives of its policy on community participation to include
 1. meeting the legal requirements around community participation according to the Municipal Systems Act,
 2. building an accountable and transparent governance system,
 3. developing a culture of participation,
 4. developing mechanisms through which participation can take place,

5. assisting vulnerable groups to participate effectively and
 6. providing sufficient information regarding participation and participation opportunities to communities (Policy Framework for Civic Education).
- Excellent communication within the authority and beyond is essential. City officials must be aware of the participatory structures that are in place and they must be able to communicate with the community about the options for participation that are available.
 - It is particularly important that such communication should reach more than the “usual suspects” (Guidance on Enhancing Public Participation). The City of Johannesburg’s focus on assisting vulnerable groups to participate effectively reveals their awareness that particular sectors of the community need more help to participate than others.
 - It is essential that “ownership of the participation agenda is as deeply ingrained as possible” in all sections of the community. In this regard the City of Johannesburg has also made important advances through efforts at capacity building ranging from citizenship education and community development to acknowledging the particular needs of target groups who face specific challenges to participation, such as the youth, migrants and women³.

1.4 Project Identification and Research Aims

The aim of the project was the preparation of a White Paper on Citizenship. It is hoped that the White Paper will form the basis of a strategy – a “road plan” – which, in conjunction with other initiatives (notably the Community-Based Planning Process), the City of Johannesburg will be able to use to promote and encourage “active citizenship”. This document should be seen as helping to give content to

³ The City of Johannesburg is a member of the UN Habitat/UNICEF’s Child Friendly Cities Initiative. The “Children in Johannesburg” report was published in June 2004 after being commissioned by the Office of the City Manager when a Human Development Agenda was being developed for the City. The City also sought greater understanding of the specific needs of migrants and of women by commissioning the reports “Migrants in the City of Johannesburg” and “Women in the City of Johannesburg” (both June 2004).

further city strategies around public participation, through its contribution to the debate on the relationship between a culture of citizenship and public participation.

The document is intended to inform broader goals around:

- a) providing citizens with the information necessary to; and
- b) producing citizens with the means to
 - become active in making their voices heard
 - assume responsibility for their duties as citizens
 - pay due heed to the laws through which order and harmony in the city are maintained
 - respect and care for their fellow citizens
- c) introducing a “culture of citizenship”, in which both city employees and ordinary citizens can share.

In sum, the project’s aim is a document which provides critical engagement with concepts around the enhancement of participatory local government and public participation processes through “conscientizing” citizens into adopting and engaging with the concept of “active citizenship”. This is also sometimes known as building citizen capacity or building a culture of citizenship. These citizens would include stakeholders at all levels, those on the side of “supply” i.e. ward councillors, city employees and those on the side of “demand” i.e. residents. The document will also consider how to promote concepts of active citizenship amongst different age groups, including the youth.

A subsidiary aim of the project has been to identify why it is that citizens of Johannesburg do not always identify as citizens of the city. Linked to this is the issue of why participatory local government is so difficult to achieve.

1.5 Rationale for Project

The goal of a white paper flows from a process already underway in the Office of the Speaker (OS), City of Johannesburg (COJ). Between 2006 and 2007, strategic objectives for the OS, COJ were drafted. One of these objectives (no.2) focused on the need for the OS to “Build a viable and sustainable participatory process through the development of a citizenship culture and the capacitation of role players to

participate effectively” (Vortex, 2007). This objective forms part of the OS Five Year Strategic Plan. The Citizenship White Paper is part of COJ initiatives around achieving the strategic objective.

1.6 Background

In 2006, a sub-directorate on citizenship was established in the OS. Since then, it has been the task of this directorate to drive the strategic objectives linked to citizenship forward. The directorate’s responsibilities around citizenship include:

- Communication and marketing
- School curriculum intervention
- Supporting the Johannesburg Student and Children’s Councils
- School Interventions

In order to make sure that all these processes “speak from the same page” with respect to citizenship, a workshop was held in April 2007 to consider meanings of citizenship. The meaning of citizenship put forward in this document was adopted by the stakeholders at the workshop as a baseline document for other work on citizenship. The workshop did not produce a definition, but rather a “formula” for citizenship, which is discussed further on in this document.

Following this workshop, a draft discussion document on Citizenship (entitled Citizenship) was prepared for adoption by the OS. The document consists of different sub-sections dealing with the progress of the OS thus far in respect of the responsibilities (bulleted points) above. In order to take the process further, the Citizenship directorate then engaged the Centre for Culture and Language in Africa, a research centre at the University of Johannesburg, to complete the work needed for a city citizenship vision. This process occupied the first half of 2008. The Citizenship White Paper is the outcome of this process.

2 METHODOLOGY AND OUTCOMES

The original research design was based on the needs of the project:

- to provide information on city residents' opinions of citizenship
- to provide some information on the nature and practices surrounding citizenship
- to provide detailed information on national and international best practices around participatory methods of governance and
- to provide an analysis of these issues as a way forward

In order to achieve these objectives, the research fell into different phases:

- a detailed policy and practice survey, undertaken by means of a literature review
- focus groups to gauge Johannesburg residents' opinions of citizenship
- interviews with experts

A qualitative methodology was followed through all these phases.

2.1 Qualitative versus Quantitative Research

A popular misconception exists about qualitative versus quantitative research, where the former is thought to be objective and based on scientifically-observed phenomena, while the latter is assumed to produce results very limited in scope and application ("All quantification is not science, and not all science is quantified"). However, social scientists would now agree that a combination of these methods is most useful, both to track phenomena and to evaluate their meaning. Most research, whether labelled as quantitative or qualitative, is a combination of both. In this project, the approach was broadly qualitative.

In qualitative research, the objective is not so much to quantify a phenomenon, but rather to provide information on all its different facets. Qualitative research would

provide information on what some people think of a particular issue and why. Good qualitative research is possible where the research process conforms to the following criteria:

- the data was obtained in a credible manner and appears valid in relation to the object of the study;
- the data is potentially transferable, that is, its results could be used in another context (this does not mean that the data is generalizable to other contexts, but could be used with data from other contexts to construct a generalizable picture);
- if the same study were performed by another researcher, the same data might be collected i.e. the data is confirmable

2.2 Phase 1: International Best Practice Review

In the first strategy and phase, an extensive survey of local and international literature on active and urban citizenship practices was conducted. The rationale for this approach lay in a desire to uncover what strategies had worked in other cities around the world, as well as to compile a table of best practices around citizenship drawing on the experience of others.

This secondary research consisted of locating, reading and synthesizing documents with information on participatory local government. The following electronically-available databases were used for this search: NIPAD, Nexus, SAE, Google Scholar, Sangonet, Ebscohost, Proquest. These databases give access to research on participatory local government around the world.

2.2.1 Descriptions of Databases

GOOGLE AND GOOGLE SCHOLAR – Google is a search engine which sifts through all information available electronically. The only criterion for its searching is that the information must be available online. Google has no

screening functions and it is up to the researcher to determine the credibility of information found through Google.

NIPAD – Nipad is a service which gives bibliographic information on every journal, magazine and newspaper article; every book; and every university thesis published on Africa since the late 1800s. It does not give access to the articles etc, but gives information on where they may be found. It is a specialist search engine.

NEXUS – is the database held by the National Research Foundation, the government agency which sponsors academic research. NEXUS is a search engine which searches all research carried out by South African universities and government research agencies since the early 1990s.

SAE – is both a search engine and a source of articles on South African matters. SAE searches South African published academic journals for information on particular issues and supplies full-text copies of these.

EBSCOHOST and PROQUEST – These do the same as SAE, but they also search internationally-published scholarly journals (i.e. journals not published in South Africa). An example of a journal accessed through this database is *Development Southern Africa*, the Development Bank of South Africa's in-house journal (but which is published through an international publisher).

SANGONET – is a network of South African NGOs. It provides information on which NGOs do work in local government as well as providing access to information they may have published.

2.3 Phase 2: Residents' Views

In the second phase, *primary* research by means of focus groups and individual or group interviews was conducted to ascertain Johannesburg citizens' views of their status in the city.

2.3.1 Interviews

The different individuals and groups interviewed included:

- religious leaders
- ward councilors
- city officials
- private-sector research consultants
- university-based researchers
- the Junior Town Council

These interviews were semi-structured interviews conducted with individuals who were identified as either having knowledge of, or having a key role to play in the process of promoting participatory local government. These interviews were intended to elicit views of “experts” about their communities, rather than the views of individuals themselves. The interviews should be understood as providing context and information. Their results are not generalizable, but represent a sample of views.

2.3.2 Focus Groups

Since the white paper is intended as a discussion document rather than a survey, a focus group approach emerged as the best method of establishing residents’ views on citizenship. Depending on the nature of the research being undertaken, focus groups are a cost effective way of establishing how people feel about an issue and what different opinions they hold. Rigorously conducted focus groups allow one to make comments about the diversity of opinions on a subject, as well as the tensions between opinions, without going as far as to quantify the extent to which different groups in the city hold those opinions. In fact, focus groups are a recognised and well-established means of gauging public opinion. According to one author, “Focus groups are small structured groups with selected participants, normally led by a moderator. They are set up in order to explore specific topics, and individuals’ views and experiences, through group interaction” (Litosseliti, 2003). Focus groups are useful because “participants respond to and build on the views expressed by others in the group – a synergistic approach that produces a range of opinions, ideas and experiences.” These features make focus groups especially useful and valuable, since they allow participants to bounce ideas off each other, in the process allowing a whole range of views and opinions to emerge. While focus groups are typically

used in market research, they are also used in a slightly different manner in the kind of qualitative research required by the COJ Citizenship project.

Typically focus groups are small (6-10 people) and involve people not previously known to one another. This is to make sure that a wide range of opinions is expressed, and not just the views of one group of friends. Participants need to be carefully chosen. Groups work best if they are homogenous in terms of either class or gender, or class and gender (though there are exceptions to this). Most focus group research shows that geography makes little or no difference to results, as long as all participants are from the same class.

The focus group normally takes place in a comfortable setting, where a moderator will lead a discussion on a previously-prepared set of questions. A good focus group normally takes 1 ½ to 2 hours, during which participants respond to about 6 open-ended questions/ topics. It is the task of the moderator to ensure that no one dominates the conversation, and to respond creatively if participants want to take the discussion in another direction. The moderator ensures that notes are made of the discussion, and that a back-up recording is taken. The notes are analysed as soon as the encounter is complete, to ensure that no details of the session are forgotten.

In order for research to reveal meaningful data, a minimum of 3 focus groups should be conducted on any subject (the subject of the focus groups, i.e. citizen attitudes, is the common thread). Typically, most research projects use between 4 and 6 groups.

Profile of Citizenship Project Focus Groups

The COJ Project organised groups according to a common class status. This corresponded very roughly with the group's living-standards measurement (LSM) i.e. the participants in a focus group shared an LSM. The LSM categories were developed by the South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF) and are used extensively in market research. The data from the focus groups could be cross-correlated with other data on LSM categories. According to the SAARF, the following class categories/ LSMs are in general agreement.

SA Population Categories

Class Category	LSM	Percentage population SA	Percentage Black population SA
Poor and blue collar	1-5	61.2%	77.4
Upper working or lower-middle class	6-8	26.9%	20.6
Middle class	9	6.4%	1.5
Upper middle and elite	10	5.5%	0.5

The selection of the groups emerged out of conversations with the COJ, and roughly in correlation with the above demographic split. Details of the focus groups are included below.

2.4 Categories of Focus Groups

Previous research conducted for the COJ has used a regional and ward-based approach to collecting opinion. The approach used in this research was different. While some of the groups' informants all came from a similar area, this was not a criterion in their selection, but more a feature of convenience. In 3 instances, people were interviewed at their place of work, where they would have known one another, but would not have been friends. Other groups were conducted in people's homes or community centres. The rationale behind this was two-fold:

- firstly, focus group research shows that, when research is concentrated on a relatively small area, geography does not tend to make a difference to people's opinions
- secondly, Johannesburg's municipal delimitation is the result of local government and political contrivance. It is not a natural or organic delimitation and is of relatively recent origin. While the municipal delimitation is reinforced in most city-based initiatives (for instance the 2007 Household and Business Satisfaction Survey), there is value to a study which recognises different kinds of urban patterns. Studies which cut across these divisions, therefore, have the benefit of producing research which may have different results from that

produced in ward-specific research. The focus groups aimed to survey city residents' attitudes, not ward residents' attitudes.

2.4.1 Ethical Considerations

In all instances, informants were assured of confidentiality, which was especially important in the case of the illegal immigrants. The participants were briefed to respect each other's opinions although they might not necessarily agree with them. It was important to explain that we wanted their views on issues and therefore there was no right or wrong answer in the discussion, nor did they need to take other opinions personally. All informants were recompensed for their time and transport costs.

2.4.2 Criteria for Selection

The criteria for selection varied according to the group that was interviewed. The details of groups may be found in chapter 4. General considerations included the following:

- Migrant groups

In the 3 migrant groups participants had to be 25 years and older and they had to have been resident in the city for 2 years or more. This meant that they would be more familiar with their surroundings, more settled in and would be able to contribute to the discussion based on their experiences within the time they had moved to Johannesburg.

- Gender

Most of the groups were gender based for a variety of reasons. Among the poor groups, it was necessary to have separate groups on the basis that research has proved that men tend to be more vocal than females. Also culturally, women tend to be more silent when males are in the group. In the case of the Congolese migrants, more males understand and speak English compared to women.

- Authority figures

We were careful not to include anyone who seemed to have some sort of authority over the group as other participants would perceive them as more knowledgeable and be reluctant to share their views.

- Student group

In the undergraduate students group, age and gender were not considered as the aim was to ascertain the views of citizenship and participation among the youth, and those who have just left school. Gender was not an issue as the younger generation is more comfortable with interacting with the opposite sex. Another fact that was taken into account was that they are at a tertiary institution where they are taught to form and express their own opinions.

Each focus group was asked a similar set of questions. The questions were based on the topic guide below, which is a guide to all the issues the focus group should cover. Each topic was backed up by examples of question which might be asked. Sometimes it was enough for the moderator to put a general comment about a topic into the group, sometimes she needed to ask specific questions. Topics begin with the general and move into the specific, so the focus would first be on collecting views on citizenship, then on citizenship in Johannesburg, then on the “nitty gritty” of public participation.

1 Understandings of citizenship

- a) What is a citizen?
- b) What are the responsibilities of a citizen?
- c) Why do you think you are a good citizen?

2 Citizenship in Johannesburg

- a) What does it mean to be a citizen in Johannesburg?
- b) What does the city do for you (what are your rights)?
- c) What should you be doing for the city (what should you do in return)?

3 Public Participation

- a) Is public participation a good thing?
- b) Do you have all the information you need to participate?
- c) How do you/ can you interact with the city (make your voices heard)?
- d) Have you ever done this?

2.5 A History of the Concept, “Citizenship”

Citizenship is a concept that needs to be looked at in relation to its historical context. Although most use of the concept is taken from western understandings of the term, whether one uses western or African conceptions of citizenship, at its heart the term includes a notion of rights (political, social or economic) and obligations between individuals/ communities and governing/ institutional structures. Citizenship is therefore about relationships and types of governance within particular societies. In the modern context, these relationships are often about social struggles where 3 issues are of key importance:

1. who qualifies for citizenship (should it include only people born in a country, or all who live there?);
2. what it should include and exclude in terms of rights and obligations (social rights or political rights in exchange for taxes, military service);
3. how important should citizenship be as an identity compared to other identities (is it more or less important than race for instance?). Another point to bear in mind is that citizenship is almost always associated with nationality.

In modern, western political theory the concept of citizenship has a long history. It is generally seen as originating from the Greek city states, with Socrates being one of the first philosophers to define citizenship. According to Socrates, citizenship is based on promoting moral progress and avoiding injustice. This can be done by revaluing the private life of the individual in relation to political practice (Villa, 2001). This kind of citizenship was based on principles of equality and democracy, **but only for those who belonged**. An individual could own a portion of public land, could rely on the city state economically and needed to be trained as a citizen. There was a clear distinction between those individuals who were born in the city and those who came from the outside, with outsiders not qualifying for citizenship. Initially, these 2 groups were separated in a sense that the latter could not receive any form of citizenship. However, people from outside were later granted citizenship based on

the criteria that they posed no threat to the city and were sympathetic to the course of the city state (Heater, 2004). In Plato's view of citizenship, members of the city state would work in different economic sectors. When it came to government, representation would be achieved by dividing the number of seats in the governing council in relation to each economic sector.

Although this is important historical background, **the development of the concept during the modern period** (from the 17th century onwards) **sheds better light on definitions of contemporary citizenship**. The key events here are the American and the French Revolutions and the philosophy that fed into them. Citizenship is therefore linked to the growth of the modern, liberal state. During this period, as the modern state evolved, governance came to depend on the idea of a social contract. The social contract involved the idea that individuals would recognise the sovereignty (or rule) of a state over them, and defer to that state, in return for modern, political freedoms. In the 19th century, definitions of citizenship were expanded to include political rights, for example the vote, and political freedoms. During the 20th century, though, certain theorists began to point out that this definition was limited. Theories of citizenship therefore expanded to include the notion that rights and obligations can occur within different contexts, from the local to the national, and that citizens need more than political rights. **In the 20th century, then, ideas of rights have expanded to include social rights, for example, rights to food, shelter and medical care.** It should be obvious from this discussion that citizenship as a concept is closely aligned to the idea of human rights. Indeed, in popular thinking, the 2 are often viewed as the same.

