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**THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS IN THE
PROVISION OF ADEQUATE HOUSING TO CITIZENS:
THE CASE OF ABAHLALI BASEMJONDOLO (ABM)**

Submitted by:

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Supervisor: Prof Shauna Mottiar

DECLARATION

I, **NHLAKANIPHO WISEMAN MHLONGO** declare that

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Signed on the **01st of June 2022** at **Pinetown**

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Abbreviations

AbM	-	Abahlali baseMjondolo
AEC	-	Anti-eviction Campaign
ANC	-	African National Congress
APF	-	Anti-Privatisation Forum
ASGISA	-	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
BNG	-	Breaking New Ground
CSO	-	Civil Society Organisation
DAG	-	Development Action Group
GEAR	-	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
HDA	-	Housing Development Agency
IBP	-	International Budget Partnership
KZN	-	KwaZulu-Natal
MST	-	Landless Workers Movement
MEC	-	Member of Executive Council
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organisation
PHP	-	People's Housing Process
PIE Act	-	Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act
RDP	-	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SAPS	-	South African Police Service
SECC	-	Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee
TAC	-	Treatment Action Campaign
UISP	-	Upgrading of Informal Settlement Programme
UKZN	-	University of KwaZulu-Natal
WASSUP	-	Water, Amenities and Sanitation Services Upgrade Programme

Abstract

Housing is an essential component of the social and personal life of every individual. Housing the nation is one of the greatest challenges facing the South African government. To address the housing challenge, the South African government introduced several policies such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994 and 10 years later, the Breaking New Ground (BNG) in 2004. Despite the adoption of these policies, the housing crisis in South Africa's continues to worsen each year as Hartmann (2019) indicates the housing backlog in South Africa stands at 2.3. million houses and it is growing by approximately 178 000 houses a year. With this in mind, the study sought to understand the role of civil society organisations (CSOs) in the provision of adequate housing to citizens. It investigates this through the case study of Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM) which is a CSO that was established in 2005 by shack dwellers in Kennedy Road in Durban, within the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

The study method was qualitative. The sample consisted of ten participants, and purposive sampling was used while selecting the five AbM members and snowballing sampling was utilised to sample shack dwellers and an interview schedule was applied.

The study revealed that AbM is not a political organisation, but it is a social movement meant to address the issue of housing and land as well as restoring the dignity of a black person. The organization is committed to building a just society where people enjoy equality and access to opportunities. Findings also revealed that the organization seeks to improve the living conditions of shack dwellers through the provision of basic services and assisting them in the provision of adequate shelter.

In the delivery of adequate housing to the citizens, the study findings indicate that AbM plays a role of empowerment, advocacy and promoting participation. Furthermore, AbM uses five (5) strategies in the delivery of housing to the citizens namely, engagement, issuing media statements, holding marches and protests, litigation and/or the use of the legislation as well as land occupation.

The study also discovered that there are several challenges faced by AbM while attempting to play a role in the delivery of housing to the citizens. AbM members and shack dwellers face brutal and violent evictions at the hands of law enforcement

officers. Furthermore, some AbM members have been killed while trying to assist the citizens in terms of housing. Despite the challenges, AbM has had success in the delivery of adequate housing, and they have been recognized by international institutions for their effort. The research also discovered that AbM has a good relationship with other CSOs. However, the relationship between AbM and local government is a concern and borders on animosity.

Based on the study findings, this study concludes with a proposition of a number of recommendations for CSOs and the government on how to work together to deliver adequate housing to the citizens. There is a need for cooperation between all spheres of government and CSOs. Furthermore, the research recommends that the delivery of services and housing should be de-politicized.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background and Context

“Housing the Nation is one of the greatest challenges facing the Government of National Unity. The extent of the challenge derives not only from the enormous size of the housing backlog and the desperation and impatience of the homeless, but stems also from the extremely complicated bureaucratic, administrative, financial and institutional framework inherited from the previous government” (Department of Housing, White Paper on Housing, 1994).

Since the end of apartheid in 1994, the democratic government has grappled with several socio-economic issues such as poverty, unemployment, lack of health facilities, and lack of adequate housing amongst others. To address the housing challenges, the government introduced several policies such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) in 1996 and the Breaking New Ground (BNG) in 2004. Despite the adoption of these policies, the housing crisis in South Africa’s continues to get worse each year as Hartmann (2019) indicates the housing backlog in South Africa stands at 2.3. million houses and it is growing by approximately 178 000 houses a year.

As the housing backlog is increasing, South Africa has seen a number of service delivery protests related to housing, especially by the poor who often feel marginalized by the state. According to Breakfast, Bradshaw and Nomarwayi (2019) the current government led by the African National Congress (ANC) is confronted with protest action related to a perceived lack of basic service delivery and systemic corruption at the sphere of local government. The protests have escalated in informal settlements where poverty and unemployment are the highest.

South Africa, as a constitutional democracy, the task of providing housing to the citizens resides with the state and the citizens have the right to access to adequate shelter as enshrined in the constitution of the country. However, the government alone cannot fulfil this task of providing access to adequate shelter to citizens, as such civil society is expected to play a role. After all, civil society in South Africa has a long history of holding governments accountable on socio-political matters. Mercer (2002) argues that during the apartheid era, even though they were not allowed to reach people in terms of housing, social movements had a significant role to the fall of

apartheid in South Africa through their tireless campaign of social, political and economic equality.

In the post-apartheid era, the purpose and mandate of civil society organisations (CSOs) has shifted. CSOs have become effective agents of service delivery as they have the ability to improve service delivery by providing service to the poor where the market and the government fails. Willems (2013) highlights that some post-apartheid social movements are in response to the neoliberal economic policies in the mid-1990's such as GEAR.

In addition, the continued failure of government in the post-apartheid era to provide housing and other socio-economic needs to the citizens, has resulted in the proliferation of CSOs (Abegunde, 2009). The failure of governments' top-down approach and lack of involvement of the people at the grassroots in a more bottom-up strategy have weakened the confidence of the public in central authorities. Communities therefore seek solace in civil society institutions, which pressurize government for attention to development problems in their communities (Abegunde, 2009).

This research investigates the role of CSOs in the provision of adequate housing to citizens through the case study of Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM). AbM was chosen because of its focus on access to land and housing in the city for the poor. Furthermore, the organisation fights against forced removals of informal settlement dwellers and for access to water, sanitation, electricity, refuse removal, health care and education (de Beer, 2017).

1.2. Case Study: Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM)

AbM is a shack dwellers movement in South Africa, formed in 2005 as a response to the ill-treatment of shack dwellers by the state (Gill, 2014). The social movement grew out of a road blockade organised by residents of the Kennedy Road Shack Settlement within eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality, in the City of Durban in early 2005. AbM is a radically democratic, grassroots and entirely non-professionalised movement of shack dwellers in South Africa. The words Abahlali baseMjondolo are in IsiZulu and they mean, Shack Dwellers (Gill, 2014).

According to Pithouse (2006) the shack dwellers in Kennedy Road were promised proper houses on vacant land in Kennedy Road, however, a brick factory was built. From the view of AbM, the land was sold to the local businessman by eThekweni Municipality, to build a brick factory instead of the houses they were promised. This angered the residents and they engaged in an unplanned protest by blocking roads and stopping the construction of the factory, as they felt deceived (Khosi, 2020). The protesting citizens have been obedient and had participated in every public participation platform but had to resort to revolt against the government who failed them (Pithouse, 2006). Some shack dwellers in other informal settlements within Durban felt ignored by the local municipality who usually treated them as criminals, and they began to join AbM (Gibson, 2007).

In some of the concerns, AbM have argued that the local municipality responsible for the delivery of services within their jurisdiction, does not communicate properly with the informal settlement residents (Gibson, 2007). As such AbM seeks to have municipal officials engaging with the shack dwellers before imposing eviction and before any development takes place (Gibson, 2007). AbM believes in and practices, grassroots democracy in order to address some of these socio-economic issues (Gill, 2014). As such, one of the objectives of AbM is the inclusion of the people in informal settlements in the decision-making process where those in positions of power are meant to act in the interest of those they represent (Khosi, 2020). In that way, AbM works hard to practice bottom-up popular democracy (Pithouse, 2006). Furthermore, AbM seeks to enable communities in informal settlements to secure tenure of the land that they currently occupy and access government housing subsidies to improve their homes (Mitlin and Mogaladi, 2013).

Khosi (2020) argues that the significance of any social movement lies in how their work affirms the humanity of their members. AbM is such a movement whose struggle goes beyond the acquisition of municipal services. They have refused to reduce their struggles to mere “service delivery.” This is emphasised by Gibson (2008a) as he states that the conversation is not about service delivery anymore, but AbM’s demand is about “being human”. The struggle is for their members to be recognised as human beings and to be treated as such. Sbu Zikode, leader of AbM stated that “*it is not about physical infrastructure, the thinking has shifted from the beginning, now the struggle is the human being, the conditions that we live in which translates into demands for housing and land* (Gibson, 2008a:8).”

1.3. Rationale of the Study

South Africa has many socio-economic challenges, and the provision of adequate housing remains a challenge despite massive investment by the government. Therefore, the rationale of the research was based on the need to find out how CSOs were engaged in the provision of adequate housing in South Africa. The study also tried to establish clarity as to where CSOs could be located in the provision of adequate housing in the post-apartheid era.

1.4. Problem Statement

South Africa's housing crisis is a well-documented problem, and it is getting worse each year. According to Hartmann (2019) the housing backlog in South Africa stands at 2.3 million houses and it is growing by approximately 178 000 houses a year. In the province of KwaZulu-Natal, according to Department of KwaZulu-Natal Human Settlements (2020) the housing backlog for the province is 742 019 and the province remains the second province with the highest backlog in the country.

The housing backlog is confusing since South Africa has one of the most ambitious public housing programmes in the world. Over three million public housing units have been delivered since 1994 (Gibson, 2007). Despite the massive investment by the state, Gibson (2007), further argues that shantytowns have continued to grow, they have become recognised settlements and the local government plans for housing cannot keep up.