However, **concepts of citizenship also existed in Africa** and have a history at least as long as that of citizenship in the west. Although local and western notions of "belonging" or "nationhood" are not identical, there are similarities. In general, African ideas of citizenship are linked to two elements: pre-colonial political institutions e.g. the *legotla* or *izimbizo*, and *ubuntu*. Across the different political chiefdoms (which we might think of today as the Xhosa, Zulu, Pedi etc.), before the arrival of Europeans, chiefs were accustomed to holding regular gatherings with their subjects, especially the senior men of different clans. These might occur at a particular time of the year, when senior men would gather together at the kraal of the chief. Discussion around

the common good of the chieftom would then take place, as well as the adjudication of matters now considered to be part of customary law. This system was very much about the recognition that, while the chief (or the chief and, usually, his council) might have more power than most homestead heads, the chief was bound into relationships of support with his subjects based on access to resources. The chief might allocate land, for instance, to a man to establish a homestead, in exchange for tribute in the form of cattle, or labour – which might be military in nature.

More generally speaking, notions of common good were reinforced through concepts similar to that now known as *ubuntu*. *Ubuntu* may be associated with a communitarian view of society, which holds that the good of society precedes the good of the individual. It is a system quite different to that which characterises western democratic liberalism.

In South Africa, the history of citizenship is mostly derived from the liberal democratic model. It has tended to be linked to the history of political rights (though the situation has changed since the early 1990s). In 1854, a qualified franchise was awarded to all men in the Cape Colony. According to the rules governing the vote, all men over 21 who owned property worth £25, or who earned a yearly salary equal to £50, could vote for members of the Cape's representative government. The conditions governing access to the vote meant that black men could also vote, and black voters were of key importance in voting into power members of parliament in certain Eastern Cape constituencies until amendments to the franchise qualifications in the late 19th century. In the early 1930s white South African women gained the vote, and black men lost the vote in the Cape Province in 1936, while coloured men lost the vote in 1951.

While this system may have granted people citizenship rights, though, it did not grant all people human rights. Indeed, the history of apartheid is also the history of the exclusion of most people born in the country from political, social and economic rights. From the 1950s until the 1980s, most black South Africans – despite having been born in South Africa – were considered to be citizens of the various Bantustans established in the wake of 1948 and particularly with the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970. While black South Africans had various obligations to the

state, they received an entirely different set of rights compared to white South Africans. In 1995, in the South African Citizenship Act (88) citizenship was made uniform for all South Africans, though subsequently amendments have been passed.

In addition to rights and responsibilities, Isin and Wood (1999) add the elements of cultural, symbolic and economic practices. This makes citizenship both practice and status. This definition will therefore consider citizenship to be competent membership of a polity. Although it is generally considered as either of the two, citizenship cannot be viewed simply as a legal or sociological concept. Rather it is the relationship between the two.

As a status, citizenship represents a collection of rights and duties attained through political authority rather than economic power or social position (Parker, 1998). Naturally, this definition of citizenship can not apply to everyone, as it is only constitutive^[1]. In this way, it is limited in a sense that only “qualified” individuals can become citizens of a certain polity. This group of individuals can be large or small. It is for this reason that authors such as Stevenson (2001) propose a broader definition. In most modern democracies, citizenship is granted to the whole adult population. Nonetheless, certain groups may have limited rights either from neglect or discrimination. Apartheid South Africa is a good example of the latter. Because of the complexity of practical cases citizenship may not be clearly understood as mere status. In addition to belonging, one's participation and one's understanding of oneself in connection with a community, culture and a nation also need to be added into the concept. Including popular perception and how people feel about their citizenship will bring about the question of how inclusive certain kinds of citizenship can be (Kabeer, 2005).

It is within this inclusive citizenship that problems of poverty and social exclusion are discussed and can be dealt with. This makes the question of political independence quite important to understanding the nature of this kind of citizenship and issues of human rights. Liberal views on citizenship tend to favour individualism in a sense that the individual is more valuable than the polity. In this way, the individual bears rights that have been granted by the state or polity. According to the liberal philosophy, individuals are assumed to be capable of negotiating and perhaps

adjusting political and social environments, although not doing so may not jeopardise their status as citizens. Therefore, the liberal view of citizenship emphasises the individual's freedom from state intervention. Another view that counters the liberal view is the communitarian view. Although individuals are seen as preceding the state, people usually form their identity in relation to a group to which they belong. This debate will, therefore, revolve around the extent to which individuals are formed under the influence of their communities (Isin and Wood, 1999; Van Steenberg, 1994).

Individual versus community is not necessarily a conflict. However, it brings about a question of identity and how it relates to citizenship. As can be seen above, citizenship is considered to be universal both in definition and association. Identity, on the other hand, is quite specific. Although the question of identity is not necessarily new, its scrutiny as a social question emerged in modern times. Postmodern politics of struggle over wealth and political status were complicated by racial, ethnic and sexual equity. Debates about citizenship revolve around 3 main principles of social organisation, namely liberty, equality and community (Parker, 1998).

All these definitions and adjustments of existing definitions of citizenship suggest the complexity that comes with observing and analysing values that African people, especially in South Africa, attach to citizenship of their countries. South Africa was characterised by popular opposition to the state, especially in the 1980s. There were dissatisfactions around the Apartheid regime's governance of the country. More specifically, the Group Areas Act (41) of 1950 together with the Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act of 1959 made all black South Africans non-citizens of South Africa proper, and attached them to one of the "homelands^[2]" (Davenport and Sanders, 2000). This goes to prove that, as Beiner (cited in Isin and Wood, 1999) claims, "citizenship is more a question of status than identity.... [it] is expressed in juridical and legal terms which define rights [and obligations]". This makes an already complex problem even more so.

2.6 What is Active Citizenship?

Active citizenship is a concept that has become increasingly popular as governments seek ways of fostering citizens and communities that are proactive and empowered. There are important differences between citizenship as a status and as a practice. For example, it is one thing to have the statutory right to secure housing or healthcare. It is quite another to exercise these rights in a meaningful way. Participation or active citizenship can be defined as “the enablement and exercising of these rights” (Sanvig Knudsen, 2007:8). Active citizenship entails both the capacity to act as a citizen and a sense of agency that one is able to act. The emphasis on the participation of citizens in local democratic structures has been accompanied by debates about the rights that are conferred by citizenship and about the “institutional environment required to ensure that those rights are enjoyed by all who are entitled to them” (Mathie and Cunningham, 2003:482).

Citizenship has traditionally been perceived as one’s official or legal belonging to a national identity that is exercised through specific rights and obligations which regulate the relationship between individuals or social groups and the State. Active citizenship, however, extends the concept of formal citizenship to a broader notion of citizenship that encompasses social, economic and cultural rights as well as responsibilities. Such a concept also envisages citizens who actively and directly participate in the democratic governance processes of their countries. The shift from traditional to active citizenship is represented in the table below:

Traditional versus Active Citizenship

Traditional Citizenship	Active Citizenship
Rights and Obligations	Powers and Responsibilities
Focused on the Civil Society-State Relationship	Focused on all Policies Affecting the Lives of Citizens
Government Context	Governance Context
Electoral Participation	Civic Participation

The City of Johannesburg’s understanding of citizenship is one that emphasises the active participation of citizens in the institutions of democracy. They propose the following citizenship formula rather than a definition:

$$[\text{legal component}] + [\text{political component}] + [\text{social component}] = [\text{cosmopolitan citizen}]$$

The legal component includes the statutory requirements of citizenship, the requirements for legal residency in the case of non-citizens and adherence to the rule of law. The political component clearly insists that citizens are active and ensure that their voices are heard and considered by participating in democratic activities ranging from elections and public spaces to writing petitions. The social component refers to the responsibility of citizens to respect others, embrace diversity and view themselves as active contributors to a tolerant society.

Citizenship is first and foremost about a relationship. In political terms the relationship exists between an entity such as the state or a city, and those who live in that entity. It is about both inclusion i.e. those who are citizens, and exclusion i.e. those who are not considered citizens. The legal component of the COJ's citizenship formula recognises that citizenship goes further than "birth" or "permanent residence", to include migrants to South Africa who may not have full citizen status. Crucially, however, citizenship is also about power. There is a power relationship involved in this process since the power to determine who should be included lies in the hands of the state or the city. Many individuals would consider themselves to be citizens even though the authorities might not agree. Such individuals thus comply with the social component of COJ's formula since their identity includes their sense of belonging to a broader community. Thirdly, and following most conventional understandings of citizenship, it incorporates ideas of rights i.e. what a state or a city owes to a citizen or communities of citizens, and ideas of responsibility i.e. what an individual or a community owes to the state or a city.

"Active" citizenship is particularly relevant to this last point. It includes the idea that, from the level of an individual to the level of a community, people should participate in determining the nature of their rights and responsibilities. This kind of participation would include a whole spectrum of behaviour, from voting in local government elections to mobilising around issues, as was the case for street committees in the South African townships in the 1980s and as is the case now with many of the local

social movements. Active citizenship, though, implies that participation will occur in a responsible manner, and be responsive to the needs of particular communities.

Xenophobia: The Current Crisis

In May 2008 South Africa experienced a surge of xenophobic violence that left 62 migrants dead while hundreds were attacked and many more had their homes and property looted or destroyed. Although Africans from neighbouring states, particularly those from Zimbabwe and Mozambique, bore the brunt of the attacks, migrants from other African countries as well as South African citizens were also victimised. Thousands of people have since fled back to their countries while up to 35 000 have been internally displaced and are currently being housed in temporary accommodation. In Gauteng alone, upwards of 16 000 people were forced from their homes. Most reports identify Alexandra as the site where the attacks started before they spread to other parts of Johannesburg, such as Cleveland, Diepsloot, Hillbrow, Tembisa and Primrose. Soon afterwards violence also erupted in Natal, Mpumalanga and Cape Town. A study by the Human Sciences Research Council in the immediate aftermath of the attacks has confirmed that the “current wave of violence has extended beyond a simple conception of foreign versus indigenous, by traversing the spectrum of ethnicity, indigeneity, citizenship and even legal status” (HSRC, 2008:5).

The Context of Xenophobic Violence in South Africa

The xenophobic violence of May was greeted by national and global expressions of shock at the perversion of the much touted South African dream of a rainbow nation. However, closer consideration revealed that the most surprising aspect of the violence was that more people did not see it coming as the writing was so clearly on the wall. Documentation of violence against migrants from other African countries can be traced back to 1994. The increase in xenophobia and attacks on Congolese and Nigerian migrants in Johannesburg were noted in a study that dates from a decade ago (Morris, 1998). Alexandra, where this year’s wave of violence started, experienced similar problems in 1994 and 1995 when gangs of armed youths attacked people they suspected of being in the country illegally. In 1998 the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) conducted a survey which revealed that a large percentage of the 3200 respondents held attitudes that were indicative of

significant levels of xenophobia (Neocosmos, 2006:114). A similar study in 2006 reinforced the notion that xenophobia was rife in South Africa as respondents remained convinced that foreigners constituted a threat to South Africa's socio-economic prosperity. Despite the sense of surprise that shook the country, policies have been in place to address the xenophobia that has clearly been simmering in South Africa for some time. In 1998 the South African Human Rights Commission and the United Nation High Commission for Refugees responded to attacks against foreigners in South Africa by convening a Consultative Conference where the Braamfontein Statement was adopted. This statement confirmed the fundamental human rights, as well as recourse to protection by the constitution, of all the residents of South Africa, whether they were in the country legally or not.

Local Government, Active Citizenship and Xenophobic Violence

The HSRC study mentioned above also tried to gain some insight into the factors that contributed to this latest outbreak of xenophobic violence. It was found that people were dissatisfied because they felt that government was ignoring the channels through which people were expressing their concerns and they also noted that government did not communicate sufficiently with residents about the issues surrounding foreigners. Rather than merely being informed about decisions, people articulated the desire to be consulted and treated as truly active citizens. The following responses to the questions of the HSRC suggest these frustrations:

The government officials must come down to the people ask what is wrong...instead of come up with words: they [foreigners] are going nowhere, 'they are here to stay'.

Government officials came here and went to the police stations where foreigners are kept, they never came to the people of Alex, why they don't call a meeting to the FNB stadium and ask what the problem is (cited in HSRC, 1998:28).

A research report by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation identifies a further worrying issue of which local governments need to be aware. The study points to unacceptable levels of xenophobia among municipal police officers in

the City of Johannesburg. For example, 30% of the officers who responded to the survey believed that “foreigners cause crime” (Palmary, 2002). It also emerged that municipal police officers do not understand the distinctions that South African legislation makes between different types of foreigners and that they thus failed to differentiate between the statuses of, for instance, migrant workers, refugees and undocumented migrants. This is especially important since municipal police forces have a great deal of contact with migrant communities, regardless of their status. Palmary (2002) notes that this contact will only be increased “in the course of by-law enforcement, as migrant communities (particularly refugee groupings) are often placed in a position whereby they are forced to rely on informal work and housing in the cities, thus engaging in activities which are regulated by city by-laws”.

In their report on the violence in Gauteng, Idasa found that informal areas were the hardest hit by xenophobic violence and that the “presence of strong local government institutions, at least in some instances, served to mitigate violence” (Idasa, 2008). For example, in Marabastad and Randfontein government officials who had strong track records of contact with local communities managed to convince people to stay out of attacks. Idasa thus concludes that building people’s capacity for active citizenship is a crucial element in the future prevention of xenophobic violence. This is especially important in informal settlements where large numbers of foreigners reside. The infrastructure for community groups in such settlements should be strengthened and interactions between local government and citizens should be enhanced so that citizens have substantive opportunities to make their voices heard in issues of both service delivery and initiatives surrounding the integration of foreigners into communities. The HSRC suggests an incentive programme through which foreigners can obtain “certain benefits of citizenship in exchange for playing a developmental role in communities” (HSRC, 2008:12). Development partnerships between South Africans and migrants can foster social cohesion which will help to prevent conflict. The prominence of young people in attacks makes it crucial that the youth is involved in capacity building programmes so that they learn citizenship skills that will enable them to express feelings of alienation and dissatisfaction in non-violent ways.

2.7 Public Participation Processes in the City of Johannesburg

To date, the COJ has implemented a wide range of participation processes, both as a result of, and in addition to, the requirements of the Municipal Structures Act. These processes are spearheaded by both the legislative and executive arms of city governance. Community and stakeholder consultation takes place through the following processes, many of which overlap:

- the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and its annual reviews
- Community-Based Planning (CBP)
- Mayoral Road shows
- Inner City Summit
- Regional Stakeholder Summits

Over the last year, the COJ has particularly embraced the concept of CBP. The CBP process is run from the Central Strategy Unit, which has responsibility for preparing the COJ IDP. In 2008 CBP took community outreach to the level of each ward, as a result of a conscious decision to expand the level of stakeholder participation in the city. This process is described in the 2008 IDP, in chapter 4. It involves participation at the ward level, including councillors, ward-based planners and community representatives. It can be described as **invited participation** (see section on **Accessing the Benefits of Citizen Participation, p 6**). Ward representatives got together at ward sessions to prepare lists of priorities and objectives, in keeping with municipal powers and functions, for inclusion as ward priorities in the 2008/2009 budget and IDP. These priorities were assessed by the relevant city departments, prior to inclusion in the IDP. The community-based planning function also allows for a report-back on the degree to which these objectives have been achieved.

However, this community-based planning function is only one of the city's approaches to public consultation. Public consultation takes place at a range of levels, including within the Inner City Summit, which resulted in an Inner City Development Charter. In addition, as described by a council official, public

interaction is a daily feature of officials' lives. Therefore, while a council official's formal job description may not include facilitating public participation, many officials find that they do act in this capacity.

COJ initiatives in respect of public participation have been reviewed in a report conducted for the City by LK John Consulting in 2006. Some of this report's input has informed the revised IDP process outlined above. The current project, the White Paper, is in broad agreement with the assessment contained in this report (see chapter 7), and indeed our findings in places replicate the content of this report. However, while we agree that the city has appropriate mechanisms in place we do not necessarily agree with the finding that "mechanisms are not being utilised sufficiently by the public". We shall discuss this in the conclusion. In brief, while citizens are not making use of the official mechanisms, they are expressing their views in other ways.

3 LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL BEST PRACTICES IN ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

3.1 Getting the Most from Best Practice Guidelines for Enhancing Active Citizenship

While there are many different approaches to facilitating citizens' participation, there is broad consensus that different communities and particular segments within the same community will respond best to specifically tailored techniques for encouraging active citizenship and participatory local governance. The specificities that make particular citizens and communities unique thus mean that appropriate interventions must necessarily be context dependent and that best practice guidelines can provide ideas and lessons rather than finite solutions.

The "process, expertise and technology are transferable, but not the solution" (*Habitat Debate 2006*)

It is always necessary to "reimmerse best practice in its local context in order to create valid knowledges" (Bulkeley, 2006:1041). It is also important that, in the use of best practice guidelines, there should not be so much eagerness to conform to these guidelines that local innovation is stifled.