Mlambo (2018) also concurs with Gibson (2007) that the supply of affordable and decent quality housing stock is not keeping up with the demand, resulting in the further increase of informal settlements. Unplanned and unregulated urban expansion results in unwanted spatial pattern changes and also in the mushrooming of informal settlements. With housing challenges remaining acute, South Africa's housing crisis described by some as a "ticking time-bomb" (Mlambo, 2018).

With the increase of informal settlements and the subsequent increase in the housing backlog, it is necessary to explore the role of CSOs in the provision of adequate housing as a way to strengthen the process. CSOs are known to be agents of socio-economic change as they promote development through the work they do. CSOs also promote democracy and good governance and create safe spaces where those living in extreme poverty can make their voices heard (Lewis, 2005). Therefore, this study

seeks to evaluate the role of CSOs in the provision of adequate housing with a focus on AbM in Durban.

1.5. Research Objectives

- a) To explore the role AbM plays in the delivery of adequate housing to citizens.
- b) To examine the strategies and tactics AbM uses in advocating for the provision of adequate housing to citizens.
- c) To examine the successes and challenges of AbM in the provision of adequate housing.
- d) To analyse the perceptions towards AbM amongst shack dwellers and other stakeholders namely, the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Human Settlements and eThekweni Municipality

1.6. Research Questions

- a) What role does AbM play in the delivery of adequate housing to citizens?
- b) What are the strategies and tactics used by AbM in advocating for the provision of adequate housing to citizens?
- c) What are the successes and challenges, AbM have experienced while advocating for the provision of adequate housing?
- d) What are the perceptions amongst shack dwellers and other stakeholders pertaining to AbM?

1.7. Significance of the Research

The researcher hopes that the study will contribute to the existing literature on the role of CSOs in the provision of adequate housing. There are similar studies on the role of civil society, however a number of studies focus on the role of civil society pertaining to poverty and policy advocacy. It is on this basis that this study is significant for adding a new dimension on the existing body of literature.

As stated above, studies that have been conducted have focused on approaches to fight poverty and improve the living conditions of the disadvantaged groups in the society. However, this research study seeks to evaluate the role of CSOs in the provision of adequate housing, which will enable citizens and academics to understand the role that CSOs play in housing in their communities. This will also assist the community at large as to how they can engage with CSOs in an attempt to access housing opportunities.

The study also looks forward to influencing an inclusive culture among all actors, both state and non-state in the provision of adequate housing in South Africa. The study may also show the ability of CSOs to facilitate housing provision and possibly shed light on the great responsibility they have towards the attainment of adequate shelter to all citizens. The study could also add to the knowledge base of the best approaches suited to the implementation of housing projects which would inform both the government and policymakers. The study is expected to trigger more research to be undertaken on civil society's role in the provision of adequate housing.

1.8. Chapter Outline

To this end, the dissertation has five (5) chapters, structured as follows:

Chapter One: Introduction and Background of Topic

Chapter one introduces the study. It discusses the background and context of the study as well as the reason for selecting the topic. In addition, the objectives and research questions of the study are also discussed.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Chapter two is the literature review. It discusses what other scholars have written about civil society and housing as topics under investigation. It looks at the concept of civil society and the different meanings from different theorists. The chapter further looks at the different types of CSOs and the role of civil society. It concludes by discussing at the theoretical framework which guides the research.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

Chapter three discusses the research strategy which is the qualitative research design used in this study. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the data collection methods used in this study as well as sampling methods and the data analysis process. Furthermore, the chapter highlights the ethics, reliability and validity measures as well as limitations of the study.

Chapter Four: Research Findings and Analysis of the Results

Chapter four presents the results of the study and the analysis of the results.

Chapter Five: Discussion of Results, Conclusion and Recommendations

Chapter five provides a comprehensive discussion of the results in relation to the objectives of the study. The chapter further provides a summary of the study, concludes the research, and provides relevant recommendations.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review existing literature relating to civil society and to analyse the role as well as importance of CSOs in the provision of adequate housing to citizens. The chapter begins with defining civil society thereafter it unpacks the evolution of the concept of civil society. It further discusses the different types of CSOs as well as the role of civil society. The chapter then discusses contemporary civil society in South Africa with a focus on social movements and AbM. Furthermore, the chapter unpacks the meaning of adequate housing. The final section of the chapter discusses the theoretical framework applied to this study: Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony.

2.2. The Definition Civil Society

To foster an understanding of civil society and how it operates, it is important to define the concept. It should also be noted that there is no single and exhaustive definition of civil society. As such, scholars submit that the concept of civil society is complex and has different interpretations to different people. Veltmeyer (2008) argues that the definitions of 'civil society' are bewilderingly diverse, rooted in alternative social and political philosophies. Therefore, Fink and Simpson (2018) define civil society as a sphere outside the family, the state and the market in which people come together to pursue shared interests. This sphere includes a multitude of groups, organisations and associations that participate in public life. CSOs include non-governmental organisations, recreational clubs, religious and social welfare organisations, business associations and specialised policy groups (Fink and Simpson, 2018). In agreement with Fink and Simpson's definition of civil society, Daniel and Neubert (2019) state that civil society reflects the idea that people organise their affairs by themselves through organisations. The 'civil' in civil society implies that organisations engaging in violence should be excluded; however, members of some CSOs around the world do not rule out the use of violence in certain situations (Fink and Simpson, 2018).

Civil society is distinct from other social groups in several aspects. Firstly, Diamond (1994) argues that civil society is concerned with public rather than private ends. Secondly, civil society relates to the state in some way but does not aim to win formal power or office in the state. Rather, CSOs seek from the state concessions, benefits, policy changes, relief, redress or accountability. A third distinguishing mark is that civil

society encompasses pluralism and diversity. Related to this is a fourth distinction, partialness, signifying that no group in civil society seeks to represent the whole of a person's or a community's interests. Rather, different groups represent different interests (Diamond, 1994).

Kaldor (2003) cites that nowadays, the term “civil society” is international, and it is about engaging in a process of debate and negotiations with governments, companies and international organisations. Moreover, the groups involved have extended beyond urban elites to include women, indigenous groups and other excluded people. Veltmeyer (2008) also emphasises that civil society has been the locus of active opposition to authoritarian governments, it currently provides a breeding ground for alternative, participatory or ‘democratic’ forms of political organisation and governance.

2.3. The Evolution of the Concept of Civil Society

The term "civil society" can be traced back to the 17th century through the works of Cicero and other ancient Greek philosophers. During that period, the term civil society was equated with the state (Carothers, 1999). According to Kaldor (2003) the term started to be popular late in the 17th century and early 18th century due to the social agreements as well as the theories of individual rights, human quality and political concerns. Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, the prominent thinkers in that period, argued that societies are formed as the result of a social contract between human beings (Laine, 2014). Civil society was then seen as a society where individuals come together to make a social and/or mutual contract and the outcome of that contract is expressed in the rule of law and the existence of a state, which is also subject to the law (Kaldor, 2003). Laine (2004) posits that the motive to come together was not that people were naturally inclined to do so; but they were driven by the fear of coercive common power.

During that period, Kaldor (2003) states that there was no distinction between civil society and the state. A civil society was more or less the same thing as a political society. In particular, a civil society was a peaceful society, a society in which people treated strangers with civility, in contrast to other violent and 'rude' societies (Kaldor, 2003).

The Scottish Enlightenment thinkers then changed the concept by emphasising the importance of commercial society (Kaldor, 2003). Laine (2014) argues that the Scottish Enlightenment thinkers David Hume, Adam Ferguson and Adam Smith they were the ones who began to refer to civil society clearly as a network of human relationships separate from the state. Cox (1999) also adds that civil society in Enlightenment Period was understood as the realm of particular interests, which in practice then meant the realm of the bourgeoisie.

As time progressed, under capitalism and industrialisation, the concept further went through changes in the first half of the 19th century through the works of de Tocqueville, Marx, Hegel and Antonio Gramsci (Kocka, 2004). This new thinking reflected changing economic realities such as the rise of private property, market competition and the bourgeoisie (Carothers 1999).

Daniel and Neubert (2019) states that G.W.F. Hegel completely transformed the meaning of civil society, and he gave rise to a modern liberal understanding of it as a form of non-political society as opposed to institutions of modern nation state. Hegel introduced the concept of 'Bürgerliche Gesellschaft', initially translated as 'bourgeois society' in the late 18th century.

Hegel's idea of civil society is completely different from that of Hobbes and Locke. Chakraborty (2016) notes that for Hegel, civil society was an intermediary institution which will ultimately lead to the formation of a democratic state. The state was viewed as a mediator, resolving the conflicts of civil society; the civil servants were the 'universal class' acting in the public interest (Kaldor, 2003). Hegel treated civil society as a "system of needs" in which individuals reconcile their particular private interests with social demands and expectations, which are ultimately mediated by the universal state (Laine, 2014).

On the left, Laine (2014) argues that Hegel's ideas became the foundation for Karl Marx's civil society as an economic base, in contrast to the "superstructure" of the political society, the state. Karl Marx gave civil society a more politically charged name, "bourgeois society," as for him it was a product of a historical subject, the bourgeois, which legitimated its struggles against the absolutist state in the language of the rights of man and citizen, whereas in reality it served only the particular interests of the bourgeois.

Marx rejected the positive role of the state put forth by Hegel as he believed that under capitalism, the state functions as a repressive apparatus, an instrument of class domination. In a bourgeois society, people treat one another as a means to their own ends and, in so doing, are isolated from other people (Laine, 2014).

Cox (1999) states that a particularly significant 19th century addition to the complexity of the concept came from Alexis de Tocqueville's work on American democracy. According to Laine (2014) de Tocqueville presented civil society as a network of non-political social organisations that strengthen democracy. Thus, he introduced the notion of subsidiary, which allows civil society to be involved in governance by limiting the power of the state whilst ensuring that the creative energy of society remains outside of the state and remains within civic activism of associations (Laine, 2014). The spirit of voluntary association thus became a significant aspect of the concept of

civil society. Civil society is no longer identified with capitalism and the bourgeoisie but now takes on the meaning of a mobilized participant citizenry juxtaposed to dominant economic and state power (Cox, 1999).