The international influence of the Habitat Agenda (1996), which codifies best practice in development thinking, provides a good example of the dangers inherent in the uncontextualised application of best practices. The manager of a team preparing Swaziland's housing policy recalls being given a copy of the Habitat Agenda to use as a guide. However, he notes that, although HIV/AIDS infects almost a quarter of the country's adults, no reference was made to the disease (Tomlinson, 2002:386). A housing policy that ignored the reality of HIV/AIDS would have been inappropriate at best and dangerous at worst.

The literature has also revealed that, despite the breadth of research on active citizenship and substantive participation, well documented examples of mechanisms that resulted in unmitigated success in specific communities remain rare. There is a shortage of concrete suggestions for improving levels of participation. Theorists have described this as a “dilemma [that] lies at the heart of participation. On the one hand, best practice guidance is in demand. On the other, existing recommendations appear insufficient to achieve satisfactory processes and outcomes” (Richards et.al., 2004). The possible exception to this trend has been the literature on citizenship education (see for example Niemi and Junn, 1998).

These cautionary points do not mean that there have not been a great many projects and interventions that have sought to address these issues in communities around the globe. Neither does it mean that there are not lessons to be learned from the experiences of other communities and governments. It does, however, imply that one needs to look harder to find these lessons since so “few of them seem to have been systematically documented or assessed” (Gaventa and Valderrama, 1999). It is necessary to collate projects and to compile best practice guidelines from the parts of the projects that functioned successfully while learning from the aspects that failed. In other words, a search for definitive best practices is likely to end in disappointment but the more difficult task of analysing even partially successful practices is necessary to excavate lessons from the work that has been done.

In the next section, we identify projects and interventions that have been implemented in specific communities and that have included best practices with respect to encouraging active citizenship and participatory local governance. These projects will be explored to ascertain and explain precisely what mechanisms were employed and how they were employed to lead to successful outcomes. The literature tends to deal with participatory citizenship in terms of the ways in which citizens and local governments address certain issues. For this reason and for the sake of structural simplicity, I organise the interventions according to the issues they are meant to address. While some of the practices will be particularly useful for the specific issue they are being used to address, others will be replicated successfully in many different kinds of interventions.

3.2 Health Citizenship

In the 2006 budget speech of the Executive Mayor of the City of Johannesburg, two of the 6 “mayoral priorities” explicitly focused on health. Priority number 2 was “Health and Community Development” while priority 6 was HIV/AIDS (Budget Speech, 2006). The prevalence of HIV/AIDS throughout Southern Africa and the far reaching socio-demographic consequences of the disease have made it increasingly clear that “practical steps are needed to promote innovative strategies and empower citizens to make a real impact on their governments’ policies” (EISA Report). Theorists have noted that, in addition to it being “a constitutional obligation that local governments have to honour”, “intervention mechanisms against HIV/AIDS will only make sense if at heart they acknowledge and appreciate the role of the public as agents of social change” (Mantzaris and Ngcobo, 2007). In South Africa, the health sector has been characterised by vibrant social organisations that have “carved out new spaces for sustained engagement at the intersection between civil society and the state” (Von Lieres, 2007:75). As such, the ways in which citizens are participating in decisions about health and AIDS policies provide a valuable opportunity to study and evaluate initiatives for facilitating greater participation.

3.2.1 Local Best Practices in Health Citizenship

The following indication of the impact of the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) serves as a succinct summary of the ideal outcome of citizens’ participation in decisions affecting government policies: “As a result of the TAC’s contestation in multiple sites and across the boundary separating state and civil society, ordinary citizens have been able to build up their political capabilities for democratic engagement” (*Ibid.* 77). The TAC has mobilised support by disseminating “the politics of rights and health citizenship in the middle-level institutional fabric of society” (*Ibid.* 76). They focused on schools and poor communities and mobilised people by means of HIV/AIDS treatment literacy and awareness campaigns. In a collaboration between the TAC and Médecins sans Frontières (MSF), AIDS treatment units were set up in state clinics in Khayelitsha and Lusikisiki.

The goal of these initiatives was to bring about institutional transformation at the clinics so that the service providers could be brought closer to the people and so that these institutions could become spaces where links and interactions between the state and citizens could be mediated. The TAC further seeks to establish links with state-run local clinics by using their regional offices and branches to work closely with community based organisations. When the TAC campaigned in 2002 to have a local Nyanga clinic extend its opening hours from two to five days a week, it did so with the realisation that “these local spaces are not transient, and that they provide important sites for engagements with the local state” (*Ibid*).

The TAC’s success offers some valuable lessons:

1. Participation “demands multiple spaces and practices” (*Ibid*. 77). South Africa continues to suffer from significant structural poverty and this often prevents people from effectively utilising formal institutions for participatory purposes. Participation is a skill that citizens can learn and some of this learning can “happen most effectively in non-institutional settings led by civil society organisations” (*Ibid*).
2. The second lesson is related to the first and holds that participation is institutional as well as non-institutional. Much of the TAC’s success can be attributed to its facilitation of citizen participation in both institutional and non-institutional spaces as this provides opportunities for the broadest possible cross section of society to make their voices heard.
3. Third, participation should be long-term and it should not be expert-driven. Ordinary citizens should develop a culture of participation that extends beyond short-lived involvement in specific projects.
4. A crucial fourth lesson is that consideration of the local context is vital. The TAC explores and seeks to understand “existing local spaces and dynamics of participation before introducing new institutions and spaces for participation” (*Ibid*).

Partnerships with established local structures are sometimes most effective in getting citizens involved. In a study of health citizenship in KwaZulu-Natal, the Centre for Public Participation also notes that the “fight against HIV/AIDS requires

synergy between local government structures, *amakhosi*, and the mobilization of community forums and other organs through which local communities articulate their needs and priorities” (Mantzaris and Ngcobo, 2007:25). The TAC explicitly uses the terminology of citizenship and it advocates “new forms of health citizenship, citizen science and expertification from below” (Robins, 2007:11). Participation in government decisions regarding health is seen as both a right and a responsibility of all citizens.

One of the positive results of the TAC’s focus on developing health citizenship is that people learn the democratic skills to take their own initiative and to extend their participation beyond TAC. An example of such extended participation is Khululeka (This is the isiXhosa word for “freedom” or “feeling free” (Robins, 2007:12). This is a group of 30 young men that they established after being involved with TAC and MSF ARV programmes in Khayelitsha. Khululeka functions as a support group and works to mediate “new scientific and medical knowledge and technologies (i.e. ART) as well as new forms of **‘responsibilised’ citizenship** that are deemed to be necessary for treatment adherence and ‘safe sex’ to take root” (*Ibid* 13). TAC and MSF helped to build the capacity that enabled this group to be set up by training 2 Khululeka members as literacy practitioners.

The group’s approach is in line with broader trends in health discourses. Public health professionals and activists are increasingly advocating a well-run health system that works in conjunction with innovative types of community participation and citizenship. In working towards this goal, Khululeka takes a holistic view of AIDS citizenship and regards it as just one part of a more general and integrated understanding of citizenship and development. Other theorists echo this move towards a rights-based “public health revolution” where there is a concomitant focus on the responsibilities that accompany the rights citizens enjoy (Coetzee and Schneider, 2004).

3.2.2 International Best Practices in Health Citizenship

Wresting control of public health away from professional elites and using existing local spaces and structures of participation also inform the best practice guidelines

that are offered by Brazil's system of health councils and conferences. Thousands of Brazilians, including representatives from women's groups, churches, unions and community organisations, get together once a month to discuss ideas and concerns with health care providers. Groups and individuals also meet with health worker delegates at municipal health conferences that are convened every 2 or 4 years and delegates from civil society are then elected to attend a national conference. This allows for good ideas to "find a place and take form in policy proposals that are debated, contested and refined as they move up from municipal to national level" (Coelho and Cornwall, 2007:4).

A study was undertaken in 31 local health councils in São Paulo to ascertain whether all segments of civil society are adequately represented. Fair representation is ensured by reserving 50% of the health council seats for civil society and dividing the remainder equally between public officials and service providers. Transparency is emphasised in the process of selecting people to these councils. As many people as possible are included in the process by publicising information about the election of councillors, having a public database of all the regional associations and movements, discussing the elections in newspapers and on the radio and by allowing individuals as well as organisations to stand as candidates. All councillors are also offered training in discussion techniques so that they are better able to articulate and communicate their ideas. Although "the system is not perfect, it does show that if the conditions are right, participation can be effective and democracy can be strengthened" (*Ibid*).

The empowerment of citizens so that they can become active contributors to health care rather than merely passive receivers of health services lies at the heart of the successful Blantyre City Assembly (BCA) HIV/AIDS initiative in Malawi. The city introduced "community conversations" as a way to disseminate information about the disease. A conversation implies that at least 2 people are contributing to a discussion instead of having one person speak and the rest listen. This is thus a strategy of encouraging citizens to make their voices heard and, although the focal point is HIV/AIDS, it will obviously equip people with participatory skills that can also be applied to other areas of citizenship.

The city went about this task by training facilitators from the ward health committees as well as other stakeholders, such as representatives of youth and women's organisations. These facilitators would then go to a number of gathering places, including markets and bottle stores, where they would trigger conversations about AIDS. This proved to be a very useful way of spreading information because, unlike other forms of media, citizens could give the facilitators feedback instantly and the facilitators could then adjust their approaches. Everyone taking part in the conversation could contribute to coming up with possible solutions to problems. By involving community leaders and marginalised groups, such as young people, women, orphans and people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA), in the initiative, the city helped to foster a real sense of community ownership which it hopes will ensure the continuity of the project. The Malawian government has seized on the project's success and has since organised a number of meetings and workshops so that other local authorities could be exposed to Blantyre's experiences and have the opportunity to learn from them.

3.3 Housing Citizenship

South Africa's urban landscapes continue to reflect the legacy of apartheid's segregated spatial planning. The housing backlog and the immediacy of the need of people who remain confined to euphemistically named "informal settlements", make housing an area where the benefits of citizens' participation can be particularly useful.

3.3.1 Local Best Practices in Housing Citizenship

South Africa's Homeless People's Federation and its partner NGO People's Dialogue have come "a long way to demonstrate to the South African government and the private sector the extent to which poor communities are capable of leadership, accountability, vision and, indeed, action in the area of housing" (Huchzermeyer, 2003:606). The Federation is a type of community organisation that has emerged in a number of South Africa's informal settlements. It is an active savings and credit group and it draws on a national network to exchange experiences and knowledge of community-based approaches to housing construction. In the area of housing, collaboration between citizens and officials are

crucial since “permanent construction must await formal government approval and intervention, which may take several years, if not decades” (*Ibid* 605). Policy concession by the government to the Federation attest to the organisation’s success in mobilising citizens to make their voices heard in housing policies.

3.3.2 International Best Practices in Housing Citizenship

A wealth of best practice lessons can be found in the People’s Process on Housing and Poverty in Zambia. This project emerged from a belief that conventional housing delivery systems in Zambia’s urban areas were failing poor people because their needs were not being addressed. The main strategy was to empower communities so that they could contribute to solving their own housing problems. The project started from the realisation that women play a central role in all attempts to reduce poverty and homelessness.

One of its mechanisms of capacity building was thus to encourage women’s participation in general and to support women’s savings schemes in particular. They encourage the notion that, by saving on a daily basis, regardless of how little, the poor are able to strengthen their communities by using their savings to negotiate with local authorities to acquire affordable land. The federation found that some local authorities were biased against people living in squatter camps and they countered these prejudices through dialogues and information dissemination sessions that emphasised the small successes of the Federation so that local authorities could gain a better understanding of the positive accomplishments of squatter camp residents. By building people’s capacity to contribute to savings schemes, the Federation has facilitated economic development and good community governance. Communities have acquired the skills to manage their own funds and they support other community members through income generating activities and by providing loans.

The Lusaka and Livingstone City councils were so impressed by the Federation’s work that they have agreed to collaborate with the Federation to combat homelessness. This is an important reversal of a trend in development projects where the poor were either completely excluded or treated as passive beneficiaries

of government programmes. People are claiming their citizenship rights and, by harnessing their social capital in groups, they are able to engage with local authorities on more equal terms. The Federation is constantly wary that power relations within communities will be reproduced within the savings groups. For this reason, the Federation meets weekly and the treasurers, who are predominantly women, inform the group how much has been loaned, saved and banked.

Like South Africa, Namibia faces the tremendous challenge of providing poor communities in urban areas with adequate and affordable housing and services. One response to these difficulties has been the Partnership in Action for a Community Driven Land and Shelter Process. As the name suggests, the project focuses on empowering ordinary citizens and communities to steer housing provision with the support of local authorities and their NGO partners. The Gobabis municipality wanted to address housing needs and chose to support women's savings groups as part of this commitment. Community members manage the project, keep the accounts and train other groups. They also collect data in their informal settlements to ensure that they have up-to-date socio-economic information and that all housing plans thus respond to the current needs of community members.

Coordination between stakeholders was improved when the community and municipality formed a locally based land team that held regular meetings. The community group managed to gain recognition from the local authority as well as financial support from the national government in the form of soft housing loans. One of the most important lessons from the success of this process is the potential of partnerships between local authorities and communities. In order to minimise the possibility that citizens might feel intimidated by officials, meetings took place in the community so that residents could feel more comfortable in an environment where they could point to the developments to which they contributed and speak as the experts on their own experiences.

3.4 Citizens Making their Cities Safer

Any project that seeks to encourage citizens to make their voices heard will be undermined if people fear for their personal safety. *Habitat Debate* notes that the “persistence of crime and the resulting decline of trust in public authorities pose serious problems for urban governance. Municipalities are increasingly seen as losing control, undermining confidence in leadership and the ability to govern” (Petrella, 2007:4). The loss of trust causes communities to explore alternative measures for protection, such as private companies, vigilante organisations and gated communities where the rich can afford to isolate themselves from their larger communities. These mechanisms have serious implications for the ability of people to participate in their communities as equal citizens.

There has been growing consensus that initiatives to improve urban safety, security and justice are most likely to succeed if they start by expanding the role of local governments and local communities, especially that of the youth (*Ibid*). The City of Johannesburg has responded to crime by establishing the Metro Police Service. It is particularly concerned about the public’s loss of confidence and it is trying to combat the problem by means of visible policing. The number of police officers on the street has been increased and they are clearly identifiable by their distinctive uniforms. More bicycles are being introduced to bring police officers closer to the citizens they are serving and the city’s video camera system has achieved significant success while also conforming to international best practices (COJ website).

3.4.1 International Best Practices in Making Cities Safer

Innovative projects in various countries offer lessons for ways to enhance citizens’ participation in making their cities safer. The city of Diadema in Brazil has had great success with its multi-faceted Municipal Security Plan. As part of the ultimate goal of facilitating a culture of peace, they launched a Children’s Disarmament Campaign during which young people could trade in toy guns for children’s magazines. About 15 000 youngsters availed themselves of this opportunity. The parallel Disarmament Campaign for adults got 1600 real guns off the street. They also ran an Adolescent

Apprentice Program which targeted young people living in high risk neighbourhoods and during which 6300 young people received training about civil rights, rebuilding family ties and making themselves more visible in their communities. These training workshops are organised by city officials and community members. The city is currently developing a second Municipal Security Plan through public hearings at which citizens offer their contributions.

The Colombian city of Medellín had a reputation for violence and they went about addressing their problems by trying to “deepen the participatory spaces and [to] work against a tide of disillusionment” (Pearce, 2007:30). Civil society organisations, including the Popular Training Institute (IPC), Corporación Región and Conciudadanía, played crucial parts in this process. One of the IPC’s initiatives was the Schools of Citizenship Formation, which they organised in conjunction with the NGO Long Live Citizenship. These schools operated in communities to disseminate the contents of the Constitution. They worked towards developing a citizenship consciousness by “participating in and strengthening the many formal spaces for municipal planning and accountability” (*Ibid* 31).

In addition to ensuring that these formal spaces are accessible to the less powerful, the IPC also focus on building citizenship “from below”. One of these projects was undertaken in a neighbourhood (*comuna*) that was suffering from some of the country’s most extreme rates of violence. The ICP worked with a network of women who were trying to supplement their factory work by running their own clothes production business. Despite living with the constant threat of violence of being stigmatised because they came from such a notorious *comuna*, these women “remained conscious of the importance of their self-organisation and independence” (*Ibid* 32). They took part in the city’s participatory budget and, through an extensive process of attending evaluation meetings in different parts of the *comuna*, they compiled a powerfully constructive critique of the budget process and submitted their contribution to the Consultative Council.

These women were clearly very serious about making their voices heard as citizens and participating in efforts to improve their lives and safety. Importantly, the initiatives to address violence are intertwined with people’s conceptions of

democracy itself and they assert their right and responsibility to participate in the decision making processes of their municipalities. *Edupar* is another Columbian NGO that builds citizens' capacity to engage with local authorities as a crucial element in their response to violence. They try "to connect violence in the family and community levels to the public sphere, by training promoters from the communities to take the problem of violence to the officials" (*Ibid* 40).

While these initiatives in Columbia were led by civil society organisations, the local authority steered a community response to crime and other socio-economic problems in Newbridge³ in the United Kingdom. The Newbridge Project consisted of about 20 industrial and commercial companies, public and voluntary agencies as well as residents (Schofield, 2002:668). Before embarking on a programme of community empowerment, managers of the project wanted to ensure that they had "accurate knowledge of the views, wishes and aspirations of local residents themselves" (*Ibid* 670). They started by commissioning a group of musicians and artists to visit schools in the area and to organise a "community fun day". Over the course of these activities, they spoke to more than 600 local residents. In this way, the artists became "unofficial mediators acting as an indispensable conduit for the knowledge they were collecting while remaining formally separate from government" (*Ibid*).