2.4. Gramsci on Civil Society

The other major contribution to the concept of civil society came from the Italian academic and political activist, Antonio Gramsci. According to Laine (2014), Gramsci followed Hegel in distinguishing civil society from the state but preferred the Marxian thought that the historical development of society occurred in civil society and not in the state. As such, Gramsci defined civil society as a space in which social conflicts are carried on with a view to express political interests and to influence politics (Daniel and Neubert, 2019). This positions civil society as a terrain for fighting for a democratic, equal and socialist society. In addition to civil society being a sphere to fight for socio-economic change, Jaysawal (2013) highlights that Gramsci further views civil society as a sphere where the bourgeoisie impose its hegemony to keep the working class in its place; it also acts as a wedge between the state and the class structured system (Jaysawal, 2013).

Amongst the neo-Marxists, Gramsci was the only one who valued and placed civil society at the highest levels in any existing society (Saifullah, 2018). He conceived civil society within the context of cultural institutions including professional associations, the church, educational institutions, and the trade union movements (Jaysawal, 2013).

Categorising these organisations, Saifullah (2018) states that Gramsci grouped these associations into three (3) major groups; firstly, organisations which are directly controlled by the hegemonic elite, the second group includes the associations that are apparently controlled by others but partnered with the dominating elite, and thirdly, are organisations neither controlled nor partnered with the dominating elite but are nevertheless infused with the hegemonic ideology (Saifullah, 2018).

Gramsci's view on civil society adds crucial elements to the understanding of the concept of civil society. Firstly, it indicates that civil society is more than just a transmitter of established practices or beliefs; but it created a place of social contestation where collective identities, ethical values, action-orienting norms, and alliances were forged (Laine, 2014). Civil society is not just an assemblage of actors,

i.e., autonomous social groups but it is also space of contesting ideas to transform people's lives and where new concepts of development can emerge (Cox, 1999).

Secondly, civil society is viewed as a "public sphere," an arena which is coercion-free for discussion and mutual learning, where people come together to form a common discourse, the public and in doing so compel the state to legitimate itself before public opinion (Laine, 2014). This views civil society as the sphere in which a continual process of conflict and community, dissent, and consent, is generated. It is here that the dialectic between conflict and consensus, factional strife over particularistic ends and the generation of common goals, is conducted. So, this emphasises the assertion by Chakraborty (2016) that Gramsci's civil society performs a democratic role as consensus and support is generated with debates and discussion. Within the sphere of civil society, Gramsci believes that the working class will realise their power and identity.

Lastly, the dynamic, creative side of civil society became emphasized in the formation of informal networks, initiatives, and social movements, which transcended the framework of formal associations (Laine, 2014). The formation of these organisation gives the working class a platform to air their concerns and the possibility of climbing up the societal ladders using their intellectual ability instead of handouts, as Chakraborty (2016) indicates. Therefore, in Gramsci's perspective, the role of civil society is important in bringing socio-political change in the society as the working class are given a platform to discuss and promote counter-hegemonic ideologies. According to Gramsci's theory, societal transformation begins with civil society and ends when that civil society extends into a larger society (Saifullah, 2018).

The evolving connotation of civil society in different phases of history brings this conception whereby civil society is considered not a subsidiary unit of the state but a third independent entity that assists the state in maintaining governance and rule of law (Jaysawal, 2013). The current usage of civil society has more affinity to de Tocqueville than to Hegel, Adam Smith, or Marx. But it also has affinity to Gramsci's usage, since Gramsci regarded civil society not only as the realm of hegemony supportive of the capitalist status quo, but also as the realm in which cultural change takes place, in which the counter-hegemony of emancipatory forces can be constituted (Cox, 1999).

The conceptualisation is relevant to the present study as it helps us to understand how the activities of AbM influences South African housing policy and the provision of adequate housing to the poor in particular.

2.5. Different Types of CSOs

It is important to unpack the different types of CSOs as to understand in which group of CSO does AbM fall under. This will foster an understanding of the relationship between AbM and other organs of the society such as the state and the market. There has been confusion within the public sphere where the public tends to make a mistake by equating civil society with NGOs. In fact, Carothers (1999) states that civil society is a broader concept encompassing all the organisations and associations that exist outside of the state including political parties and the market (Carothers, 1999). However, Fink and Simpson (2018) disagree by stating that political parties cannot be considered as part of civil society even though they also bring unrelated people together around a common cause. They are typically not considered part of civil society, because their members seek political office (Fink and Simpson, 2018).

As stated above, civil society includes a range of organisations that are labelled as interest groups, such as labour unions, professional associations chambers of commerce, ethnic associations, as well as associations that exist for purposes other than advancing specific social or political agendas, such as religious organisations, student groups, cultural organisations, sports clubs, and informal community groups (Carothers, 1999). For the purposes of this study, only three (3) types of CSOs will be unpacked namely, Non-Governmental Organisations, social movements, and social organisations.

2.5.1. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

At the core of much of the current enthusiasm about civil society is the fascination with non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Carothers (1999) points out that NGOs have been multiplying exponentially in recent years, particularly in countries undertaking democratic transitions. Piotrowicz and Cianciara (2013) offer a definition of NGO as private organisations that work independent of any external control to pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development. NGOs do not operate for financial gain, and they are independent from government and profit driven

organisations. They are now regarded as key actors on the landscapes of development, human rights, humanitarian action, environment, and many other areas of public action (Lewis, 2010).

With many scholars viewing NGOs as a panacea for socio-economic change, Veltmeyer (2008) argues that there are two (2) essential theoretical perspectives with regards to NGOs within the development context. One group of scholars believe that NGOs are saviours and catalysts of grassroots development, including the empowerment of the poor and disadvantaged groups as well as economic development in all together (Veltmeyer, 2008).

According to Veltmeyer (2008) there is another group scholar that has a less positive perspective of NGOs when it comes to development. They view many of them as promoters of neoliberal globalisation and neo-colonialism instead of catalysts of development. Wagle (1999) also argues that NGOs do not serve the interests of the poor as much as the interests of their masters, the elites. Their masters in this view are the bourgeoisie, owners of the means of production including corporate Chief Operations Officers (CEOs) as well as major investors (Veltmeyer, 2008).

Figlan, Mavuso, Ngema, Nsibande, Sibisi and Zikode (2009) also agree that NGOs tend to operate in ways which accept capitalism rather than seeking to transform the system altogether. As such, Veltmeyer (2008) contends that the war on poverty, is simply a charade to mask the real agenda which is to create a world safe for capital to facilitate the entry of foreign investment and the multinational corporations. Moreover, the agenda of the NGOs to promote democracy, human rights, peace, and effective citizenship is aligned with the neoliberal agenda of the global hegemonic elite (Saifullah, 2018). Most NGO politics is supported by governments and big business in order to persuade people to accept their oppression.

Critiquing the role of NGOs, Veltmeyer (2008) further states that their implicit purpose is to turn the poor and the working class from participating and joining social movements and confrontational organisations which opposes government policy influenced by imperialism and capitalism. NGOs promote the change and improvement of people's lives but do not challenge the economic structure and political power which favours the bourgeoisie. As such, NGOs are seen as unwitting agents

of outside forces and interests, helping to depoliticise the poor in their struggle for change (Veltmeyer, 2008).

2.5.2. Social Organisations

The second type of CSO defined for this study are social organisations. Kaldor (2003) defines social organisations as mutual benefit organisations, who represent particular sectors of society defined in social terms rather than in cultural or religious terms. This category typically includes professional organisations (societies of lawyers, doctors, employers, trades unions or farmers) community groups of women or youth as well as groups of disabled people, displaced persons, refugees, and homeless people.

Social organisations could be said to be mutual benefit organisations in contrast to the solidaristic character of NGOs. Solidaristic NGOs are organisations whose staff and members care about the poor and the deprived but do not represent or comprise the poor and the deprived (Kaldor, 2003). Therefore, social organisations generally take four (4) fundamental forms: associations or associational (sharing an organisational objective); communities or community-based (held together by social bonds and a culture of solidarity, a shared sense of belonging); class-based organisations (defined by a pursuit of class interest or political power); and networks (informal or formal, social relations horizontal in form) (Veltmeyer, 2008).

Abegunde (2009) argues that social organisations open means of participation at grassroots level. They involve the local and indigenous people in the identification of their local needs and conception formulation and implementation of any project in order to develop the necessary self-reliance and self-confidence in their immediate environment.

2.5.3. Social Movements

The last type of CSO profiled in this chapter is social movements and it is difficult to define the term 'social movement.' della Porta and Diani (2006) refer to social movements as organised yet informal social entities that are engaged in extra-institutional conflict that is oriented towards a goal. These goals can either be aimed at a specific and narrow policy change or be more broadly aimed at cultural change. Daniel and Neubert (2019) adds that the term "social movement" involves a process of mobilization and action.

Scholars such as della Porta and Diani (2006) characterises social movements as groups that are involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents, in most cases the opponents are the state and the private sector. Social movements are critical of the status quo and prepared to engage in protest while challenging the hegemonic forces, a view that Gramsci refers to, in his theory of civil society.

Ballard, Habib and Valodia, (2006) argues that social movements have an explicit relationship with the state. When social movements are engaging the state, the engagement is of a qualitatively different kind to that of formal NGOs. The way social movements engage with the state it is different from the polite way formal NGOs engage with the state. For NGOs, the relationship with the state is largely defined by their service delivery role, whereas for social movements it is more advocacy-based. Engaging the state means attempting to persuade it through lobbying, court action, demonstration, and even outright resistance (Ballard, et al, 2006). Social movements seek to bring mobilisation of those who have failed to have their grievances addressed.

Furthermore, social movements are linked by dense informal networks and share a distinct collective idea. The collective idea usually is in the form of driving socio-economic change relating to access to housing, health care and education and basic service delivery. In their drive for radical socio-economic transformation, social movements they encourage participation and bottom-up approach in terms of deliberation (della Porta and Diani, 2015).