The project had a community development co-ordinator who devised exercises that aimed to teach residents that they could challenge authorities, including their local council. The project worked with the notion that empowerment could not simply be assumed and that it had to be taught. The project managers believe that, by "encouraging residents to acquire the habit of active citizenship in regular meetings of their forums", the "benefits of empowerment will continue to be felt long after the funding for the Newbridge scheme comes to an end" (*Ibid* 679). The Newbridge project thus illustrates how, rather than only addressing crime, a focus on citizen participation in local government activities can have broader and lasting benefits for participatory democracy.

³ Newbridge is a fictional name for an actual town in the West Midlands region of the UK where an urban regeneration scheme was implemented.

3.5 Environmental Citizenship

The wider impact of environmental problems on citizens' wellbeing has prompted many local governments to integrate a focus on the environment in its policies and community development strategies. The Local Government Climate Change Summit was held in June 2008 and saw municipalities across South Africa commit themselves to working towards reducing the output of greenhouse gases in their cities and to encouraging environmentally friendly policies and attitudes in their communities.

As with health, housing and urban safety, the City of Johannesburg's Executive Mayor has reinforced the commitment to the environment by including it in the list of his **6 main priorities** for his current term of office. The ultimate goal is to have a city that is free of pollution and environmentally sustainable. The city has established a Biodiversity Protection Programme to conserve sensitive habitats and to promote biodiversity as well as a City Greening Programme. Mayor Masondo further adopted the following tangible targets for the city's Resource Conservation Programme:

- to recycle at least 15 % waste, reduce waste to landfills by 15 %,
- to divert half of green waste to compost facilities and
- to ensure highest possible compliance with environmental legislation by 2010

The magnitude of this challenge makes it clear that any success will depend on collaborations between local governments and citizens.

3.5.1 Local Best Practices in Environmental Citizenship

The No-Messing in Bonteheuwel Project was started because serious environmental problems, such as littering and illegal dumping, were negatively affecting the quality of residents' lives. This is a community driven environmental project that consists of a 3 pronged approach to environmental degradation, namely cleaning, greening and educating community members about environmental issues. The choice of the environment as a priority was made at a consultation meeting between community

leaders and local government officials. It was hoped that a cleaner town would encourage civic pride and lead to a reduction in crime while clean-up projects could create work and thus ameliorate poverty. By addressing the environmental problems, the community hoped to have a positive impact on these other issues of concern.

As the project developed, the Bonteheuwel Environment Forum was established to steer it. The project was run from local community centres and focused on involving schools, community groups and municipal officials. An important part of the project has been the institutionalisation of partnerships as community representatives learned how to interact and collaborate with local government officials and local government officials learned how to engage and work with existing community structures.

The project was divided into a number of steps:

1. The first step was an audit of environmental problems in the area as well as of environmental projects that were already operating.
2. All the role players were then convened at a consultative meeting.
3. The third step was to call in a facilitator to help with formulating an Environmental Plan for the area. The facilitator helped with conflict management and provided administrative support. This stage also included follow-up consultation meetings to maximise community input and establishing linkages with various government departments. For example, the Department of Cleaning was brought on board to provide refuse bags, trucks, brooms and spades for the cleaning projects that were carried out by local residents who volunteered.
4. The Department of Community Development agreed to sponsor t-shirts, catering and artists for the launch of the Environment Plan. This launch was the fourth step and it took place at a community festival that was scheduled to coincide with World Environment Day.

Since its launch, the project has initiated a number of activities, including Waste Wise Door to Door Education, Waste Wise community workshops and a community parks maintenance project. The Environmental Forum facilitates participatory

evaluation workshops after each project to encourage continuous learning and development.

3.5.2 International Best Practices in Environmental Citizenship

In Tanzania, the Tanzakesho programme was based on a belief in “the advocacy of participatory planning processes as a means for achieving sustainable development” (Toner, 2003:777). The project was led by a core team of district council officials and it was piloted in the Mbozi and Sengerema districts. In the Mbozi implementation, the first step was to improve the Mpango Kata or Ward Planning Programme that was already in place⁴. In the initial phase of Tanzakesho, a Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats (SWOT) analysis was conducted of Mpango Kata. It became apparent that the Ward Planning Programme was primarily implemented in a top-down manner and that participation had to be enhanced so that local needs could be better reflected. As a result of the SWOT findings, “[v]illage and ward plans were constructed, using intensive and extensive PRA methodology, and implemented in the form of ‘micro-projects’, jointly funded by villagers and UNDP, and through the imposition of new by-laws” (Toner, 2003:777).

A key part of Tanzakesho’s success has been attributed to the use and strengthening of existing institutions and practices. By following this approach rather than imposing new institutions, citizens felt more of a sense of ownership of the project. The Mbozi District Executive Director (DED) also noted the importance of “strong interdepartmental collaboration” within the Mbozi District Council (MDC) and the core implementation team as well as the centrality of good partnerships at district and village government levels. The DED further points to the fact that the “MDC core team seems to be working effectively and trying to build partnerships with NGOs, to avoid the parallel structures that have existed in the past. One major success of the

⁴ A ward is an administrative area and each district is composed of a number of wards. There are 26 wards in Mbozi district.

core team has been the opportunity to work more cross-sectorally and to build a real ethos of professional coordination within the MDC” (*Ibid*).

The project ultimately succeeded in raising environmental awareness by enhancing pre-existing participatory local planning mechanisms and by empowering citizens. The implementation of micro projects to deal with the poor participation in the Ward Planning Programme illustrates that any intervention needs to be flexible enough to respond to challenges and to learn lessons as they crop up. By first building citizens’ capacity to participate, the project managed to establish real partnerships between all stakeholders, including citizens, local government officials, local and international NGOs.

The integrated community development model of Alternare has been operating in the Mexican states of México and Michoacán since 1997. The project seeks to build citizens’ general participatory capacity so that they are better equipped to take part in environmental advocacy and in the development of ecosystem remediation programmes. Alternare faced considerable obstacles when they embarked on this project and their responses to those hurdles provide valuable best practice guidelines for local governments and NGOs who wish to engage with citizens. In 1986 the Mexican government established the Monarch Butterfly Biosphere Reserve in order to protect the area where these butterflies hibernate. This decision was made in a way that excluded local citizens and left them with no alternative means of income generation or economic development. These factors made the affected communities deeply distrustful of and even hostile to the government and environmental NGOs.

The communities were also characterised by high levels of poverty and low levels of cohesion due to political, economic and social schisms. Most of their contact with local government and NGOs consisted of passively receiving assistance. Alternare’s main challenges thus included gaining people’s trust and fostering a culture of active participation amongst citizens. Rather than arriving in a community with a set proposal, they help local people to develop their own plan of action. The core team identifies a number of priorities according to the needs people express in participative diagnostic assessment workshops. All members of the community are

invited to participate and those who are interested are encouraged to form work groups. The groups have weekly meetings during which they reflect on progress and problems and they elect groups members who are responsible for reporting difficulties to the core team. At these sessions the groups are asked to discuss their communities' environmental challenges as well as more general factors that are affecting their development. Alternare also focused on working with indigenous strategies by restoring the traditional local practice of faena, which is a mode of group work in which one day per week is set aside for collective work. The model's success is measured by communities' radically improved attitudes towards their natural resources as well as by their move away from merely accepting the handouts of paternalistic assistance programmes and towards developing their own interventions.

3.6 Spaces and Skills that Set the Stage for Citizen Participation

A crucial part of any attempt to enhance citizen participation is the availability of accessible and self-sustaining participation spaces. It is useful to explore some successful participation spaces in order to ascertain the dynamics that contribute to substantive and representative community participation.

3.6.1 Local Best Practices in Setting the Stage for Citizen Participation

Encouraging lessons can be found close to home in the eThekweni municipality where governance is based on the belief that "the active involvement of citizens is fundamental to achieving [the municipality's] outcome of improving people's lives" (Moodley, 2007:4). Importantly, the council has learned that not all participatory initiatives are necessarily useful. At their first **Big Mama Workshop**, they employed the "**blue sky**" **approach** which entails that stakeholders, including councillors and officials, jointly develop solutions to the city's problems. They found that, "while this approach was participatory, it did not yield solutions that were technically well

thought-through, given that they were generated through discussion and debates on the workshop floor” (*Ibid* 7). The stakeholders themselves noted that this approach led to a poor use of their valuable time and suggested that officials “investigate technical options and at least provide a framework within which informed discussion could take place” (*Ibid*).

The council was flexible and adjusted their approach according to these suggestions. A strategy team develops a technically and strategically viable proposal with possible, albeit incomplete, solutions. Stakeholders then engage with the proposal and contribute to the development of more complete solutions. The Parla Citizens’ Forum in Spain also found that the most substantial citizen participation, given ever present scarcity of time and resources, resulted when they moved “beyond the ‘**blue sky**’ approach” (*Ibid*). The Forum was first established to facilitate citizens’ participation in the revision of the general urban planning plan of 1997. The project was directed from the Mayor’s Office with a government team defining the priorities that working groups of stakeholders would later debate and refine.

The importance of equipping people with participatory skills prompted IDASA to establish its study circles programme after they identified a need “to address the problem of diminishing citizen participation, both in political processes and broader public life in South Africa, post the 1994 democratisation period” (IDASA Study Circles Programme Evaluation Report, p.3). Based on a Swedish concept, the programme had four main “building blocks”:

1. First, study materials were developed to train the study circle leaders IDASA recruited.
2. Second, the recruited leaders followed a training programme.
3. Third, 10 to 16 study circles were started in the first year of the project.
4. Fourth, the programme was set up in such a way that it would make a contribution to the “consolidation of IDASA’s education and training work in a School of Democracy” (*Ibid* 4).

In their recruitment of circle leaders and participants, IDASA made a concerted effort to extend its reach by targeting community members who had not had any previous

dealings with IDASA. The study circles function as a space in which citizens can “Talk, Learn, and Act Together” about “burning issues” affecting their communities (*Ibid* 7). The circles were structured by a thematic focus that each individual circle chose. Examples of areas of concern include:

- education: parent teacher collaboration
- health: functionality of public hospitals
- helping young people learn the words to the national anthem
- teaching people how to deal with the newly implemented prepaid electricity system

Circles thus dealt with both large issues and smaller, immediately relevant ones.

Throughout the development of the programme, IDASA was sensitive to the specificities of the South African context. Even though the programme and the training materials were informed by best practices from Sweden, input from South African participants was continuously sought to reflect local realities. One of the lessons from abroad that was usefully adopted by the South African study circles was the use of a variety of non-cash incentives to retain the interest of participating study circle members. One of the study circle leaders, George Chauke, “has put together a scheme of incentives ranging from organising catering for meetings, to free computer-training courses and organisational skills development for his participants, to an overseas exchange trip” (*Ibid* 25). Following Chauke’s success, IDASA undertook to help participants with offering basic and inexpensive incentives to motivate members.

The success of the study circles is measured by its impact at 3 levels:

1. First, the capacity of circle leaders was built by training them in leadership, facilitation and general organisational skills.
2. Second, study circle participants developed their participatory skills
3. Third, the communities in which the circles were located benefited from the interventions that the circles undertook to address community problems.

3.6.2 International Best Practices in Setting the Stage for Citizen Participation

The Fremantle Community Precinct System in Western Australia has enjoyed considerable success in this regard. When the Precinct System was adopted in 1997, the explicit remit was to facilitate participatory democracy and citizen participation in decision-making. The municipality is divided into 10 precinct areas in which citizens are encouraged to establish 'precinct groups'. The precinct groups are self-organising and their purpose is to "consider information provided from the local council and make recommendations on the material. Information provided includes development application information, policy change recommendations, new initiative information and so on" (Randell, 2004:149).

The groups choose their own officers in yearly public elections and they meet monthly. The council and all the precinct groups have come up with and endorsed a "Precinct Charter" that contains the system's rules and regulations. In order to prevent "moribund old committees that have had the same members for many years", the charter stipulates that officers may not hold office for more than 2 terms (*Ibid* 151). Councillors attend meetings and share their knowledge of the internal affairs of the council with the precincts. Considerable attempts are made to ensure that the precincts regularly receive significant amounts of information about the council's workings in a manner that is non-threatening and supportive. Precinct groups are encouraged to develop as participatory groups and to this end they "initially deal with more immediate, physical issues, such as rubbish clean-ups, footpaths and potholes, gradually maturing to deal with citywide policy issues" (*Ibid* 150).

The whole of the Precinct System is now able to adapt itself to any changes, such as funding revisions and changes in council membership. It is deeply embedded in its communities as a "peer-to-peer system, with no hierarchical leadership or 'head precinct member'" (*Ibid* 151). Communication and coordination of the system are

maintained by the precincts themselves as they arrange joint precinct meetings on an ad-hoc basis. Although the system was established in conjunction with the local councils, it is now self-sustaining to such an extent that any “[a]ttempts by the Council to stop the system would undoubtedly result in the citizens calling for its continuance, or resuscitation” (*Ibid*).

3.7 Participatory Budgeting

A participatory mechanism that has been enjoying much theoretical attention over the past two decades is that of participatory budgeting (PB). It is estimated that PB is currently implemented in roughly 250 cities and the vast majority continue to be in Brazil where PB began in Porto Alegre (Cabannes, 2004:27). Although it initially spread mostly to Peru, Ecuador, Columbia and the Southern Cone countries, it is becoming increasingly noted as an option for Africa as well. The UN-Habitat’s *Participatory Budgeting in Africa: A Training Companion* (2008:9) notes that PB “is considered as an innovative tool in local governance because of its capacity to contribute toward deepening local democracy and strengthening decentralized governance”. PB has yielded impressive results in the countries that have adopted it, including

- enhanced citizen participation in decision-making and budgeting processes,
- greater equity and effectiveness and
- better accountability of service providers and authorities to the communities that they serve.

While there are different definitions of PB with varying areas of emphasis according to the particular context, the *Training Companion* offers the following succinct description:

PB is “a continuous, open and inclusive process divided into distinct stages, by which citizens and local governments widen mechanisms for promoting direct and indirect citizen participation in identifying local needs, deciding preferences as well as the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the budget, taking into account expenditure requirements and the available income resources”.

PB is seen as a particularly powerful instrument for enhancing the participation of groups that tend to be marginalised, such as women and the poor, and as such it helps to combat social exclusion at a municipal level. It can thus help with “creating new relationships between the local government and disadvantaged citizens” (*Ibid* 9).

Local governments benefit in a number of ways as a result of PB:

- They tend to experience an increased sense of public ownership
- This, in turn, leads to more positive attitudes towards local government and a concomitant improvement in revenue collection. For example, in Nansana, Uganda and Kawbe, Zambia, PB was accompanied by “an increased spirit of voluntary work” which “saw the construction and improvement of women’s markets, the provision of piped water and healthcare facilities being completed in record time” (*Ibid* 12).
- Since PB exposes citizens to the workings of their local governments and the dynamics of the budgetary process, their skills and knowledge will be expanded and they will gain a better understanding of their rights and responsibilities.
- Political legitimacy and voter support will be enhanced when citizens are “in a position to understand the councils’ capacities and constraints with regard to the provision of services and development” (*Ibid*).
- This tends to reduce demonstrations and payment boycotts.
- When citizens are part of the decision-making process, they are more likely to be interested in the outcome of the decisions and countries with PB thus experience increased citizen interest in monitoring and evaluation of projects. In this way, citizens become the “eyes and ears of government” which helps to ensure that project implementation is on target, that resources are used according to agreements and that quality control takes place.

The *Training Companion* points out that, although PB “is not specifically institutionalized by law” in Africa, “the legislative frameworks that facilitate

decentralized governance and devolution of power to local authorities set the environment [to] practice participatory budgeting” (*Ibid* 46). In South Africa, mayors and municipal managers play crucial parts in the budget process while citizens engage in fiscal debates through public campaigns and contribute to the process by means of budget-related submissions to portfolio committees. Although citizens receive adequate budget information, they do not tend to use this information and available opportunities to optimise their participation in decision-making on budget issues (*Ibid* 43).

Best practice guidelines from other countries’ implementation of PB can thus help South Africa to make the most of the participatory benefits that this tool offers. In an effort to improve financial management, service delivery and stakeholder participation in the activities of local authorities, the Kenyan government established the Local Authorities Transfer Fund (LATF) in 1998. Five percent of the annual national income tax collection, which accounts for roughly one percent of the total budget, is allocated every year for distribution to local authorities. A number of problems persist, including poor LATF monitoring and inadequate information provision to all stakeholders. Regardless of these problems, local authorities feel that the LATF reflects the Central Government’s recognition of their important role in service delivery while it also empowers local authorities “to create enabling environments for facilitating stakeholder participation in council affairs” (Gitau and Amaya, 2).

The Manhica municipality in Mozambique has facilitated civic participation processes for budget formation by setting up bairro or ward development committees which are composed of local groups such as church, women’s and youth organisations. The local authority arranges meetings of these committees at which awareness-raising, needs identification and project formulation take place. Local councillors and chief officers attend the meetings and the local authority acts as the secretariat and ensures that the community identified projects become authority priorities. The importance of political support for PB is also demonstrated by the commitment of the mayor in Entebbe municipality in Uganda. The mayor and his team conducted outreach visits to give citizens information about PB. The visits were also intended to mobilise citizens and to reach and include people who are unable to attend PB

meetings. The mayor and city councillors then attended capacity building workshops at which awareness about the budget process is developed.