Mdlalose a former member of AbM provides an overview of the role played by academics especially, white academics in social movements, specifically within AbM. Mdlalose's article interrogates the role and the nature of the relationship between academics and social movements, including community-based organisations (Kotze, 2015). Mdlalose (2014) argues that social movements are supposed to be independent of outside influence, however, some movements are becoming especially academics. Mdlalose (2014) continues to argue that one white academic used to draft AbM's statements, and everything had to go through him before it is uploaded on the organisation's website. In some instances, the white academic would upload and issue press statements he wrote without the approval of the organisation nor the input from any member of the organisation. Mdlalose (2014) states that the organisation was "remote controlled" by the academics that were working with AbM.

Contrary to Mdlalose's critic of academics in AbM, according to Walsh (2015), the President of AbM Mr Sbu Zikode, supports the role of academics and indicates that they have a major role within the organisation especially in strategizing. Zikode believes that academics makes the organisation stronger as members of AbM are strong in protesting but not in strategizing (Walsh, 2015).

Hlatshwayo (2015) states that Mdlalose was criticised for the article on the basis that it had no references and hence it should not be published as it merely provides a personal account. As such Kotze (2015) argues that Mdlalose's article, raised some serious points on what actually constitutes publishable research fit for scholarly journals (Kotze, 2015)

In summary, Walsh (2015) indicates that Mdlalose's article provoked a long overdue conversation on the type of relationships between social movements (mainly black) and academics (mainly white) as well as the way in which narratives about movements have been shaped and marketed internationally. Walsh (2015) further alludes that white privilege and power in black movements has never been addressed and Mdlalose's article highlights this and needs to be commended.

Similarly, Hlatshwayo (2015) also states that Mdlalose has to be commended for reviving this old debate about the role of white liberals in black organizations. Mdlalose criticized the role of a white academic associated with a black organization and raises concerns about the power of a white academic associated with a social movement.

Social movements are important in order to fully understand of the role of CSOs in the provision of adequate housing as they are economically and socially significant players in their own right.

2.6. The Role of Civil Society

The role of civil society has evolved in line with the transforming world. Whilst unpacking the different types of CSOs, the role of CSOs was partially unpacked. It should be noted that civil society has a different role compared to the state and the market. The role of the state is to provide services to the citizens and develop policy; the market is profit driven, as such civil society plays a significant role where both the market and the state fail to achieve their mandates. As Makoba (2002) argues that civil society has the capacity and commitment to make up for the shortcomings of the state and market in reducing poverty.

Compared with the state and the market, CSOs are in a better position to spearhead local development programs by virtue of their size, reach, capacity, and rootedness in the community. They are not burdened by large state bureaucracies. Hermoso and Luca (2006) argue that while the market is the most capable of taking the lead in economic development, civil society is the part of society that enables people to bargain for equity vis-a-vis economic growth and development (Hermoso and Luca, 2006).

A grasp of civil society's role in transitioning countries also requires understanding the critiques of the concept. The civil society discourse shows how the notion of civil society is very much a contested one. Proponents of both the left and right claim that civil society plays a unique role in social change processes, although each makes its own claim from fundamentally opposed premises (Hermoso and Luca, 2006).

A rightist perspective supports a neoliberal view that the task of caring for the poor and marginalized must be assumed not by the state but by organs of civil society such as faith-based organisations, private social service agencies, citizens' organisations, voluntary associations, and other entities outside the state. In some instances, right wing governments and corporations have appropriated elements of civil society to serve conservative, elitist and at times oppressive state and market agenda (Hermoso and Luca, 2006).

From a leftist perspective, on the other hand, vibrant and active civil societies take on emancipatory and democratic characteristics. They are actively involved in the formulation and implementation of policies and programs that are rooted in the principles of social justice and human rights (Hermoso and Luca, 2006).

The various roles of civil society will unpack both the rightist and leftist perspective. CSOs exist for several reasons but according to Jezard (2018) a conclusive role of civil society is to hold governments to account, raise awareness of societal issues, advocate for change, promote transparency, lobby for human rights, mobilise in times of disaster and encourage citizen engagement. For the purposes of this study, this chapter will discuss the role of civil society in empowering disenfranchised communities; policy advocacy; improving citizen participation; monitoring the state and improving governance as well as its role in democracy.

2.6.1. Empowering Disenfranchised Communities

Many scholars have written on the roles of CSOs in empowering disenfranchised communities. For instance, Jaysawal (2013), notes that CSOs empower the marginalised groups by providing access to information, transparency, and consultation in decision-making to ensure that the interests of the marginalised may be addressed by policy makers. Makoba (2002), also affirms that civil society is geared towards empowering communities that have been traditionally disempowered. Jaysawal (2013) further states that this function strives to achieve more equitable distribution of power and resources.

In cases where social and institutional factors have exacerbated mass poverty, Wagle (1999) argues that civil society plays a significant role in the formation of grassroots movements for the poor to express their views in rational persuasion. These movements are able to articulate conflicts of interest, further question government action and formulate alternative concepts. Diamond (1994) argues that CSOs speak up for the poor or disadvantaged social groups and thus contribute to the solution of conflicts in society. CSOs do not only mobilize people directly for any agitation but provide resources to disadvantaged groups to raise their voice. This means speaking for those who cannot speak for themselves.

However, it should be noted that CSOs do not provide an automatic route to empowerment of their members always as it is sometimes not clear if they look after the interests of each member of the communities.

2.6.2. Improving Citizen Participation in Development

As CSOs empower the disadvantaged and marginalised members of society, they indirectly play a major role in improving the participation of citizens in developmental matters. Enns, Bersaglio and Kepe (2014) define participatory development as the inclusion of the beneficiaries of development in the design, implementation, and evaluation of development processes. Participatory development can be understood as a reaction against top-down, Western-led forms of development planning and practice.

CSOs have the ability to mobilise members of the society especially the vulnerable and marginalised sections of masses, to participate meaningfully in politics and public affairs. Citizens are provided with an opportunity to actively participate and to enforce the democratic preconditions via influence and pressure to decision-makers in public affairs (Džatková, 2016).

The participation of disadvantaged groups has for a long time now been considered an important prerequisite for successful project planning. If disadvantaged groups participate early on and people's initiative is mobilized, it becomes easier to identify the major requirements to be met by projects and programmes and to achieve a higher effectiveness (Džatková, 2016). Bandauko (2015) argues that the participation of local communities in urban development empowers that community and helps in redistribution of limited resources which contribute to improve social justice outcomes.

By improving the participation of citizens within developmental matters in the society, CSOs play a critical role as mediator between communities and governments and help enhance the communities' participation. By meeting the needs of the poor, community participation is also seen as a vehicle to help achieve a socially just city and region (Bandauko, 2015).

In Gramsci's perspective, by participation, civil society provides a platform where counter-hegemonic ideas are initiated, discussed, and contested with popular hegemonic ideologies (Saifullah, 2018). Through participation, a platform is also given to the excluded individuals in order for their grievances to be addressed; however, in Gramsci's perspective, the contribution by the working class in this platform is within specific boundaries (Saifullah, 2018). The subaltern role is about bringing change within the socio-economic systems, provided that they do not challenge the views of

the ruling class. Within participatory development, the ruling elite continue to emphasize the economic compromises for futuristic gains. These small actions and subsequent changes make the subaltern feel confident and satisfied with their capability to bring about change in an existing context (Saifullah, 2018).

From the above analysis, proponents of participation view it as an aspect of good development practice which can enhance development outcomes. It is seen to be able to facilitate material development by unlocking knowledge held at the grassroots level, by ensuring projects are appropriate and by enabling allocation of resources to the most urgent needs. It is also said to achieve non-material development objectives such as empowerment and accountability (Enns, Bersaglio and Kepe, 2014).

However, participation within the development spectrum has its own flaws, as Williams (2004) highlights three (3) fundamental failures of participation in development namely, utilising a language of emancipation to incorporate marginalised populations of the Global South within an unreconstructed project of capitalist modernisation, emphasising personal reform over political struggle and obscuring local power differences by uncritically celebrating 'the community' (Williams, 2004).

Williams (2004) further argues that participation as a discourse has major and deleterious material effects within the current political economy of development. The promise of grassroots empowerment is viewed by a range of critics as a misrepresentation of participation's actual effects. Cooke and Kothari (2001) argue that programmes undertaken during participation emphasising social inclusion draw previously marginalised individuals and groups into the development process but do so in ways that bind them more tightly to structures of power that they are not then able to question (Williams, 2004).

Furthermore, Gramsci (1971) further notes that the ruling class uses participation as means to make the working class to submit freely to the demands and needs of the working class. Katz (2010) adds that consent of the subaltern is completed through participation, with minimal coercion so that the working class accept and own the subordinate status in accord with the dominating ideology. Coercion is used invisibly through the state mainly in support of the consensual process and in a few cases where counter-hegemonic forces start gaining strength. Once the subalterns accept

the prevalent set of ideologies, they start promoting it and contributing to its implementation (Chakraborty 2016).

2.6.3. Advocating for Better Policy Options

While analysing the different roles of CSOs, Court, Mendizabal, Osborne and Young (2006) noted that many CSOs are moving beyond service delivery, engaging in informed advocacy as an important route to social change and as a means of holding government accountable. Advocacy consists of different strategies aimed at influencing decision-making at the organisational, local, provincial, national, and international levels. Advocacy strategies can include lobbying; social marketing; information, education, and communication; community organizing; or many other tactics (Sprechmann and Pelton, 2001). Often, advocacy aims to change the policies, programs or positions of governments, institutions, or organisations (Sharma, 1997).

Building on this view, (Court et al., 2006) argued that for various CSOs, policy influence is part of their agenda as they have become aware that policy engagement can lead to greater pro-poor impacts than contestation. They have the capability to influence government bodies and assist in formulating well-articulated policies and programs (Jaysawal, 2013). As such CSOs influence policy reform by dialogue and persuasion, rather than by confrontation (Wagle, 1999). Jaysawal (2013) also agrees that civil society are able to influence policy as they are able to bring carefully researched findings to understand the crux of the situation and develop concrete agenda. The civil society sector influences on policy reform by dialogue and persuasion, rather than by confrontation (Wagle, 1999).