The Mutoko Rural District Council's attempt to introduce participatory planning that exceeded the minimum legal requirements was hampered by conflicts between the council's elected representatives and civil society leaders. They handled this problem by organising a workshop attended by representatives as well as civil society stakeholders at which a way forward was formulated and signed in the form of a social contract called a Restructuring Action Plan.

The experiences of the Illala municipal council in Tanzania illustrate how the PB process can be enhanced if the council is willing to build the capacity of citizens and municipal officials. Once the council had committed itself to PB, they worked with the Institute of Regional Development Planning to develop a training programme on PB and participatory planning. The programme included residential and field training sessions "to council extension staff, ward executive officers and representatives of NGOs and community based organizations from each ward using Participatory Poverty Assessments and the Opportunities and Obstacles to Development techniques" (*Participatory Budgeting in Africa: A Training Companion*, 62). All councillors were trained in planning, budgeting, advocacy and delegating skills. The council also established 22 community level support teams to equip citizens with the skills that are necessary to participate meaningfully in planning and budgeting.

3.8 An Overview of Local and International Best Practices

Inclusion in the tables which follow does not imply that the countries or even the specific programmes are great examples of participatory democracy. Rather, initiatives have been included where the commitment to and/or strategies for facilitating active citizenship and empowered, participating communities offer best practice lessons (see the section on **Getting the Most from Best Practice Guidelines for Enhancing Active Citizenship** p. 31).

3.8.1 Examples of Participation Policies and Practices in Major South African Cities

	Johannesburg	Tshwane	eThekweni	Cape Town
Housing Citizenship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Letsema housing projects facilitate community involvement Working with People's Housing Process 	Housing support centres and the People's Housing Process empower communities with saving and building skills	Support services to Communities enable them to contribute to meeting their housing needs and continuing to improve their residential environment.	
Health Citizenship	Mass participation sporting events like the Discovery/702 Walk the Talk create a sense of community and through participation residents felt a sense of belonging in the city	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Know Your Status and Live Positively Campaigns Community-based health programmes Tshwane AIDS unit empowers communities to deal with challenges 	Rural Area-Based Management (ABM) team campaign to raise awareness among school children with focus on AIDS, drugs and teenage pregnancy	People-driven and Community - based approach to health, e.g. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local Drug Action Committees Western Cape Substance Abuse Forum

of AIDS

Citizens
Making
Cities
Safer

“Take charge: crime stops with me” campaign to revitalise and strengthen community policing forums (CPFs), mobilise civil society and stakeholders and people of all backgrounds to participate in fighting crime

- Sports Against Crime event to involve youth
- Safer Cities project promotes cooperation between communities and the police to address crime.
- Sports against Crime project strives to involve Cape Flats youth in alternative activities such as sport
- Social Crime Prevention Unit encourages community participation in crime prevention through training

Environmental
Citizenship

- “My city, my future, let’s save it for 2010 and beyond” competition for primary schools and community forums
- Greening of Soweto project
- Tshwane Integrated Environmental Policy (TIEP) includes education and awareness programmes for citizens
- Residents encouraged to continue taking ownership and responsibility for sustaining environment through city-wide DSW (Durban
- [Integrated Metropolitan Environmental Policy](#) (IMEP) aims to work in close collaboration with other City departments and key stakeholders
- Environmental Health

	<p>involves citizens and private sector in partnership with city</p>		<p>Solid Waste) buyback and recycling centres</p>	<p>Practitioners initiate, organise and attend community participation meetings and offer advice and guidance</p>
<p>General Participation Policies and Practices</p>	<p>CBP uses regional and stakeholder summits to</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve communities' control of development (ward councilors, committees and constituencies) • Increase community action and decrease dependency 	<p>Community Participation takes place through</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ward Committees and ward councilors • Informing communities about proposed activities through newspapers • Implementing Batho Pele 	<p>Vision: Every eThekweni resident will have easy access to all council service providers in a way that is helpful, friendly, empowering and uniform across the city.</p>	<p>23 Subcouncils have as their base a political, community and a service interface, serving the 100 wards of the city.</p>

3.8.2 Overview of Local and International Best Practices

	Institutional channels for participation	Citizenship Education	Strong Intermediaries	Urban Safety Citizenship	Housing Citizenship	Environmental Citizenship
Australia	FCPS	Celebrating Democracy Week	ACOSS	Police/Schools Involvement Program	Neighbourhood Renewal Programs	Our environment - it's a living thing Program
Bolivia	Vigilance committees; Municipal Development Councils	Educators for Democracy	for GNTP; Mothers Centres			PRONALDES
Brazil	PB	Children's Council	PB Delegacia Legal Program	João-de-Barro Cooperative for ex-convicts	Favela-Barrio Intervention	SOS Atlantic Forest Foundation
Cameroon				Chaîne des foyers Saint Nicodeme	CONGEH	Community solidarity projects in the Kousseri

								region
Colombia	Overseeing committees; MDPM	Family Schools	Neiva's Commune	Frentes de Seguridad	de S.U.R Bogota	With	ACUAPLUS	
El Salvador			Educo programme	Homies Unidos			"Las Flores de Andalucía" Community	
Gambia	Kafos village groups	Stakeholder Monitoring Group					Bustaan Village Project	
Guatemala		Human Rights Observatory; Talita Kumi				El Mezquital Project	Maya Biosphere Project	
India	Gram Sabhas; PCDP; Information Kerala Mission; Bhagidari	PROOF campaign	PRIA			Leh Old Town Project	SJKMC Solid Waste Management Programme; ICPEP	
Indonesia		FITRA	FITRA			Post Tsunami Human		

Japan		Kokusai Rikai		Kobans	Settlement Reconstruction	Earth Plan 2004
Kenya	Practical Action and Kitale Partnership	Canopen Youth Empowerment		Kilimanjaro Initiative; Adopt a Light	NACHU	ICIPE
Liberia					CBASHD; Lofa County Shelter Project	
Mexico	Integral public management	FAI	Fundar; MNCS		Nueva Antequera Regional Development Project	Integrated Community Development Model
Peru	Cajamarca, Integral Cultural Collective Programme		Grupal	Campesino patrols	New Hope	Local and Regional Management for Sustainable Development

South Africa	iTrump project; Mama meetings; CPAS	eNdondakusuka Big IDP	IDASA study circles	St Aidan's Project	Homeless People's Federation	No-Messing in Bonteheuwel
Spain	Parla Citizens' Forum	Here We Are; Young Time	GISA		PVT-Platform for Housing in Toledo	Foothills of Navarre Development
Sri Lanka			The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement		Million Houses Programme	SCP
Tanzania	Ward development committees			Sungusungu	WAT	Tanzakesho
Uganda	Resistance councils and committees		Debt Network	Raising Voices	Jinja Municipal Council	Harmony in Diversity
UK	Newbridge Project, LGA	Exclusion in Europe		V.I.P. Project		ABCD; Yorkshire Forward

USA		NCDD	NCPC	EPA
Zambia	LCC Ground Rent Project	ZIMT	PPHPZ	ECZ
Zimbabwe	Ward development committees	CPP	HPZ	Africa Centre of Holistic Management; CAMPFIRE

Table Notes

ABCD: Achieving Better Community Development

ACOSS: Australian Council of Social Service. ACOSS leads and supports initiatives within the community services and welfare sector and acts as an independent non-party political voice.

ACUAPLUS: Aqueduct Construction in the Plantain Towns of Turbo. Project characterised by continuous follow-up for motivation, organisation, and community participation.

Adopt a Light: A public-private partnership with a focus on creating harmony with local communities.

Africa Centre of Holistic Management: An institution involved in environmental issues such as training in environmental management, desertification, indigenous knowledge, community development and research.

Bhagidari: Institutional form of citizen-government partnership in India aimed at increasing the efficacy of existing representational forms of participation

Bustaan Village Project: Promotes active involvement of the population in forest management.

Cajamarca, Integral Cultural Collective Programme: Seeks to promote awareness among the residents of Jirón Dos de Mayo, so that they can play an active role in improvements to the local urban environment via an integral urban renewal project.

Campesino patrols: Community groups organised to prevent crime and maintain law and order in indigenous communities.

CAMPFIRE: Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources

Canopen Youth Empowerment: Aims to encourage civic engagement and cultural vitality amongst the youth.

Chaîne des foyers Saint Nicodeme: Organisation addressing problems of street children

Community solidarity projects in the Kousseri region: Focus on community-based generation of wealth, participatory action research for the non-chemical management of agricultural production and pests, and community involvement for water supply and sanitation schemes.

CONGEH: [Coalition des Organisations Non Gouvernementales du Cameroun Ouvrant dans le Domaine des Établissements Humains](#). A non governmental organisation in Cameroon that represents over 30 community organisations working in human settlements.

CPAS: Community Participation and Action Support Unit

CBASHD: Capacity Building for Adequate Shelter and Housing Delivery in Liberia Project

CPP: Community Publishing Process

Debt Network: Uganda's DN works to promote and advocate for pro-poor policies and full participation of poor people in influencing poverty-focused policies, monitoring the utilisation of public resources and ensuring that borrowed and national resources are prudently managed in an open, accountable and transparent manner so as to benefit the Ugandan people.

Delegacia Legal Program: The priority was to reverse the causes of low productivity and quality of the units in charge of police inquests through a multi-party approach.

Earth Plan 2004: A system has been established to invite ideas and proposals from the private sector to obtain excellent results.

ECZ: Environmental Council of Zambia

Educators for Democracy: The programme seeks to develop permanent, systematic and gradual processes to enhance democratic systems through education and training programs that could contribute to the creation of a just, equitable, responsible and transparent society.

Educo Programme: Programme where communities hold service providers accountable at the point of service delivery by hiring and monitoring teachers.

El Mezquital Project: The Project has demonstrated the effectiveness of strong community involvement in managing and carrying out neighbourhood investments in basic services, especially in the upgrading of low-income housing.

eNdondakusuka IDP: Focus on civic engagement and community building in post-apartheid South Africa

EPA: Environmental Protection Agency. EPA reaches out to business, industry, trade associations, communities, universities, and state and local governments to solve environmental problems not generally addressed by laws and regulations, such as reducing greenhouse gases.

FAI: Fundacion de Apoyo Infantil Region Centro. FAI believes children should be heard, therefore, it conducts polls to involve them in decision-making processes regarding their communities, needs and concerns. Focus on Community Development Children Centers.

Family Schools: Comprehensive community education programme that includes a focus on rights and responsibilities.

FCPS: Fremantle Community Precinct System

FITRA: Indonesian Forum for Budget Transparency

Foothills of Navarre Development: The project priority was to encourage public participation, to integrate wishes and to tighten links between private and public initiatives.

Frentes de Seguridad: Neighborhood crime monitoring committees that encourage collaborative relationships between community police officers and local residents.

Fundar: Centre for Analysis and Research

GISA: Local Development Agency Initiative of Getafe. Institution working towards the development of the municipality and its citizens.

GNTP: *Grupo Nacional de Trabajo para la participation*

Grupal: The working group for participation

Harmony in Diversity: Forest Ecosystem Conservation project that empowers the community with alternative renewable energy devices and other life support systems through community collaboration.

Homies Unidos: Created in 1996 in El Salvador by rival gang members who came together to find a better and safer life without violence. The organisation is dedicated to providing educational and employment opportunities for young men and women (ages 8-35, although a majority are under the age of 24), so that they can find ways out of their violent lifestyle.

HPZ: Housing People of Zimbabwe. The organisation believes in a democratic co-operative housing movement that emphasises gender equity and empowerment of all its constituency.

ICIPE: International Centre of Insect Physiology and Ecology. The goal of this project was to strengthen Kenya's national protected area system of forest reserves by using commercial insects to provide communities with economic incentives to participate in collaborative forest management.

ICPED: Individual and Community Participation for Eco Development

Integral public management: Planning and budgeting activities are directed by the City Planning Institute (IMPLAN) and they reflect specific priorities detected by participative diagnosis that originated in meetings with the neighbourhood associations, trade associations, the private sector, and others.

iTrump: Inner City Thekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme

Jinja Municipal Council: The aim of this project was to empower women entrepreneurs through housing and land rights. They were to have a self sustaining community as well as meaningful and effective participation in decision-making.

João-de-Barro Cooperative for ex-convicts: Project enabled the community to notice and discuss the reality of ex convicts' situation and to seek effective ways to reintegrate these people into the social group.

Kafos: Indigenous self-help village groups

Kilimanjaro Initiative: The main objective of the Kilimanjaro Initiative is to encourage young people to have self-belief and to assist in providing opportunities that will enable them to take on a constructive role in their communities

Kobans: Japanese police stations which put police and citizens in close, personal contact.

Kokusai Rikai: Global Citizenship Education

“Las Flores de Andalucía” Community: Two central objectives were proposed, namely

normalising the tenancy regime and including women as formal owners of the house and educating residents in living as a community.

LCC Ground Rent Project: Lusaka City Council Ground Rent Project. Project entails working with residents in low income settlements to participate in mobilising resources for development.

LGA: Local Government Association

Local and Regional Management for Sustainable Development: This programme helps develop capacities in local environmental management through regional participatory mechanisms and decentralisation.

Lofa County Shelter Project: Project included putting people in working groups in order to maximise cooperation, reconciliation and assistance to vulnerable people.

Maya Biosphere Project: Focus on developing a broad-based local constituency for environmentally sound management of natural resources, promoting increased local participation in management of resources, improving the policy framework and demonstrating and disseminating more sustainable income-generating practices.

MDPM: Municipal Development Plan of Medellín

MNCS: The Mexican Network of Cities towards Sustainability. Committed to solving cities’ problems in an integrated, long term and participative way.

NACHU: National Cooperative Housing Union. A membership organisation of over 200 primary housing cooperatives, provides technical assistance and financial services that assist low income communities improve their shelter and quality of life.

NCDD: National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation

NCPC: National Crime Prevention Council. Believes that partnerships that actively involve the local community and its residents are key to preventing crime.

Neighbourhood Renewal Programs: Neighbourhood Renewal partnerships empower residents to participate in planning and decisions about priorities for action.

New Hope: Project has generated the development of leadership, legitimacy and representation among community residents (men, women and the young) who have participated in the process slum improvement.

Nueva Antequera Regional Development Project: The community took part in the decision making process such as suggesting that house floors could be improved by using concrete instead of mud.

Our environment - it's a living thing Program: An overarching environmental education program of the New South Wales Government. This state-wide initiative motivates and encourages people to adopt environmentally sustainable lifestyles.

PB: Participatory Budgeting

PCDP: People's Campaign for Decentralised Planning in Kerala

Police/Schools Involvement Program: A key element of the program by the Victoria Police is that it is developed in close collaboration with the community that it serves, therefore enhancing its relevance to that community and sharing the ownership of the outcomes.

Post Tsunami Human Settlement Reconstruction: The objective was to promote a community-driven approach that puts the beneficiary in the driver's seat of the

reconstruction process. The end result was a cohesive community and families that are fully engaged in shaping their future and that of their community.

PPHPZ: People's Process on Housing and Poverty in Zambia

Practical Action and Kitale Partnership: Planning process was led by the residents of marginalised settlements, and included a prominent role for women's groups while the local Authority oversaw and co-ordinated efforts, and allocated money and staff resources to implementing the plans.

PRIA: Society for Participatory Research in India

PRONALDES: National Program of Fight against Desertification and Drought. Ministry of Sustainable Development formulated the PRONALDES with participation of more than 150 public and private institutions including NGOs.

PROOF: Public Record of Operations and Finance

PVT-Platform for Housing in Toledo: The project's priority was to endow the poor and socially excluded with the necessary mechanisms to integrate them into society. These included abilities for securing stable work and housing.

Raising Voices: A community-based primary prevention approach to violence against women.

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement: Sarvodaya activities involve millions of people in close to 15,000 villages. Its reputation has grown out of a holistic, integrated approach to personal, family, village and national development over nearly five decades.

SCP: The Sustainable Cities Program. In Sri Jayawardenapura Kotte the program sought community-based approaches to solid waste management

SJKMC: Sri Jayawardenapura Kotte Municipal Council

SOS Atlantic Forest Foundation: Works from the belief that society in general and the local population in particular must take an active role to ensuring the development of an environmental management program.

St Aidan's Project: The overall objective is to turn vulnerable youth away from perpetrating crime, by using a reintegration programme that covers job creation and skills development.

Stakeholder Monitoring Group: Constituted by representatives from donors, civil society organizations, researchers, media, academia, central and local government, parliamentarians, industry, and organisations of the poor people.

Sungusungu: [Tanzanian](#) justice organisation established by the [Sukuma](#) and [Nyamwezi](#) ethnic groups in 1981 to protect cattle and other property. The group was deputised by the [Tanzanian government](#) in 1989.

S.U.R WITH BOGOTA: Integral improvement of slums

Talita Kumi: NGO with a vision of child development through education, organisation and dissemination of knowledge of child rights, human rights and rights of indigenous peoples.

V.I.P. Project: The project aim was to empower children to think about conflict resolution and alternatives to violence of any kind.

WAT: Human Settlement Trust. Aims to empower low and middle income communities, particularly women, to participate fully and effectively in all aspects of human settlement development.

ZIMT: Zambia Independent Monitoring Team

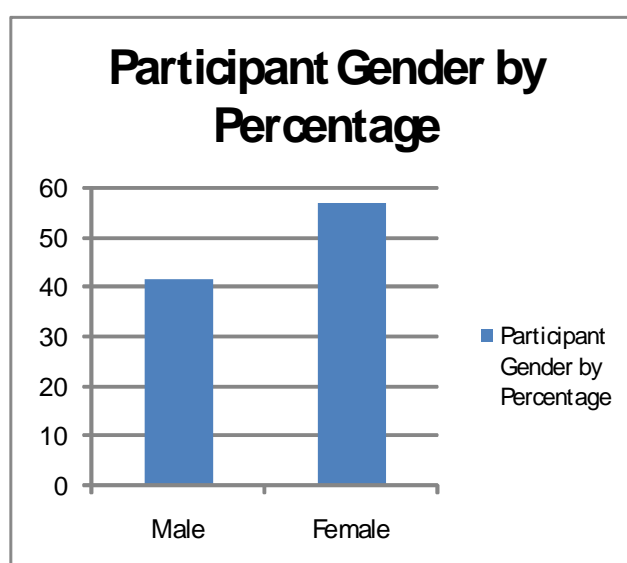
4 CHAPTER FOUR: CITIZENS ON CITIZENSHIP

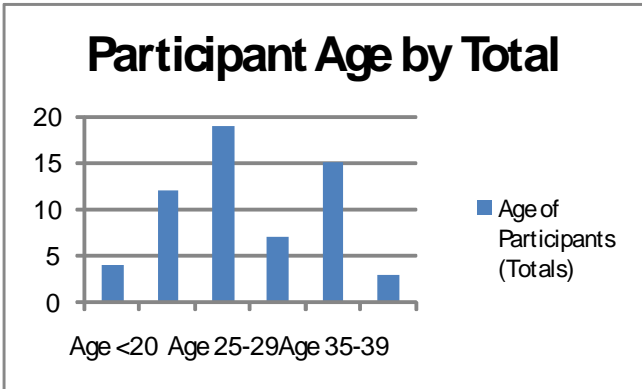
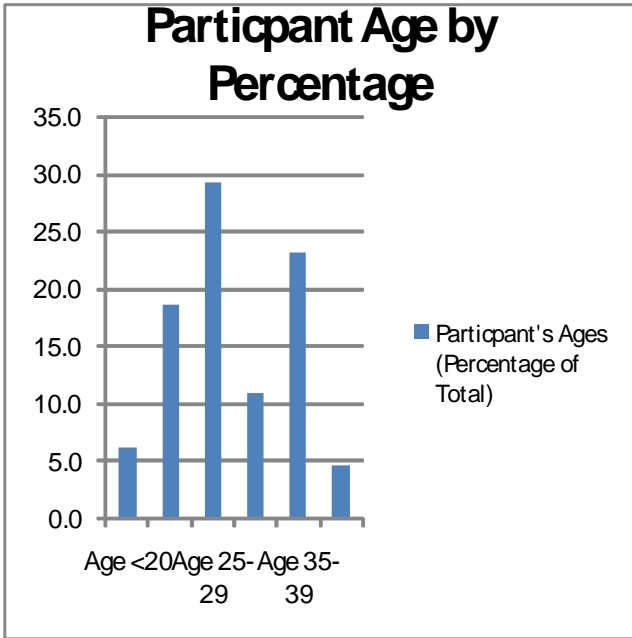
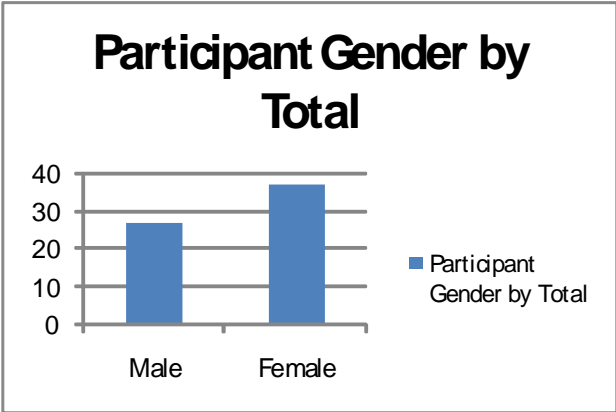
4.1 Focus Group Results

Overall, the focus group process involved 65 participants across 9 groups. The figures below show the gender or sex, and the ages of the participants in these groups. The full table of results is available in Appendix 1.

While each focus group was asked the same set of questions, not all participants responded in the same way, nor did they always restrict their replies to city-related matters. This was despite gentle reminding by the group facilitator. This finding is itself significant. People live in cities that represent a range of different interests and social groupings, and only 1 of these is the municipality. To ask people to separate out their experiences ignores these **multi-dimensional experiences of urban citizenship**.

In what follows we provide information firstly on each focus group. This is followed by a summary of answers to the question set, as well as additional information that emerged.





Sub-division	Reason	Language Used	Informants areas of origin
Zimbabwean female migrants	To get input from migrant women living in Johannesburg	Eng	Turffontein, Cosmo City, Hillbrow, Soweto, Lenasia, Ormonde, Booyens
Congolese male migrants	To get the view of refugee males living in and around the city	Eng	Rosettenville, Turffontein, Berea, Hillbrow, Regents Park, Sandton, Oakdene, Forest Hill
SA Male migrants unskilled, unorganized labour	To find out the views of internal migrants. Jhb is the economic hub of SA is draws people from different parts of the country	Zulu	Soweto, Booyens, Grassmere, Eldorado, Turffontein
Street traders – inner city, women	The unemployed resort to informal trade to meet their economic needs. Johannesburg has informal traders in all areas	Zulu	Soweto, Hillbrow, City Centre, Bertrams,
Informal settlement, men	To get input on the issues faced by the informal settlement population and how they live	Zulu	Protea South, Sweetwater, Mshingoville, Motswaledi Squatter Camp,
FBO – women from church	FBOs play a large role in influencing activities around the area they operate in and also helping the community	Eng/ Zulu	Midrand – Ebony Park, Allendale, Johannesburg
Afrikaans women, secretaries	To get input from a different class of people	Afrik	Bosmont, Linden
Students (mixed sex and race)	Input from students on the issue of citizenship	English	Soweto, Sebokeng, Riverlea, Kempton Park
Women, Lenasia, mostly teachers	To bring in the views of a different segment and geographical area	English	Lenasia, Buccleuch

4.2 Results by Individual Group

4.2.1 Low Income Groups

4.2.2 Group 1: External Migrants/ Zimbabwean Women/ Mixed Areas and Occupations

The majority of this group felt very unwelcome in South Africa (this was prior to the May xenophobic riots). Most had experienced ill-treatment, especially at the hands of the police (SAP) and when trying to access medical services in clinics. The group dynamic meant that the older women, who had been in South Africa longer, were more comfortable speaking about their experiences. This group did not feel either empowered or informed enough to take part in ward council meetings. The discussion in general reflected a sense of lack of rights.

4.2.3 Group 2: External Migrants/ Congolese Men/ Mixed Areas and Occupations

As with the group above, this group focused on problems they encountered as foreigners. If anything, statements about xenophobia, and experiences of it, were stronger than with the previous group. Many of these were around documentation (see more below), but contact with the SAP and health services was also identified as a problem. Ward council meetings conducted in Zulu were identified as a barrier to participation in such events. The interaction in this group was affected by the fact that several participants were uncomfortable in any language other than French, while 2 only spoke French. This group had never heard of the COJ migrant helpdesk, and they commented approvingly about Helen Zille. 'The mayor of Cape Town is everywhere, we know her existence but we don't know the mayor of Johannesburg'.

4.2.4 Group 3: Internal Migrants/ Men who have migrated from elsewhere in South Africa to Johannesburg/ Mixed Areas and Occupations

This was possibly the least participatory of all the focus group interviews. The group included men who gather near Gold Reef City in the hope of picking up piece work. Lack of housing and employment were key issues for this group, as was competition from external migrants. Several group members made comments that were overtly xenophobic (this group was also interviewed before the xenophobic outbreaks). Interestingly though, the group brought up treatment by the SAP and health services as an issue.

4.2.5 Group 4: Street Traders/ South African Women/ Working in the CBD and Soweto

This was one of the longest and most informative focus groups, despite (or because of) the reluctance of participants to speak out. Three of the women, who belonged to a committee on informal trading, dominated the discussion. In general, the level of knowledge about the city and its by-laws was great. This group mentioned as problems both the metro police and the SAP, who confiscated their stock and sold it on for their own profit. This group were also not very complimentary about their ward councillors, who apparently were only in evidence prior to elections. Interestingly, this group had previously been interviewed and participated in a project around street cleaning as a metro-rail initiative. There was some bitterness about their participation in a project which had had no direct results. This can be interpreted as an example of the frustration or **stakeholder fatigue** that results when people think that their inputs are not being considered seriously (see section on **Tackling the Barriers to Citizen Participation**, p. 8 and **Quick Reference Guide**).

4.2.6 Group 5: Informal Settlement Residents/ South African Men/ Sweetwater and Protea Glen

This group was characterised by very even participation from its members, all of whom felt free to talk (the exception was 1 man who never spoke at all). The group spoke quite a bit about housing, and compared their experiences in different informal settlements. Housing and access to housing were issues, as were the availability of the SAP and medical care. There was clearly a fair amount of experience in regard to ward council activities, which most of the group had attended. However, they were all very cynical about the way in which the ward councils functioned. The ward councillor of one particular area was mentioned as promising electricity for votes. This was a very proactive group, who felt that protest was necessary to make their voices heard. They had previously threatened to barricade streets and burn a councillor's house, which they felt was an effective way of making their demands known. This group, like several of the others, referred to the way in which councillors are elected as representatives of political parties. We will come back to this issue later.

4.2.7 Group 9: Faith-based/ Christian Women's Group/ Ebony Park

This group consisted of women involved in an Independent Christian church operating from a piece of land at the back of a shebeen. The group raised social issues like alcoholism, under-age drinking, and teenage pregnancies as issues, to an almost greater extent than any of the other focus groups except for the women in Lenasia. The women also spoke of problems associated with shebeens (which reveal the first 3 issues mentioned previously), as well as electricity, public phones, water, sewerage and clinics. As with other groups the SAP came in for criticism, while the women also spoke of queuing at clinics and the length of time ambulances take to get to ill people.

In this group there was a great contrast between the intensity of their religious and charitable work through the church, and their involvement in or their awareness of municipal issues.

4.2.8 Middle Income

4.2.9 Group 7: South African Women/ Lenasia and Mixed Occupation including Teachers

This group was very concerned with social values and ethics. Comments about inter-group tolerance and the teaching of respect were frequently made. Four of the women are teachers working in schools with pupils from a variety of situations, including informal settlements, which meant that much reflection on the nature of their pupils' lives was provided. A sub-issue concerned the necessity of teaching sex-education in schools, which all vigorously supported. The group seemed very aware of the social dimensions of good citizenship. Electricity and litter in Lenasia came in for comment. As with the other groups, this group spoke of the inefficiency of the SAP and problems with poorly-trained nurses and over-crowding in government hospitals. One of the group members was very well-informed with respect to municipal politics and policies.

4.2.10 Group 8: South African Women/ Western Suburbs and Secretaries

Like the faith-based group, this group of women are very involved in charitable and church-based activities (although they were selected on the basis of their profession). All of them were active in soup kitchens, visiting informal settlements and patients in the government hospitals. The group emphasised that citizenship was about belonging, that it related to the neighbourhood where one lived, and that it was also connected to the ability to worship freely. A key issue with this group was personal security and safety. While they said that they had little knowledge of municipal affairs and ward council meetings, all were relatively well-informed about municipal by-laws and responsibilities (although the facilitator did have to explain the difference between provincial and local responsibilities). All the women except 1 had been born in Johannesburg, and none expressed a desire to move.

4.2.11 Mixed-Income

4.2.12 Group 6: University Students/ South African/ Mixed Sex and Area

The students interviewed were all from the University of Johannesburg. This group included participants from both the townships and the suburbs. The former were much better informed about municipal politics. As might be expected, those who knew about ward council meetings were not overly optimistic about participating, stating that only their parents or people who owned property were ever listened to at these meetings. This is a good example of a certain segment of the community, the youth in this case, feeling that their participation is less valuable or recognised than that of others (see the section on **Tackling the Barriers to Citizen Participation** p.8). Like the middle income groups, this group emphasised “cultures and values” as part of citizenship.

4.3 Results by Question

4.3.1 What is Citizenship?

In the question set, the first set concerned people’s awareness of the nature of citizenship. This was a general question, and required participants to present their own understandings of the issue, prior to being influenced by the remainder of the discussion. Participants were asked what they thought citizenship involved, and they were also asked about what made a good citizen.

All the groups understood citizenship as involving birthright and a legal component. That is, citizenship depends on where a person is born, “A citizen is a person who is born in a country and grew up in that country” (Zimbabwean Women).

In addition, citizenship also involves legal rights of various kinds, for instance services. “A person who is born in that country qualifies to be a citizen. That person must also be raised in that country. They are also entitled to the benefits of the state”

(Internal Migrants). For some groups, though, people not born in South Africa could acquire rights in South Africa, but only if they had followed the correct processes. Most of the focus groups spoke of the previous point in terms of legality i.e. foreigners were legal if they had the correct papers.

While this discussion points to the fact that most people are aware that citizenship involves some kind of legal requirement, it is also interesting for the way in which it points to how citizenship is understood as an issue of nationality. This comment by the Congolese men makes the point clear. “If I am born in the DRC then I am a citizen of that country and I have rights in that country not in SA”. So, while the language that people – the way they talk about citizenship – might indicate that people realise it involves rights, for most people it is an issue of nationality and tied to a particular nation-state, in this case South Africa. “Citizenship” used this way is equivalent to “status”.

This finding is very significant. In theoretical language we would say that the meaning of citizenship is over-determined by nationality. Put more simply this means that, whatever people may know about **citizenship**, or whatever they may say about their understanding of it, at heart it **remains for them an issue of nationality**. This has implications for attempting to use citizenship in another context e.g. “culture of citizenship”, because it would be very difficult to attach new meanings to the word. Also, citizenship as understood in this way is an identity which all people born in a country share. It is not an identity that people understand as being possible at a local level. So while academics and researchers like ourselves may talk of “urban citizenship”, **the concept “urban citizenship” is not something people themselves easily associate with.**

4.3.2 Responsibilities of Citizens

The second question in the “citizenship” question set related to people’s own responsibilities as citizens. This question brought out a wider range of responses than the previous, in the sense that people spoke both about local and national responsibilities.

4.3.2.1 Not Committing and Fighting Crime

For most groups, **not committing (“doing”) and fighting crime were primary responsibilities of a citizen.** “Responsible citizens don’t do crime e.g. murder and also fight to keep the area they stay in crime free” (Internal migrants). Obviously, the priority given to this responsibility relates to people’s perceptions of the current state of affairs. Security, for instance, might not always, or in every country of the world, be a citizen priority. For Johannesburg residents, though, security is currently a very real issue. However, although being against crime was listed as a responsibility, it was principally perceived as a local responsibility. When people spoke about crime, it was about their own and local experiences of crime. This question, for instance, drew many people into discussing community patrols and similar initiatives. This responsibility therefore depended on community initiatives against crime. This priority should be set against people’s perceptions of the SAP, and its status as a crime-fighting force (see below). People spoke of not doing crime as an element of personal morality. This is particularly noteworthy in that they did not see fighting crime as a function of the national state.

4.3.2.2 Keeping Communities Clean

The second most-mentioned issue in the responsibilities of citizens related to the cleanliness of people’s environments. “Our responsibility is to keep the area we live in clean (informal traders).” Again, this was perceived as a community responsibility in the sense that people need to keep their areas clean because the city will not. If we understand cleanliness to be about imposing order on our surroundings, this issue also links to the one above.

4.3.2.3 Other Issues

More generally, people mentioned that citizens also had a responsibility to reduce poverty, to create jobs and to become entrepreneurs. This was a vaguer category than the 2 mentioned above. From an academic point of view, this can be viewed as a type of economic citizenship. It probably expresses a wish or an intention, rather than the ability of participants to actually do these things.

And finally, several people, principally women, mentioned charity and looking after other people as part of the responsibilities of citizens. This may not be significant in and of itself, given that most spoke about this behaviour being part of the behaviour of a good citizen (see below).

4.3.3 What is a good citizen?

Like the question about responsibility, the answer to this question, if compared to the answers to the first question, is very interesting. Generally, as became evident from the answers, **participants understand “good citizen” as being something different to being a “citizen”**. Good citizenship is about helping out one’s fellow human beings, about personal relationships, and about relationships in one’s immediate community. By this is meant that **people understand “good citizenship” as a particular kind of behaviour**, taking place in a particular location. In some cases, the location is the nation i.e. one must contribute to building the economy to help out other people. More often though, people understand helping as taking place in a community, through a church etc. They thus seemed to be talking about occupying positions 2 and 3 rather than point 1 on the **continuum of active citizenship** (see **Quick Reference Guide**). Apart from the internal migrants, who were rather militant, all the groups had a similar understanding of good citizenship as involving helping. What is interesting here is that, apart from the faith-based group, this **common understanding of good citizenship was an accidental finding**. The way in which people were selected for the focus groups meant that there was not a filtering mechanism beforehand to ensure that the facilitators only spoke to people who already believed in good citizenship. In addition, people’s understanding of good citizenship did not involve helping the state in any direct way e.g. through paying taxes. Very few people in all the groups mentioned paying taxes as an example of good citizenship (part of this is due, of course, to the fact that most of the focus groups would not be in the position of paying tax, although they all contribute to VAT).