In terms of policy formulation, civil society is a valuable partner in providing deep subject-matter expertise based on first-hand experience, trialling and scaling up innovations in social services and facilitating citizen engagement. CSOs build and organise the capability of rights holders as well as advocate for pro-poor policies. Wagle (1999) states that policy reforms are essential for successful implementation of development schemes.

2.6.4. Role of Civil Society in a Democracy

Over the years CSOs have played a critical role in democratic transitions in developing countries by pressing for change and developing an alternative set of perspectives and policies. A strong civil society is considered one of the prerequisites for democracy and Diamond (1994) identifies key functions of civil society in shaping democracy. The first key function being the participation of citizens in political matters. Diamond (1994) argues that CSOs have the ability to encourage people to get involved in politics especially as voters in elections. By participating in political matters, this strengthens the legitimacy and the institutionalisation of democratic government, which are essential for consolidation. The diversity of civil society will ensure that a few groups do not hold the state captive as such, civil society further resists authoritarianism.

Diamond (1994) further argues that civil society promotes democracy by being a locus for recruiting new political leadership. Those who are involved in the activities of such groups learn how to organise and motivate people, publicise programmes, reconcile conflicts and build alliances. Katusiimeh (2006) agrees with Diamond that this teaches people to deal efficiently with political challenges and can mould competent political leaders.

Diamond (1994) also indicate that civil society can be a crucial arena for the development of other democratic attributes, such as tolerance, moderation, a willingness to compromise, and a respect for opposing viewpoints. These values and norms become most stable when they emerge through experience and organizational participation in civil society provides important practice in political advocacy and contestation (Diamond, 1994).

2.6.5. Improving Governance

According to Džatková (2016) the inevitable elements of good governance are participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation, equity and effort, the inclusiveness, accountability, efficiency, and effectiveness. From the above analysis of the role of civil society, it is evident that civil society plays a crucial role in improving governance in state institutions.

At the level of society, Diamond (1994) argues that civil society plays a critical role in initiating discussion processes about the path of development, questioning government policies and enhancing the capacities within society for negotiation

processes (Diamond; 1994). Through discussion and engagement, CSOs are able to provide policy recommendations, input on legislation and in some cases, general services to the public under the auspices of the government (Fink and Simpson (2018).

Mercer (2002) agrees with Diamond (1994) that CSOs play an important in the society by checking state power and challenging the autonomy from local to national level. This role of civil society is in line with the concept of civil society de Tocqueville presented, which views civil society as a sphere outside the state but is involved in governance by limiting power of the state.

Carothers (1999) also emphasises the importance of civil society in governance, as CSOs can discipline the state, ensure that citizens' interests are taken seriously and foster greater civic and political participation. A strong and plural civil society is therefore necessary to guard against the excesses of state power (Mercer, 2002). This role tends to reduce political corruption, which is pervasive in emerging democracies. Furthermore, this function forces the government to be more transparent and responsive to the public, which strengthens its legitimacy.

It has been argued that a weak civil society leads to a lack of "civic engagement" and "social trust" (Carothers, 1999). By engaging with the government, Jaysawal (2013) argues that CSOs provide an enabling environment for local governance and development through advocating for people-centred policies.

Recognizing that no one sector can solve the world's major societal challenges alone, these roles are increasingly carried out through engagement in partnerships and collaborative frameworks across civil society and with stakeholders from business, government, and international organisations.

2.6.6. The Role and Contribution of Civil Society Towards Housing in South Africa

Housing remains one of the major challenges facing South Africa, and several criticisms have been levelled against the government for failure to address the housing backlog. Sobantu and Nel (2019) argue that at the top of the list of criticisms was that the process of providing housing to the poor lacked pro-poor planning and implementation. The RDP programme lacked deliberate collaboration between various housing delivery stakeholders and used a top-down approach to planning and implementation. There are complaints pertaining to housing delivery, as amongst which include beneficiaries who argue that the houses were too small as well as having been constructed using shoddy workmanship.

The right to adequate shelter is one of the most vital rights for the well-being of citizens. Housing is an essential need for both the individual and the family. There is a general view that government should assist poor people with securing access to adequate shelter. CSOs are one of the stakeholders that hold the government to accountable and also protects human rights. Furthermore, CSOs play a vital role in developing, expanding, and strengthening the networks of people committed to improving the lives of the slum dwellers (United Nations, 2017). This is argued by Fieuw and Mitlin (2018) that civil society has over the years assisted the poor households in terms of shelter by engaging government in different platforms. Lombard and van Wyk (2001) also argue that civil society in South Africa has played a significant role by promoting and facilitating the housing development process as well as building the capacity at community level.

The role and impact of CSOs on policy and decision-making relating to housing in South Africa has been immense. In 1995, Fieuw and Mitlin (2018), state that the Victoria Mxenge Housing Savings Scheme, a CSO based in Cape Town, acquired land and was able to build more than 150 houses using alternative building technology. This CSO was frustrated by the slow provision of housing by the government and also the lack of appreciation of community approaches in the delivery of housing. Out of this action by the group, the People's Housing Process (PHP) was launched in 1998 by the Department of Housing. The PHP provides a ground for communities to make development decisions for themselves, manage project activities and provide voluntary labour.

Landman and Napier (2009) highlight that Development Action Group (DAG) and other civil society groups such as Planact and Afesis-Corplan also actively support and have contributed to the development of PHP. Furthermore, DAG has been influential in the development of housing policy and instrumental in developing participatory housing strategies and plans, most notably the Western Cape Sustainable Human Settlements Strategy, in 2007.

Water, Amenities and Sanitation Services Upgrade Programme (WASSUP) is a housing-based voluntary organisation found in Johannesburg operating in informal settlements. According to Sobantu and Nel (2019) WASSUP has played a central role in maintaining the urban poor settlements as government is struggling to provide housing to the poor.

All the above-mentioned organisations have played an instrumental role in the development of housing policy in the past however, the provision of adequate housing to the poor remains a challenge in South Africa despite massive investment on housing since the dawn of democracy. This study will assist in understanding the contemporary role of CSOs in the provision of adequate housing to the poor.

2.7. Civil Society in Post-Apartheid South Africa

The concept of civil society has become a buzzword in the discussion of democracy, development, and governance especially in post-apartheid South Africa. In post-apartheid South Africa, civil society is deemed by the state as a partner in its social and political mission (Everatt, 2001). This is a result of the instrumental role CSOs have played in the history of South Africa, especially during the struggle and the transition to democracy (Asuelime, 2017). Pre-democracy, CSOs contributed to the fall of apartheid in South Africa through a tireless campaign of social, political, and economic activism for political change (Mercer, 2002).

The dawn of the constitutional democracy has led to the concept of civil society to become a buzzword in the discussion of democracy, development, and governance especially in post-apartheid South Africa. The civil society terrain in South Africa following the transition to democracy has also seen a rise in new social movements set up to contest the democratic state with regards its failures to alleviate poverty and reduce inequality.

Madlingozi (2007) argues that apartheid left a legacy of economic inequality and abject poverty in South Africa. To address the past political injustices, the democratically elected government led by the ANC introduced several policies, such as the RDP, GEAR as well as Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) among others. However, the housing backlog, inequality, unemployment, and poverty have continued to rise in South Africa. Ballard, et al, (2006) argue that the high and growing level of poverty and inequality that characterises our society have given rise to the emergence of contemporary social movements in South Africa. Although directly attributable to the apartheid policies of the past, the policies pursued by the ANC government have exacerbated an already critical situation (Ballard, et al, 2006).

Gibson (2008b) also concurs that CSOs emerged out of the broken promises of the ANC whose project of post-apartheid “nation building” has only benefitted a few politically connected individuals. Therefore, CSOs in the post-apartheid era are not merely about addressing the injustices of apartheid however they have been formed to challenge the effects of the state’s macroeconomic policy and to demand that the working class to be included in government (Madlingozi 2007).

Nowadays, CSOs in South Africa, have often been at the forefront of social change, especially on issues relating to access to housing, health care and education, basic service delivery, violence against women and gay and lesbian people, and xenophobia" among others (Asuelime, 2017). They present an avenue for channelling the interests of the poor and putting their agenda on the national sphere. The Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC), the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) and the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) are some examples of CSOs which have played pivotal roles in safeguarding the interest of the poor in the post-1994 context (Asuelime, 2017).

The Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC) formed in 2000 in response to the perceived failure by government to provide residents with affordable electricity in line with its election campaign promises of 1994 and 1999 (Greenstein, 2003). The SECC has engaged in discussions about possible legal challenges that invoke the Bill of Rights in support of the campaign to stop disconnections, reconnect houses to the electricity grid and put in place policies that provide affordable electricity to poor people, and particularly women, pensioners, the disabled and members of other vulnerable groups (Greenstein, 2003).

Furthermore, post-apartheid social movements have also challenged government's policy in several situations. Greenstein (2003) argues that social movements such as Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) have been at the forefront fighting for provision of affordable treatment for people with HIV/AIDS and treatment for pregnant women with HIV to reduce the number of children infected by the virus. The movement was formed in 1998 and has provided awareness about HIV/AIDS treatment and how to live healthier lives and training a leadership of people living with HIV (Greenstein, 2003). Social movement such as TAC have played a major role in forcing the government to adopt policies which it had expressed strong opposition through public campaigns and legal strategies (Asuelime, 2017).

As stated above, several trade unions and political individuals were not happy with the introduction of GEAR. As such, Buhlungu (2004) states that APF was formed in 2000 by activists felt a sense of frustration, particularly after the adoption of GEAR by the ruling party. The APF emerged and was seeking to coordinate joint struggles against state-initiated privatisation processes (Stokke and Oldfield, 2004).

Furthermore, the formation of APF was also a result of the emergence of Anti-eviction Campaign (AEC). Chiumbu (2012) states that the Anti-Eviction Campaign emerged in 2001 due to serious concerns pertaining to lack of service delivery, particularly with regards to housing challenges in the urban Western Cape. Furthermore, Miraftab and Wills (2005) state that the antieviction movement emerged within the poor townships of Cape Town in direct response to evictions of people from local government and private banks.