So, while citizenship is a status tied to the nation, good citizenship is a quality tied to behaviour towards one’s fellow human beings – and not the state (or in this case, the

city). Initiatives targeting a culture of citizenship should tap into this feeling, not into feelings towards a particular organisational entity.

4.3.4 Being a Citizen in Johannesburg

While participants did not always participate fully around the previous question set, there was no shortage of participation around this set of questions. The discussion around this set of questions was the lengthiest. Almost without exception, people used this part of the discussion to comment about their expectations of the city and to complain about the city. Together with the results of the 2007 Household Survey and the LK John Report, our results present lack of visible service delivery as a key failure in local government. The following emerged as people's most serious grievances:

4.3.4.1 Personal Safety

Across the board (i.e. high income and low income groups) personal safety was the issue people had in common. All groups mentioned safety to a lesser or greater extent. For informal traders safety issues hinged on walking home across dark areas at night and being molested by tsotsis. The middle-income groups were aggrieved at the way in which people had to pay for their own security. This is obviously an option that is not available to poorer communities (see the section on **Citizens Making their Cities Safer**). This point relates to the next issue in this grouping.

4.3.4.2 The South African Police

All groups commented on the behaviour and conduct and general helpfulness (or lack) of the SAP. The SAP are variously seen as being corrupt, inefficient, and/ or criminals themselves who are not interested in ordinary people. "The Police don't come if we call them, there is no station in our area and you have to get a lift to the police station" (Informal Traders). "In church our chairs were stolen two and months ago and we went to report. They said they would send somebody. So the next day a policeman phoned and said we are coming as long as you buy us drinks and we can 'talk'" (Faith-based group).

Furthermore, the external migrants all reported on the SAP as a hostile entity. As one migrant put it, they cannot go to report crimes because they will be arrested for being foreigners. While the metro police were also mentioned, they were primarily mentioned by the informal traders in connection with by-law enforcement.

These references to the SAP are very significant. Although the SAP are not a local government power and function, participants were speaking of their experiences and perceptions of the city. It was very clear in this discussion for instance, that **people view their experiences of the city as experiences in the city** e.g. everything that happens to them within the city, even if those experiences are not managed by the city. Closer questioning will reveal that people understand that the SAP are a national force, but in practice experiences of the SAP resonate with other experiences within the city.

4.3.4.3 Health

Probably the second most mentioned issue with the COJ related to the availability, location and staffing of the local government clinics. A lot of people spoke of instances they knew of, where ambulances did not arrive, or arrive on time. The health issue was therefore expressed as a concern for others, and not only as a personal concern. This did not concern the middle-income groups as much, if at all. A secondary issue here was service received at the government hospitals, though this was much less of an issue. Interestingly, some of the external migrants reported that they could get help at local clinics. In addition, several of the groups reported on the difficulties they had in securing the services of ambulances, even in emergencies.

4.3.4.4 Unemployment and Housing

The next most frequently mentioned problems related to joblessness and housing. Many people mentioned struggling to find work, as well as being forced by circumstance to work for very low wages. The internal migrants had had experience of the labour courts, though not in any positive way. Housing issues related to the cost of rent, over-crowding, and time spent waiting for an RDP house.

4.3.4.5 General Comments

The discussion around what it means to be a citizen in Johannesburg did not include many positive opinions of the COJ (and other state-provided services). There were a few comments across different groups about city attempts to keep the streets clean and to repair potholes. Most people, however, did not feel that they could or should rely on the city for these services. It is possible that, because people were invited to talk about the city and knew the research was for the city, they elected to phrase their statements as complaints (because they knew that their comments would be relayed to the COJ, they concentrated on their negative experiences). However, although the nature of the discussion may have affected what people discussed, it is noteworthy that the tone of the discussion was one of real struggle and disillusionment with the COJ. The city thus has to deal with the very real obstacle of starting from a space of hostility since citizens already blame the municipality for past failures and are negatively inclined towards the council and its officers (see **Tackling the Barriers to Citizen Participation** p.8). In general it should be remembered that people were relating their own personal experiences and not just reporting on what may have happened to others.

4.3.5 Participation and Hindrances to Participation

The third and fourth question sets required participants to reflect on the issue of participation in local government affairs. These questions were intended to start people thinking about participation as a citizen responsibility, though it should be said that for most participants this link was difficult to make (the link between being a good citizen and public participation in urban governance).

For most groups, answers to this question can be seen as reflecting a distinction between the theory and practice of public participation. The following summarises most of the different groups' discussions. It should be noted that, where people did have some awareness of public participation processes, they were city-specific e.g. people only knew of public participation in city structures. One or two individuals mentioned presidential visits but apart from this, awareness of public participation mechanisms was limited to the ward council system. Although ostensibly a negative finding, this is good in the sense that the city's mechanisms have penetrated

people's consciousness further than other participation mechanisms. However, it should also be remembered that the only mayor mentioned by name was Helen Zille!

Most people see public participation as a good thing but:

- either know very little about how it actually works. Very few individuals throughout the different focus groups actually knew who their ward councillors were or, if they knew, had anything to do with them. People certainly had very little knowledge about city powers and functions. Only the internal migrants and the informal traders had had real contact with their councillors, and the informal traders had felt it necessary to threaten to burn down the ward councillor's house.
- if they know how participation should work, it was not something in which they wished to become involved. Some people were too busy to attend council meetings, or they felt unwelcome at council meetings (especially the external migrants).

Further, when people knew about the ward council system, they found public participation:

- poorly facilitated by the city and in particular ward councillors. Meetings were announced only the day before, meetings were held in languages which people (external migrants) did not understand, or meetings were dominated by party politics, so that participation was about votes and not issues. There was thus a strong sense that councillors were "going through the motions" of facilitating participation rather than encouraging substantive citizen power. Holding meetings in inaccessible languages, for instance, could be regarded as a form of manipulation, placation or tokenistic participation, which, according to Arnstein's ladder of participation, is closer to nonparticipation than to real citizen power (see **Quick Reference Guide**).

And if they did feel as if their voices had been heard, and if the ward councils had involved community members, the city did not deliver on what people discuss. Lack of delivery, as the previous section reveals, is a major stumbling block in support of the public participation system as it results in the frustration associated with

consultation fatigue (see **Quick Reference Guide**). What is at issue here is the perception of delivery as much as delivery itself. So, while the utility of public participation at a theoretical level is not in dispute, opinions of its practice are more complicated.

However, despite the lack of familiarity or enthusiasm around council processes, the fact that people felt participation in principle was a good thing meant that participation was directed to other, non-city processes. Although it is difficult to know how honest people were being when they talked about community involvement, a significant number of people were involved in participatory and decision-making processes through, for instance, their churches or other similar bodies. These, though, are more small-scale and more local in effect than city-wide initiatives. People clearly felt comfortable with helping out in their immediate vicinity, but more alienated from wider processes.

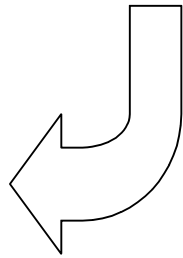
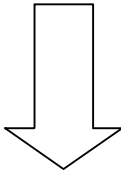
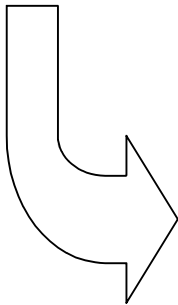
In addition (and here the interviews with different councillors also come to mind) there are great differences ward-to-ward in terms of how people view participation. To a large extent this depends on the public face of the ward councillor and his or her efforts to meet with and talk to people. There was less detail on this, but it does seem important to bear in mind.

Finally, and very significantly given the current political climate, all the foreigners feel excluded by public participation processes. They feel unwelcome, ill-informed and unable to attend public meetings. The lack of welcome they feel extends not only to other residents but also to ward councillors.

Lack of knowledge of public participation

If knowledge, a) lack of time/ ability to get to meeting venues or b) ward council system is ineffective and/or too focused on party politics

If council system is effective, lack of delivery still an issue.



Lack of public participation

4.3.6 Suggestions for Improving Participation

The different focus groups were more interested in describing their difficulties with the city than in engaging with this issue. In general, people felt despondent at the way in which participation seemed to have little effect on their lives. However, it must be said that, since most had had little direct experience of participation, they were basing their comments on perceptions of the effects of participation. The informal traders, however, had had experience of participation. This was their comment, “We don’t have a solution we need somebody to help us”. Some concrete examples, though, did emerge.

- Youth participation can be encouraged through the use of MixiT, Facebook, and youth radio stations
- Foreigners should be given the right to vote for ward councillors
- And the informal settlement residents felt that striking was the best way to achieve their ends.

4.3.7 Conclusion

In amongst the different information supplied by the focus groups, there are some very significant points.

1. People see citizenship as a national characteristic, a status linked to nationality and birth. Citizenship is not a concept which people associate with easily at the level of a city. Further, either you have it, or you don't, so what is the purpose of efforts to create more awareness of it.
2. People associate much more easily with the concept of being a "good citizen", which is a behaviour which all thought to be a positive quality.
3. However, being a good citizen is seldom a behaviour thought of in relation to the state, but rather in relation to one's community.
4. People experience their cities and their status in cities in a very localised fashion, which means that local communities are more important in practice than the city.
5. Good citizenship is almost never thought of in terms of rates and taxes.
6. People have very little knowledge of the division of powers and functions between the city and the province.
7. Even if people are aware of differences, this means little to them at a practical level. Their perception for instance, is that the SAP is ineffective in fighting crime. This affects their experience of the city, even if the SAP is not a city responsibility.
8. People see little linkage between good citizenship and public participation.
9. Public participation efforts are easily subverted by the party political process in wards.

4.4 Councillor Feedback and Individual Interview Results

Information around citizenship and public participation was produced, not only through focus groups but also through interviews with a number of individuals involved in public process in the city. These results should not be viewed as representative, but rather as an example of what different views exist around public participation from those who are informed about the process. The crucial difference between the results in this section, and the results in the previous, is that those interviewed individually all have knowledge of participation processes.

Councillors from the following regions were interviewed, either telephonically or in person: B, C, D, E and F (many councillors were interviewed as part of the LK John Report). The key to the selection of councillors to interview was availability. The research team began by telephoning 5 councillors in each region. Interviews were arranged with those councillors who were contactable, or who replied to their telephone messages. From the different interviews it is apparent that those councillors who made themselves available are those for whom public participation is important, so what follows reflects the views of councillors who engage with the process. The interviewers did not ask the councillors for information on their political affiliation, though this was volunteered in some instances, and became very apparent in others.

In order to protect the anonymity of interviewees, the analysis of the councillors' responses will not indicate the wards they represent. Although a number of councillors commented on their constituents' lack of knowledge about the rights and responsibilities of both citizens and local authorities, the **councillors' own understandings of citizenship** were not much more sophisticated than those that emerged in the focus groups. Some councillors ascribed the lack of community participation to a lack of caring, poor community spirit and even a lack of discipline. These judgments of people's poor participation are worrying since they betray an 'us versus them' approach to the constituent/councillor relationship without much consideration of the reasons why people feel either unwilling or unable to participate. There also seemed to be little recognition of people's varying positions on the continuum of active citizenship (see **Quick Reference Guide**). One interviewee, for

example, dismissed his constituents as being apathetic and completely lacking in community spirit. However, further questioning revealed that these constituents participate in a range of NGOs. Since this was not the kind of participation that this particular councillor was looking for, he was reluctant to acknowledge its value or even its status as participation. At the same time, his own description of positive participation and citizenship was as vague as “giving back”. The interviewees also tended to focus a great deal on their own grievances as councillors rather than suggesting concrete examples of ways in which citizen participation could be improved.

4.4.1 Concepts of Citizenship

Citizens were variously defined as people who were born in South Africa, those who were raised here and those who have acquired citizenship rights. There was much greater emphasis on the responsibilities of citizens than on their rights. The councillors expected citizens to contribute to the country and to their communities. These contributions were as diverse as contributing “socially, economically, politically and democratically to make this a non-racial country” to keeping communities “neat and clean” and refraining from “drunkenness”. A few of the councillors also noted that citizens should not engage in criminal activity or violence. In this respect too, the responsibility was placed mainly on citizens. For instance, one councillor talked about the relationship between informal traders and the police and explained that, when hawkers pay bribes to prevent their goods from being confiscated, they “are corrupting the police by offering”. Communities were thus seen as responsible for “creating corruption”. A few of the councillors were very negative about constituents who made their voices heard through the wrong channels. They were particularly unhappy about constituents telephoning them about issues that were not their responsibility. Examples included being telephoned about city workers sleeping instead of cleaning parks, electricity not working and drains being blocked.

4.4.2 Corruption and Incompetence amongst City Officials

A number of councillors complained about the inefficiency of City personnel. They often found it very difficult to get hold of officials as telephones were simply not

answered and calls were not returned. A number of explanations were offered for this inefficiency. Some councillors found that officials were “unaccountable” and that there was a reluctance to hold them to account through disciplinary action. The respondent who made the latter comment also raised concern about nepotism, which he described as an “ANC tendency”. Cronyism was also cited as a problem by another interviewee. Another councillor, however, felt that “most of the corrupt ones have been evicted”. More than one councillor noted poor internal management. One explained that the city is “not run on a proper business model” while another suggested that some council facilities could be better run if they were outsourced to NGOs. There was a sense that these issues caused frustration amongst councillors while also damaging people’s trust in local and national authorities.

4.4.3 Service Delivery

Health, electricity, water, housing, education and policing were the main areas where the councillors identified problems with service delivery. One councillor said that, although Health, Education and crime were the responsibility of provincial rather than local government, they were addressing the concerns of constituents by forming health committees and by liaising with school governing bodies as well as with JHB Central Police Station. This was an encouraging response as it suggests that the local authority is **creating additional spaces of participation** to decrease the sense of distance between residents and provincial government. In general, this specific councillor was one of the most positive respondents and he believed that “the provincial [government] is doing something to overcome these challenges”. He also regarded the mayor’s “affordable housing scheme in Hillbrow” as a positive development. Another councillor blamed too much red-tape for poor service delivery while another simply said that the entire concept of the mega city is a “failure” because it is “too big an animal and it can’t bring about sustainable delivery”.

4.4.4 Public Participation

Most councillors described participation in their wards as very poor. Some noted that people only felt the need to participate when a specific issue affects them negatively and that it generally took a crisis to mobilise people to action. Another problem that was raised repeatedly was that, even when people do give their inputs, these inputs

are either not recorded properly or they are simply ignored. When asked about participation in his ward, one respondent said that participation exercises were often “a waste of time” and that the “ruling party does a lot of window dressing”. While this interviewee’s comments were clearly influenced by political affiliation, the perception that people’s contributions are not taken seriously is worrying since it sets the stage for **consultation or stakeholder fatigue** (see **Quick Reference Guide**). One councillor said that people were participating and that he was “satisfied” with the number of people attending meetings where community members and local authorities discuss issues. However, this councillor’s further explanation of these meetings is revealing. He said that consultants and specific stakeholders were invited to ward meetings and that the matter under discussion was *then* taken to the community. It seems that the major decisions were thus made before the community was involved and that they were merely informed about it. In terms of **Arnstein’s ladder of participation** (see **Quick Reference Guide**), this kind of participation is only at rung 3 of the ladder, which places it closer to “non participation” (rungs 1 and 2) than to “citizen power” (rungs 7 and 8).

4.4.5 Suggestions for Ways to Improve Participation

As the introduction to this section noted, only a relatively small amount of the interview time was spent on talking about specific ways to improve participation. Suggestions that were made include the following:

- Hand out flyers to publicize meetings
- Advertise meetings and initiatives in community newspapers and on community radio
- Set up websites for one’s ward
- Loud hailing
- Start a project where all citizens devote 24 hours per year to the community

4.5 Junior Council Feedback

On two occasions a UJ researcher had the opportunity to interview and speak to members of the Junior Council. The first opportunity took the form of an hour-long

discussion with the executive of the council. This was too short to follow the question set in detail. The interview followed the format of the other sessions.

4.5.1 Meanings of Citizenship

For this group, citizenship was largely defined as nationality. There was little awareness of how one qualifies to be a citizen, or of the status of permanent residents. There was a fair amount of discussion about ID books, which may be expected given the age of the participants (16-17 years old).

4.5.2 Responsibilities of Citizens

Here the discussion was quite vague and centred around notions of “good citizenship”. There was a very community-oriented spirit present in the group.

Unfortunately, perhaps due to the fact that this was an incoming council, knowledge of citizenship and related issues was very poor. In general, the members of the JC displayed little knowledge of what it meant to be a citizen or how citizenship could be conceived. The issue that emerges from this contact is that citizenship education programmes still have some way to go.