Miraftab (2006) also states that the poor face eviction threats from the local municipalities as well as from the private banks. The municipalities in Cape Town were evicting people in council housing units which were built by the apartheid government. In some situations, the municipalities were also cutting off services such as water and electricity to households who were defaulting on their payments. The private banks on the other hand were evicting people who were simply unable to make their bond payments, as some people had no jobs, and many households are dependent on a pension or grant from one individual (Miraftab and Wills, 2005).

Miraftab and Wills (2005) states that the AEC has played a key role in ensuring that evicted people are moved back in their homes and their water services are reconnected until due legal processes and hearings can take place. This campaign approach aims to defend the constitutional right of all South African citizens to access adequate housing and sufficient food and water (Miraftab and Wills, 2005).

Chiumbu (2012) argues that social movements such as AEC have also created spaces for inclusive and bottom-up active citizenship, where people are involved in their local communities and democracy at all levels. This is affirmed by Miraftab and Wills (2005) as they indicate that the AEC activists organize and participate in capacity building, leadership training, and popular education initiatives to develop and enhance those skills necessary for active participation in the processes of citizenship construction, consequently expanding the public sphere (Miraftab and Wills, 2005).

The significance of the AEC exists precisely in its ability to disseminate knowledge about these rights among the poor and to hold the state accountable for its constitutional promises and policy provisions (Miraftab and Wills, 2005).

Post-apartheid CSOs thus add a welcomed plurality of views on South Africa's socio-political landscape. Like the CSOs before 1994, post-apartheid CSOs are providing

new spaces for popular democracy by empowering citizens to take responsibility of their lives (Madlingozi, 2007). The CSOs have succeeded in putting pressure on the local authorities to reconsider the issues of poor service delivery, housing backlog and infrastructure development. In this context, CSOs play a central role giving the excluded and marginalized a voice. Recently, the social movements have shifted their stance to include aspects such as social justice in urban planning and development. Thus, Bandaoko (2015) argues that CSO play a remarkable role in South Africa, by challenging the state in terms of accountability when the state fails to fulfil its constitutional mandate of providing services to the citizen.

2.8. Adequate Housing in South Africa

Housing is a necessity as well as a basic human right and need. Furthermore, the United Nations (2021) argues that housing is the basis of stability and security for an individual or family. The centre of people's social, emotional, and economic lives; a place to live in peace, security, and dignity. Housing is also key to realising sustainable urbanisation as a driver of development, peace, and improved living conditions for all (United Nations, 2021).

For many decades, people globally have been facing severe housing problems, which resulted to severe shelter deprivation. Significant pressure surrounding housing problems has given birth to numerous housing legislations, policies, and programmatic intervention in South Africa. According to Mashwana, Thwala and Aigbavboa (2018) housing problems have led to programs such as RDP, GEAR, BNG of 2004 and the National Housing Code of 2009 among others. The policies were meant to ensure that everyone's right to access to quality and adequate housing is realised (Mashwana, Thwala and Aigbavboa, 2018).

The right to access to adequate housing is recognised as a socio-economic right. What constitutes adequate housing is outlined in the Housing Act 107 of 1997, the BNG 2004 policy and the National Housing Code of 2009 (NHC), which provides for the facilitation of a housing development process that is sustainable (South African Human Rights Commission, 2018).

According to Huchzermeyer (2001) the Housing White Paper of 1994 also provides interpretation to the concept of adequate housing through its vision of *“viable, socially and economically integrated communities, situated in areas allowing convenient*

access to economic opportunities as well as health, educational and social amenities, within which all South Africa's people will have access to a permanent residential structure and with secure tenure, ensuring privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements; and potable water, adequate sanitary facilities including waste disposal and domestic electricity supply” (Huchzermeyer, 2001:305).

Adequate housing does not mean to only provide four walls and a roof. However adequate housing includes participation of citizens in housing-related decision-making at the national and community levels. In addition, the United Nations (2009) expands on the vision of the Housing Paper of 1994 by indicating that for housing to be adequate it must, at a minimum, meet seven (7) elements. According to Collyer, Amirthalingam and Jayatilaka (2017), the first element is security of tenure, which the Housing Paper of 1994 also highlights. This provides occupants a degree of tenure of security, in the process guarantees legal protection against harassment, forced illegal evictions, and other threat. Oren and Alterman (2019) add that the second element is the availability of services, facilities, and infrastructure; this ensures that the occupants are provided with safe clean water, reliable electricity, or energy, refuse disposal and adequate sanitation.

Oren and Alterman (2019) further add that the third element which constitutes adequate housing, is habitability which guarantees physical safety or provision of adequate space, for protection against inclement weather conditions and other threats to the health of occupants. Collyer, Amirthalingam and Jayatilaka (2017) add another element which is affordability, as housing needs to be affordable to all citizens at different levels. Housing is deemed not adequate if the costs compromises or threatens the ability of the occupant to enjoy other human right. The fifth element is accessibility which ensures that housing is accessed by the marginalised and disadvantaged groups within the society. Housing is considered inadequate if it is inaccessible to the marginalised groups (United Nations, 2009).

Location is also another important that contributes to adequate housing; this ensures that occupants of houses can access employment opportunities, healthcare services, schools, childcare centres, and other social facilities. Lastly, cultural adequacy is another element as housing is not adequate if it does not respect and consider the expression of cultural identity (Oren and Alterman, 2019).

There are misconceptions pertaining to the right to adequate housing. One of the most common misconceptions associated with the right to adequate housing is that it requires the state to build housing for the entire population and that people without housing can automatically demand a house from the government. Oren and Alterman (2019) argue that the right to adequate housing does not require the state to build housing for the entire population. While most governments are involved to some degree in housing construction, the United Nations (2009) also add that the right to adequate housing clearly does not oblige the government to construct a nation's entire housing stock.

Oren and Alterman (2019) highlight that the right to adequate shelter places a responsibility to the state that it is needed to take a series of reasonable measures indicating policy and legislative recognition of each of the constituent aspects of that right. The United Nations (2009) also adds that the right to adequate housing covers measures that are needed to place attention to the poor and vulnerable, stop homelessness, stop illegal evictions, address discrimination, ensure security of tenure to all, and ensure that everyone's housing is adequate. In addition, Oren and Alterman (2019) argue that the right to adequate shelter should be seen as the right to live somewhere in peace, security, and stability.

The conceptualisation of housing is relevant to the present study as it helps us to understand what is meant by adequate housing and the housing crisis in SA.

2.9. Theoretical Framework

2.9.1. The Theory of Hegemony

The study is guided by Gramsci's theory of hegemony. According to Chakraborty (2016) Antonio Gramsci was not the first person to speak about hegemony however he was the one who broadened the idea of hegemony. As such, the concept of hegemony is central to Gramsci's idea of civil society. Gramsci's idea of hegemony is based on Marx's notion of 'false consciousness', which is a state in which the members of the dominated classes are ideologically blinded to their subordinate position in the social structure (Katz, 2010).

According to Saifullah (2018), Gramsci defined hegemony as a form of control exercised by a dominant class, over the working class in the society. The theory of hegemony views the dominant (ruling) class as the bourgeoisie, the modern capitalists, owners of the means of productions and employers of waged labour. Whilst the working class is viewed as individuals that are unskilled and semi-skilled and earn low wages. Therefore, hegemony is an important element for the ruling class to maintain the status quo of its power and authority over the working class (Chakraborty, 2016).

On how the dominant elite carry out their political domination, Katz (2010) argues that the dominant elite utilise the state power and tools such as popular culture, mass media, religion, and education to reinforce an ideology which supports their dominance over the working class. The working class are not forced or coerced into accepting inferior positions, they simply submit to the domination of the ruling class. Saifullah (2018) highlights that these tools are exploited so effectively that the political ideologies of the hegemonic forces or the bourgeoisie become the accepted common-sense of the age (Saifullah, 2018). Once the subalterns accept the prevalent set of ideologies, they start promoting it and contributing to its implementation (Katz 2010, Chakraborty 2016). Therefore, it is evident that hegemony is achieved through consent. But consent of the subaltern groups to hegemonic ideology is not a truly free choice; it is manufactured and manipulated by the dominant classes who control certain institutions of the society, co-opt others, and infuse the rest with the *forma mentis* (shape of the mind) that they desire (Katz, 2010).

Chakraborty (2016) also states that government plays an important role in organizing political and administrative forces and it will reinforce the “hegemonic” positions of all dominant groups. This shows that although hegemony by definition is always dominant, it is never either total or exclusive. This is a point which Gramsci emphasised, that hegemony has to be constantly remade; partly because it is constantly challenged (Figlan, et al, 2009). In addition, hegemony is not only about gaining the power but also about maintaining that power (Chakraborty, 2016).

Katz (2010) also adds that in hegemony a certain way of life and thought is dominant and is diffused throughout the society to inform norms, values and tastes, political practices, and social relations. Hegemony spreads out in the society in a way that corresponds to the reality of social experience. Once this culture becomes normalised, the dominated (working) class tends to contribute to the continued dominance of the ruling class by accepting the dominant culture’s values and assumptions as their own; repression is replaced by inculcation (Katz, 2010).

Gramsci’s theory focuses on the role of the state and establishes its relationship with civil society that is more relevant in the context of South Africa. The media, culture and education systems are described as the main tools in Gramsci’s hegemonic process, and these are controlled by the state and the bourgeoisie in South Africa which makes this theory even more relevant (Saifullah, 2018).

Figlan et al. (2009) posit that there are two (2) types of struggles within the Gramscian theory of hegemony. One is when the working class, as oppressed people engage in direct physical battle with the dominant elite, who are the oppressors, the state, and police. The other struggle is when both the oppressed and the oppressor fight to have their ideologies dominant; to make their ideology the common course. As such within the theory of hegemony, there are two (2) basic types of CSOs, namely, those that support the state such as the churches and schools, and those that oppose state power such as trade unions, social protest groups and citizen’s rights groups such as social movements.