5 CONCLUSIONS

5.1 On Participation

- The variety of participatory mechanisms reveals that each particular context demands that interventions be tailored to local specificities in order to give citizens a substantive opportunity to participate.
- However, certain dynamics and obstacles to participation in local governance recur in different settings and one can thus identify some general enabling factors and best practice guidelines for overcoming these barriers.
- Political will and commitment to real participation is crucial. The CCP suggests the establishment of a fulltime Community Participation and Action Support Unit that is dedicated to enhancing citizen participation. However, they argue that such a unit is not sufficient without a clear policy on stakeholder participation that has to be “adopted to both guide and bind the Council” (Moodley, 2007:5).
- The case studies have further made it clear that participatory skills need to be taught to citizens rather than simply assumed to exist and that capacity building workshops for both local government official and citizens are necessary.
- Different methods and media will be effective to build capacity and raise awareness in different communities. For example, the Society for Participatory Research in Asia has found the radio to be particularly useful while popular theatre has been successfully used in Bangladesh and India. In India the National Academy of Administration held a national workshop on Attitude and Behaviour Change in Participatory Processes to initiate large scale projects to sensitise government officials to participatory methods.
- Officials and residents alike need to become used to citizens holding officials accountable. Mechanisms to achieve this range from local vigilance committees in Bolivia and India to report cards for local government officials in Bangalore. In Kerala, these committees have the power to “sign off on local projects – inspecting both for quality and for proper use of funds – before final payments are made to contractors” (Gaventa and Valderrama, 1999:12).

- The increasing incidence of **consultation or stakeholder fatigue** makes it crucial that authorities are clear about the goals and parameters of participation to avoid raising expectations unrealistically. Tokenistic participatory initiatives that are merely designed to tick the right boxes and to satisfy legislative requirements are likely to contribute to disillusionment which may, in turn, result in the types of participation, such as protests and demonstrations, that local authorities prefer to minimise.
- Participation should empower citizens. This goal can be realised by strategically following the eThekweni approach of **milestone-driven participation** (see **Quick Reference Guide**). This approach, however, needs careful application to prevent counter-productive outcomes. Specifically, milestones should be spread out evenly to prevent citizens from starting to feel disempowered by the process. Regularly scheduled participatory workshops will reinforce citizens' belief that the authority is and remains committed to participation.
- Ultimately, local authorities that are serious about active citizenship are moving away from top-down, expert controlled projects of which citizens are passive recipients and embracing participatory people-centred processes.
- As the examples in the literature review illustrate, these goals can only be achieved when communities work with local and national authorities.
- Participating, active and empowered citizens are also crucial features of any successful and sustainable urban renewal effort and their contributions or lack thereof can make or break the efficiency of service delivery.
- Existing research suggests that all citizens are capable of at least some "acts of citizenship" (Greene, 2005:176). This perspective contends that all citizens occupy different and multiple positions on a "**continuum of active citizenship**" (*Ibid* 178) and that acknowledgment of the ways in which people do participate is empowering and an antidote to the destructive tendency of seeing people as helpless victims of their circumstances⁵.

⁵ Asset-based community development (ABCD) has similar reasons for rejecting a needs-based approach. These theorists argue that all citizens and communities have assets and capacities and these should be recognised and developed to encourage them to become active citizens who take charge of their communities. See Mathie and Cunningham (2003)

- Rather than imposing new methods of participation on communities, successful involvement of citizens requires that authorities see and value people's agency and that they work with the structures and processes that have emerged from communities.

5.2 On Citizenship

- People see citizenship as a national characteristic, a status linked to nationality and birth. Citizenship as such is not a concept which people associate with easily at the level of a city.
- People associate much more easily with the concept of being a "good citizen", which is a behaviour which all thought to be a positive quality.
- However, being a good citizen is seldom a behaviour thought of in relation to the state, but rather in relation to one's community.
- People experience their cities and their status in cities in a very localised fashion, which means that local communities are more important in practice than the city.
- Good citizenship is almost never thought of in terms of rates and taxes.
- People have very little knowledge of the division of powers and functions between the city and the province.
- Even if people are aware of differences, this means little to them at a practical level. Their perception for instance, is that the SAP is ineffective in fighting crime. This affects their experience of the city, even if the SAP is not a city responsibility.
- People see little linkage between good citizenship and public participation.
- Public participation efforts are easily subverted by the party political process in wards.

5.3 Recommendations

What follows is based on our awareness that the COJ is constrained in terms of how it may function, and that ideal solutions around generating citizenship may bear little

relationship to what the city is capable of achieving, given its own set of responsibilities and constraints.

Concepts of citizenship are very poorly understood across the board. If you want people to know what being a good citizen means, you need to tell them. This includes council employees and councillors. See comments above in the section on participation.

Any attempt to grow a culture of citizenship needs to understand citizenship in terms of what we have outlined above. Crucially, any strategy would take into account the need to 'rebrand' notions like 'culture of citizenship' with 'being a good citizen'. The former is too vague for most people to understand. If we rephrase this in terms of the previously-agreed upon formula of citizenship, people are most readily able to understand the social component of citizenship.

$[\text{legal component}] + [\text{political component}] + [\text{social component}] = [\text{cosmopolitan citizen}]$

Further, strategies to encourage good citizenship need to be multi-faceted. While ward committees are an effective way to promote the political component outlined above, another level of strategy is needed to promote the social component. Ward councillors and committees, because of their party political nature, should not be the only avenues of COJ contact with different regions. Over-focusing on ward committees runs the risk of stakeholder fatigue.

In addition, strategies around the promotion of urban citizenship also need to take into account the different ways in which people understand themselves to be residents of a city. Some associate as workers, some as permanent residents, and almost all interact chiefly with only small areas of the city. Few people really think of themselves as citizens of the vast region known as Johannesburg. Strategies to promote citizenship would therefore respond to way of thinking. Such a strategy might respond to the particular needs of a community, and might well work through already existing social assistance/ church/ community projects. This might include

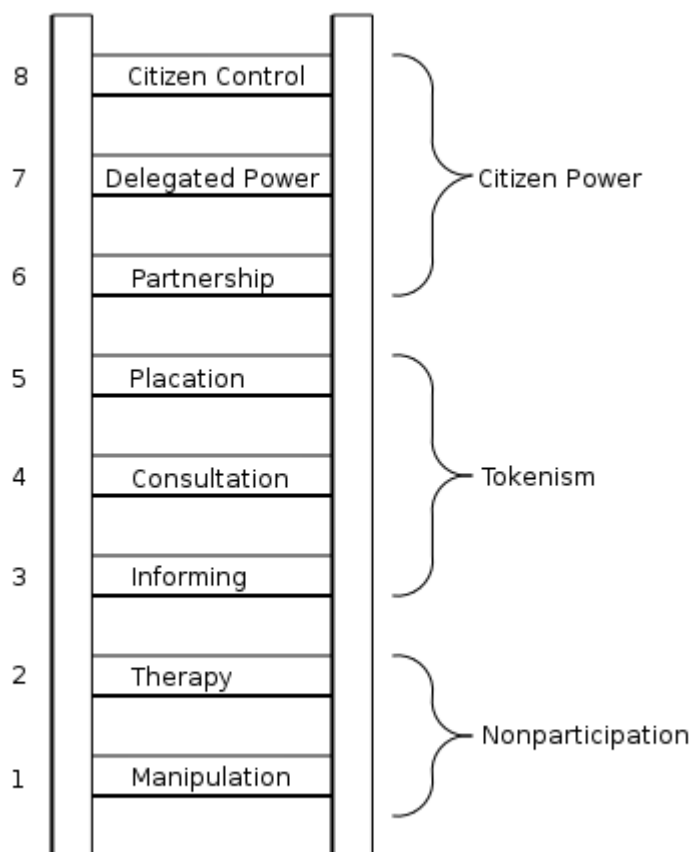
intervention strategies that display COJ commitment around delivery, but do not necessarily involve participation.

6 LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ABCD	Asset Based Community Development
BCA	Blantyre City Assembly
CBD	Central Business District
CBP	Community-Based Planning
CCP	Centre for Citizen Participation
COJ	City of Johannesburg
DED	District Executive Director
DSW	Durban Solid Waste
FBO	Faith-Based Organisation
IDASA	Institute for Democracy in South Africa
IMEP	Integrated Metropolitan Environmental Plan
IPD	Integrated Development Plan
IPC	Popular Training Institute
LATF	Local Authorities Transfer Fund
LSM	Living Standards Measurement
MDC	Mbozi District Council
MSF	Médecins sans Frontières
NCOP	National Council of Provinces
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
OS	Office of the Speaker
PB	Participatory Budgeting
PLWHA	People Living with HIV/AIDS
SAARF	South African Advertising Research Foundation
SAMP	Southern African Migration Project
SAP	South African Police
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats Analysis
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
TIEP	Tshwane Integrated Environmental Policy
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

7 QUICK REFERENCE GUIDE

Arnstein's Ladder of Participation



The ladder illustrates the significant gradations of citizen participation. As the rungs move up the ladder from 1 to 8, they correspond to forms of participation that give citizens greater opportunities to have an actual impact on the outcome of a process. For example, rungs 1 and 2 are not participation at all as they are contrived to make citizens believe that they have an input when they do not. They thus serve to legitimate decisions that have been taken by power holders. At rungs 3 to 5, citizens may indeed be able to make their voices heard, but they have no way of ensuring that the powerful will heed their suggestions. It is only at the upper rungs of 6 to 8 where citizens are able to affect outcomes through their participation.

Governance from Below

Governance from below is a description that includes the less obvious and often nameless forms of governance that operate in civil society as well as on its boundaries. The concept acknowledges that there is a range of agents contributing to the projects, forms of knowledge and expertise that are used to govern. These agents tend to be distinct from the official agents and organs of the state. Governance from below is distinguished from top-down state-centred governance and it is led by citizens and NGOs.

Invited and Invented Spaces of Participation

Invited spaces of participation are those that have been created and/or sanctioned by official channels. While invited structures of participation can provide valuable opportunities for people to articulate their concerns, it is important that people's inputs are not exclusively gained by government "at its behest and on its terms" (Ballard, 2007:19). Examples of invited spaces thus include Ward committees, Community Policing Forums, Integrated Development Planning processes (IDP), and Community Development Forums.

Invented spaces are created by the autonomous arrangements of civil society without the intervention of any governmental body. They thus occur outside the sphere of official politics. Examples of invented spaces would be cases where people organise themselves into community based organisations or NGOs. Both invited and invented forms of participation are important in a democracy that encourages its people to play their rightful roles as citizens while also being tolerant of dissent and responsive to criticism.

Stakeholder or Consultation Fatigue

Stakeholder fatigue occurs when people feel over-consulted. Some stakeholders are repeatedly consulted by different agencies on similar issues. This can be time consuming and burdensome. The danger of stakeholder fatigue is especially acute when stakeholders see no noticeable effect from engaging in a consultation process.

Tyranny of Participation

This term appears in Cooke and Kothari's book *Participation: The New Tyranny* in which the authors suggest that the theoretical ideal of participation frequently fails to

function as the tool for liberation and the distribution of power that its rhetoric claims. Rather, they argue that participation is often used to maintain existing power relationships while the rhetoric and techniques of participation merely serve to mask these power relations. This masking thus represents the tyranny of participation.

Blue Sky Approach

With the blue sky approach the focus is on what outcomes are wished for without any consideration of how those outcomes might be achieved. It allows participants to articulate the outcomes they desire without being restricted by the reality of limited resources.

Milestone-Driven Participation

This strategy entails that stakeholder or citizen participation is sought at specific critical stages (or milestones) of a process. This allows for inputs to be made at important points of a process. For example, key stakeholders might be invited to a workshop at the start of a project so that their suggestions can help shape the rest of the process.

Continuum of Active Citizenship

The UK Home Office (2004: 11) has suggested three components which might form a continuum of active citizenship:

1. Civic participation (includes signing a petition, contacting a local councillor, contacting a public official, attending a public meeting or rally)
2. Formal Volunteering (unpaid help through a group or organisation)
3. Informal Volunteering (unpaid help to an individual or other who are not members of the family)

Responsibilised Citizenship

Responsibilised citizenship assumes that individuals are autonomous and rational agents and that they carry the bulk of the responsibility for their own safety and security.

Mayoral Priorities

Executive Mayor Amos Masondo identified the following 6 mayoral priorities for his term in office:

1. Economic growth and job creation
2. Health and community development
3. Housing and services
4. Safe, clean and green city
5. Well governed and managed city
6. HIV/Aids

Big Mama Workshops

These are gatherings at which stakeholders from across the city meet and make decisions about priorities.

Participant	Name	Age						Sex	Occupation	Elec	Water	TV	Computer	
		<20	20-25	25-30	31-35	35-40	>40							Male
Participant 1	Motswaledo Squatter Camp	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Participant 2	Sweet Water	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	
Participant 3	Sweet Water	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	
Participant 4	Grassmere, Sweet Water	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
Participant 5	Mtswaledi	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	
Participant 6	Sweet Water	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Participant 7	Mtswaledi	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	
Participant 8	Protea South	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Participant 9	Regents Park	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	Student	1	1	1	1
Participant 10	Rosentenville	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0		1	1	0	0
Participant 11	Berea	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	Musician	1	1	1	0
Participant 12	Rosentenville	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	Self employed	1	1	0	0
Participant 13	Sandton	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	Student	1	1	1	1
Participant 14	Oakdene	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	Security Guard	1	1	1	1
Participant	Forest Hill	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	Programmer	1	1	1	1

15										er				
Participant														
16	Rosettenville	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0		1	1	1	0
Participant										Businessm				
17	Turf Club Road	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	an	1	1	1	1
Participant														
18	Booyens	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0		1	1	1	0
Participant														
19	Finetown, Grassmere	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0		1	1	1	0
Participant														
20	Diepkloof, Soweto	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0		0	0	0	0
Participant														
21	Freedompark, Eldorado	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		0	1	1	0
Participant														
22	Freedompark, Eldorado	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0		0	0	1	0
Participant														
23	Nacefield, Pimville	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0					
Participant														
24	Meadowville 8	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		1	1	1	0
Participant														
25	Mshingoville	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0					
Participant										Welder,pai				
26	Turffontein	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	nting	0	1	0	0
Participant														
27	Midrand	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1		1	1	1	0
Participant														
28	Ebony Park	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1		1	1	1	0
Participant														
29	Allendale	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1		1	1	1	0

Participant														
30	Ebony Park	0	0	1	C	0	0	0	1		1	1	1	0
Participant														
31	Johannesburg	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	Student	1	1	0	0
Participant														
32	Ebony Park	0	0	0	C	1	0	0	1	Artist	1	1	1	0
Participant														
33	Lenasia	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1		0	1	1	1
Participant										House				
34	Cosmos City	0	0	1	C	0	0	0	1	maid	1	1	0	0
Participant														
35	Hillbrow	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	Cleaner	1	1	1	0
Participant										Shop				
36	Turffontein	0	0	1	C	0	0	0	1	assistant	1	1	1	0
Participant										Shop				
37	Turffontein	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	assistant	1	1	1	0
Participant										Shop				
38	Turffontein	0	0	1	C	0	0	0	1	assistant	1	1	1	0
Participant														
39	Ormonde	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	Sales	1	1	1	1
Participant										Sales				
40	Booyens	0	0	0	C	1	0	0	1	assistant	1	1	1	0
Participant														
41	Johannesburg	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	Trader	1	1	1	0
Participant														
42	Par Park	0	0	0	C	1	0	0	1	Trader	1	1	1	0
Participant														
43	Splendid	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	Trader	1	1	1	0
Participant														
43	Orlando West	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	Trader	1	1	1	0

44															
Participant															
45	Meadowlands	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	Trader	1	1	1	0	
Participant															
46	Bertrams	0	0	0	C	1	0	0	1	Trader	1	1	0	0	
Participant															
47	Joubert Park	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	Trader	1	0	0	0	
Participant															
48	Rowallen Nord	0	0	0	C	1	0	0	1	Trader	1	1	1	0	
Participant															
49	Meadowlands	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	Trader	1	1	1	0	
Participant															
50	Hillbrow	0	0	0	C	1	0	0	1	Trader	1	1	1	0	
Participant															
51	Johannesburg	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	Trader	1	1	1	0	
Participant															
52	Randpark Ridge	0	1	0	C	0	0	0	1	Student	1	1	1	1	
Participant															
53	Protea Glen	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	Student	1	1	1	0	
Participant															
54	Westbury	0	1	0	C	0	0	0	1	Student	1	1	1	0	
Participant															
55	Naledi	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	Student	1	1	1	1	
Participant															
56	Kempton Park	0	1	0	C	0	0	0	1	Student	1	1	1	1	
Participant															
57	Soweto	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	Student	1	1	1	1	
Participant															
58	Soweto	1	0	0	C	0	0	0	1	Student	1	1	1	1	

Participant														
59	Protea North	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	Student	1	1	1	1
Participant														
60	Bergbron	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	Secretary	1	1	1	1
Participant														
61	Linden	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	Secretary	1	1	1	1
Participant														
62	Greymont	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	Secretary	1	1	1	1
Participant														
63	Floracliffe	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	Secretary	1	1	1	1
Participant														
64	Bergbron	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	Secretary	1	1	1	1
Participant														
65	Greymont					1								
Total		4	12	19	7	15	3	27	37	Student	46	49	42	13
Percentage		6.2	18.5	29.2	8	23.1	4.6	41.5	56.9		70.8	75.4	64.6	20.0

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