The theory of hegemony is the theoretical framing for this study, as it highlights the distinctive relationship between civil society and the state. Chambers and Kopstein (2008) introduce six factors in which the relationship between civil society and the state could be explained. They argue that civil society could be against the state; apart from

the state; in dialogue with the state; in partnership with the state; in support of the state; or it could be just beyond the state.

The relationship of civil society in dialogue with the state is this study's particular interest. Chambers and Kopstein (2008) argue that in this situation there is engagement holding the state accountable for excesses of power, having to defend, justify and give a full account of state actions to the many questions raised by civil society. The study also examines instances where civil society is against the state. Chambers and Kopstein (2008) argue that in this situation, civil society opposes the state's actions, especially where they are perceived as preventing rights and freedoms.

The theory of hegemony is applicable to this study as it explores the relationship between civil society and the state. AbM has been at the forefront of advocating housing provision for informal settlements across South Africa and the democratic state is responsible for ensuring that the constitutionally guaranteed right to access adequate shelter is adhered to and realised.

2.10. Conclusion

The literature above reveals that the role of civil society and its function in the development process should not be underrated. Civil society is made up of different types of organisations with different purposes. However, their combined interest is the interest of the people especially the marginalised individuals. Civil society's role in empowering the people is well recognized. CSOs in many democracies perform the function of representing the interests and asserting the rights and power of the people. In conclusion, a deeper partnership is more than just government processes, but it has to be built around relationships between human beings and it should enable dialogue and participation.

This chapter has demonstrated that CSOs are instrumental in championing issues of effective rural and urban development. The voices of such organisations are at the forefront of making sure that the marginalized are well represented in urban planning and development initiatives.

3. Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter identifies and describes the research approach, design, procedure, and methods employed to collect, process, and analyse empirical evidence. Broadly, it has three (3) objectives; namely, to identify and describe the research approach (Section 3.2), the research design (Section 3.3), as well as the procedure and methods (Section 3.4). The chapter also describes the reliability and validity measures (Section 3.7) that this research applied to make it credible, as well as the technical and administrative limitations (Section 3.9).

3.2. Research Approach

According to Patton and Cochran (2002) qualitative research is characterised by its aims, which relate to understanding some aspect of social life, and its methods which (in general) generate words, rather than numbers, as data for analysis. As a research approach, the study followed a qualitative research approach, as it promoted a deeper understanding of the role of CSOs in the provision of adequate housing.

The motive for selecting qualitative research was that the attention on this investigation was on the comprehension of participants as to the role played by CSOs in the provision of adequate housing rather than on quantifying any respect of the experience.

The research also focused on the exploration of feelings, perceptions, and experience and not their measurement. The findings are discussed in a descriptive manner and the generalisation of results is less emphasised. This made it possible to explain the roles and strategies of CSOs in the provision of adequate housing.

3.3. Research Design and Strategy (Case Study)

A research strategy is defined as a design the researcher aims to use in responding to the research question (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, et al., 2012). According to Leedy and Ormrod (2014) the purpose of case study research is to understand in-depth a person or situation. Similarly, Gaya and Smith (2016) state that qualitative and case study designs share a common objective which is to uncover complexities in a natural context. Thus, they are complimentary.

The researcher used the case study strategy to develop the research. Thus, the purpose of choosing the case study approach was to explain the role of civil society in

detail. A case study of AbM was used to obtain detailed information of the role of CSOs in the provision of adequate housing. The method was employed due to its strength in the ability to capture the context specific details. The research strategy assisted the researcher to meet the research objectives and to answer the research questions for the study.

3.3.1. Study Context

Kennedy Road informal settlement is located to the west, in a suburb called Clare Estate, of Durban within the Province of KwaZulu-Natal. Clare Estate is mainly Indian middle and upper-middle class residential settlement (Pithouse, 2006).

Kennedy Road is well known in the area, perhaps because it is the birthplace of AbM. This group owes its popularity to being attacked in 2009, leaving two (2) people dead. As such, the Kennedy Road settlement has a radically democratic political culture that took years to develop, other settlements have different cultures some based on political patronage (Gibson, 2007).

The Kennedy Road informal settlement is a place of great despair as there are people with no viable and tangible livelihoods. Pithouse (2006) states that approximately 10% of South Africans live in shack developments, and Kennedy Road is one of the most notorious. A decade ago, there were just six toilets for 6,000 residents. There are ventilated pit-latrines which causes serious health problems and puts the lives of children at risk. Furthermore, there is a lack of electricity within the settlement, with a dependence on candles and paraffine stoves which makes it vulnerable to fire incidents (Pithouse, 2006).

Gibson (2007) also adds that people living in informal settlements such as Kennedy Road are desperately poor. They have been forgotten in the “booming” post-apartheid South Africa, as they live without basic services like sanitation, water, or electricity in shacks (Gibson, 2007).

According to Statistics South Africa (2018), the population of KwaZulu-Natal is 11.4 million, and it is the second most populated province in South Africa. The housing backlog for the province is 742 019. KwaZulu-Natal remains the second Province with the highest housing backlog in the country. Within the province of KZN, 78.6% of households live in formal dwellings, 14.4% live in traditional and 6.8% live in informal

dwelling. A total 743 informal settlements have been identified with an estimated 377 088 informal dwellings (KwaZulu-Natal Department of Human Settlements, 2019).

3.4. Data Collection Methods

3.4.1. Primary Data Collection

Data collection is an integral part of the research process. According to Sekaran and Bougie (2016) data collection involves the selection of the methods of obtaining information for the research. As a way of collecting primary data, the study utilised in-depth individual semi-structured interviews with key members of AbM as well as shack dwellers in Kennedy Road.

The semi-structured interviews allowed for robust interviews because the participants were able to introduce new ideas that the researcher may not have considered. Furthermore, the interviews enabled new themes to be contributed that were useful to understanding the research problem, thus enhancing the usefulness of the study. The choice of having semi-structured interview questions was also to maintain control and direct the interview to focus on the specific topic at hand avoiding spending time discussing information that may not be relevant for the study.

The semi-structured interviews were between 30 minutes to about 120 minutes. To assist in providing the interview a framework, an interview schedule was used which can be seen attached as **Appendix 1**. The interviews were not rigid but follow up questions were asked seeking clarity. Furthermore, to help understand the contrasting experiences, interviewees were asked to tell stories as examples to illustrate their points.

According to Creswell (2009) audio recording is an advantageous data collection instrument because it enables the researcher to concentrate on listening and maintain eye-contact with the respondent. It also enables the researcher to playback and source numerous and valuable quotations from the interview. Furthermore, note-taking (electronic or manual) is advantageous because it assures respondents that the researcher is listening when they take notes; this encourages them to share more information. It minimises the risk of losing the entire set of valuable data if audio recordings were to be lost or corrupted. Thus, a combination of the two (2) data instruments was used to record and collect interview data in the study. The researcher, on permission, recorded the interviews and took notes.

3.4.2. Secondary Data Collection

Secondary data is referred to as data gathered through existing sources (Sekaran and Bougie, 2016). It is data that has been collected by others for another purpose rather than the purpose of the current study. For this study, secondary data was obtained from the review of published data such as books, journal articles, online news articles, the AbM website and government publications. There is plenty of secondary data related to CSOs and data related to housing which was utilised. The researcher has drawn on a variety of methods to arrive at a balanced picture. Both secondary and primary resources were used to arrive at the desired result.

3.5. Target Population, Sample and Sampling Methods

According to Sekaran and Bougie (2016) target population refers to the entire group of people, event, or things of interest that the researcher wishes to investigate. Therefore, the research targeted members of AbM, both senior management to lower-ranking members. Furthermore, shack dwellers on Kennedy Road were also targeted as it is a place where AbM originated, and it is a place in need of adequate housing.

3.5.1. Sample and Sampling Methods

According to Neuman (2014), there are two (2) broad sampling categories: probability and non-probability sampling. Most qualitative studies use nonprobability sampling, while quantitative studies tend to use probability sampling. Thus, the study used a non-probability sampling technique named purposive sampling in obtaining the relevant data. Purposive sampling was used while selecting the participants in the study as it assisted in obtaining information from specific target groups. The aim of using purposive sampling was to get the relevant data from the participants who have some level of experience dealing with CSOs in the provision of adequate housing and they were able to provide essential data that was used for analysis.

AbM has more than over 25 000 members, however only five (5) members of AbM were selected to participate in the study. It was going to be practically impossible to interview every single member of AbM. The sampling criteria were senior management/staff members who are involved in the management and running of the organisation as well as low-ranking members. Members in management positions that hold decision-making powers on the functioning of the organisation were specifically targeted and accepted the interview request.

Furthermore, lower rank members that perform tasks and activities that contribute to the realisation of the mandate of the organisation were targeted to provide insights on their understanding pertaining to the role of the organisation in the provision of adequate housing to the citizens. This assisted in getting a balanced view and data on the role of the organisation in the provision of adequate housing to the poor. These low-ranking members were identified using snowballing as a method, after they were referred by the Secretary General of AbM.

The research also purposely selected five (5) shack dwellers that reside in Kennedy Road who have dealt with AbM in the provision of adequate housing. These shack dwellers were in the position to share their perceptions pertaining to the role of AbM in housing provision. This assisted in getting the relevant and useful data that was used. The key participants chosen were selected following their knowledge in civil society work on housing, their involvement, their time, and historical background in different projects they have been involved with.

Neuman (2014) describes snowballing as a method for identifying and sampling (or selecting) cases in a network. Snowballing sampling is a recruiting technique in which the research participants are asked or voluntary assist the researcher in identifying other potential subjects. Snowballing sampling was utilised in selecting shack dwellers. From the interviews with the shack dwellers, snowballing emanated. The shack dwellers referred the researcher to other shack dwellers who have interacted with AbM.

3.5.2. Exclusion Criteria

Employees from other organisations such as the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Human Settlements, eThekweni Municipality and Housing Development Agency were excluded from the study as it was difficult to get consent from the respective organisations. Children in the community were also excluded from the study as it was going to be difficult to get consent for them to participate in the study under ethical limitations.

3.6. Data Analysis

According to Sekaran and Bougie (2016) data analysis allows the researcher to interpret, explain and understand a research topic because it allows the researcher to answer questions such as why, when, and how. Qualitative data investigation produces large amount of data, as such three (3) steps were followed in analysing data in this research. The first step was data reduction, where data was reduced, rearranged, and integrated data to form theory and form meaningful conclusions about the role of CSOs in the provision of adequate housing. The second step was data display which involved taking reduced data and displaying them in an organised, condensed manner. The last and final stage was drawing conclusions on the role of CSO on the provision of adequate housing. The researcher used transcripts and then broke the data down to be able to develop a better understanding of the participants views on questions that were asked.

3.6.1. Thematic Analysis

According to Braun and Clarke (2006:4), thematic analysis has been described as “a foundational method for qualitative analysis”. The process of analysing data thematically, includes reading and re-reading the data several times and looking for common concepts and coding them throughout the text, whether similar or contrasting.

Thematic analysis in this research assisted in providing a unique method of engaging with text so that overall themes and concepts began to emerge. As a qualitative research method, thematic analysis was highly suited to this research in investigating about the role of CSOs, which is a subjective process by nature and does not readily lend itself to quantitative study. Overarching and important themes were noted, data was re-read to see how it fits into every individual experience. As new themes emerged, they were integrated into the data.

In this research, one developed a method of reading the text looking for meaning units, which were then coded and sorted to discover underlying themes. The researcher used the transcripts, then broke the data down and was able to develop a better understanding of the participants views on the questions that were asked.

3.7. Validity and Reliability

3.7.1. Validity

Sekaran and Bougie (2016) state that validity indicates the extent to which observations accurately record the behaviour in which you are interested. To enhance validity, the researcher provided in-depth description of the research project. The study further ensured validity by making sure that during in-depth semi-structured interviews, participants gave relevant responses to the research questions of the study and met the objectives of the study and answered the research questions.

3.7.2. Reliability

Sekaran and Bougie (2016) cites that reliability refers to the consistency of observations, usually whether two (or more) observers, or the same observer on separate occasions, observing the same event attain the same results. According to Saunders et al. (2012), in-depth or semi-structured interviews findings are not repeatable since they show reality at the time of the study and are subject to change. To ensure reliability, the researcher retained notes related to research design, choice of strategy, methods and data collected. Records were kept enabling other researchers to understand processes used and for them to analyse the data that was collected.

In this study, to ensure trustworthiness (validity and reliability), the researcher sought clarification from participants responses and verified participants responses by posing questions to confirm some responses given by other participants. Probing responses deeper enabled clarification. The researcher ensured that interviews were conducted objectively with the utmost integrity. Summarising and drawing conclusions were done with integrity. Furthermore, recorded interviews enabled the researcher to verify responses that were used to draw conclusions and interpret findings. This eliminated over-reliance on manually recorded responses that may have been paraphrased and in the processes potentially lose their true meaning.

3.8. Ethical Considerations

Neuman (2014) posits that ethics in research guides the researcher through a range of conflicts, dilemmas and concerns that may arise from how the data is collected. It is the responsibility of the researcher to apply ethical principles and judgment in data collection even if research participants are unaware of the potential conflict and concerns.

The researcher was cognisant of the ethical obligations that underpin research, therefore the researcher observed ethical requirements in conducting the study. The research study was subjected to a rigorous ethical clearance process by the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) ethical clearance committee using the Research Information Gateway (RIG) system. This process ensured that the researcher abides by the code of research ethics throughout collecting and interpreting data for the study. See **Appendix 2 for Gatekeepers Letter**. In addition, the study is not a sponsored or commissioned study by any organisation. The study was conducted for academic purposes only.

3.8.1. Consent

To comply with research ethics, permission was sought from the management of AbM to conduct the study on the organisation before the interviews took place. Before conducting the interviews, participants also completed consent forms confirming their voluntary participation in the study. The questions were also translated into isiZulu for further understanding. Once completed, consent forms were locked away in a safe place.

3.8.2. Ensuring Confidentiality and Anonymity

The aims of the research were communicated to the participants and participants were given a right to remain anonymous as such, the privacy of participants has been respected. The consent form disclosed the participants name, telephone number and e-mail address for the institutions (UKZN) investigation purposes and information sharing. The responses from participants were recorded in confidence and anonymity, this means that each response was not linked with an identity of participants. Participants were ensured that their views were confidential and advised that they had a right to discontinue with the interview if they wished.

3.8.3. Harm to Participants

The nature of the research did not pose any physical or psychological harm to the participants. There was no risk associated in the research and any possible risk was disclosed to the participants. To ensure safety of the researcher and the participants from Coronavirus disease, during the interview process, both the researcher and participants wore a mask and sanitised. These measures were to minimise the spread of Coronavirus disease.

3.9. Research Problems/Limitations

3.9.1. Limitations of the study

The study was limited to the role played by AbM in the provision of adequate housing in post-apartheid South Africa. The investigation only focused on the activities of AbM as one of the many CSOs. The study was also limited to the city of Durban and Kennedy Road in particular, eThekweni Municipality, which is situated within the province of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa and comprised a small sample. Therefore, the findings of this study cannot be generalised to all CSOs in South Africa.

The research was further limited to a period during which Coronavirus disease Regulations restricted the researcher from the flexibility of direct contact and access to collecting data from different stakeholders. The researcher's initial plan was to get insight from eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality and the Department of Human Settlements, who are key players in the provision of adequate housing. However, the researcher could not interview these two institutions due to the long process of acquiring gatekeeper letters. As such, the research does not have the views of these two organisations.

Lastly, the study is a qualitative based on a restricted sample, specifically from the target population of the AbM and shack dwellers. However, the study did meet its objectives of getting an in-depth understating of the case study. Despite the limitations, the study is valuable in providing insight on the role of CSO in the provision of adequate housing.

4. Research Findings

The main purpose of the study was to investigate the role of CSOs in the provision of adequate housing to citizens in South Africa, looking at AbM as a case study.

The previous chapter presented the research design and methodology applied in this study. This chapter presents the research findings obtained through interviews with AbM members as well as with shack dwellers. The research findings respond to the questions raised in Chapter 1.

Firstly, the chapter provides findings from five (5) interviews that were conducted with AbM members. Secondly, the chapter provides findings from five (5) interviews that were conducted with shack dwellers, getting their perspective in terms of the role of CSOs - AbM in the provision of adequate housing. Analysis was done after data was grouped into emerging themes.

Table 1: Breakdown of AbM Members Interviewed

AbM Members	Gender	Age	Occupation/Status
Participant 1	Male	37 Years	Secretary General
Participant 2	Male	47 Years	President
Participant 3	Female	53 Years	Branch Secretary
Participant 4	Female	42 Years	Former Secretary General
Participant 5	Male	32 Years	Member of AbM

Table 2: Breakdown of Shack Dwellers Interviewed

Shack Dwellers	Gender	Age	Years Living in Informal Settlements	Employment Status
Shack Dweller 1	Male	37 Years	15 Years	Unemployed
Shack Dweller 2	Female	47 Years	13 Years	Unemployed
Shack Dweller 3	Female	26 Years	6 Years	Unemployed
Shack Dweller 4	Female	40 Years	6 Years	Unemployed
Shack Dweller 5	Female	22 Years	4 Years	Unemployed

4.1. Ubuhlalism: Values and Ideologies of AbM

The research began by asking what the role of AbM in the provision of adequate housing to citizens is. In their response to this question, participants wanted to first provide an overview of the organisation as such, the values, vision, and ideology of the organisation emerged. It can be deduced that the organization regards itself as a leftist organization and believes in Marxism.

The first participant (P1) stated that the organisation is inspired by Thomas Sankara and Franz Fanon. Their ideology is called living politics, which talks about poor people and the way they do not have access to water, electricity, houses, etc. The second participant (P2) further explained that living politics is what they define as popular politics, politics of ordinary women and men. It is not an elite politics but a politics of those who are deemed as lower class within the society.

As a follow-up question, the organisation was asked whether they are aligned to any political party, since their organisational beliefs are based on such politicians and philosophers. The first participant (P1) replied: *“AbM is not a political organisation, but we are a social movement meant to address the issue of housing and land as well as restoring the dignity of a black person.”*

The fourth participant (P4) indicated that as an organisation they are guided by the principle of Ubuntu and Ubuhlalism. The researcher further enquired about Ubuhlalism. The second participant (P2) stated that *“Ubuhlalism is the philosophy that we developed in our struggle. It has carried us for more than fifteen years of our struggle, and enabled us to organise many land occupations, win many victories and build a membership that now exceeds 80 000 people.”*

P2 further stated that *“Ubuhlalism, is the philosophy of humanism, it draws a lot from African ideas and practices. Ubuhlalism states that land should not be bought and sold, and that it should be allocated on the basis of human need rather than private profit. This idea connects very well to communist thought.”*

Additionally, P4 argued and said: *“Ubuhlalism goes beyond issues of delivery of basic services; it is about our politics and identity of who we are. The word Ubuhlali comes with heavy weight that goes beyond service delivery and it comes with challenges, but it is our philosophy that goes hand in hand with living politics.”*

The fifth participant (P5) indicated that *“Ubuhlalism is a politics of Abahlali that connects everyone to the movement. Ubuhlalism is the way you live, it’s the politics of the movement.”*

It is the view of the participants that Ubuhlalism has always required someone to be honest, to be truthful and to always put peoples’ interests ahead of yourself. It was always conscientizing members of AbM that they are not the bosses of the movement, but the general members of the movement are the leaders of the movement.

With regards to the vision of the organization, P1 said the organisation’s vision is to build a just society where people enjoy equality and access to opportunities. The organization also seeks to improve the living conditions of shack dwellers through the provision of basic services and assisting them in the provision of adequate shelter.

Concurring with P1, P2 indicated that AbM fights for a just society, equality, and dignity of the black person. Furthermore, AbM seeks to assist people to have livelihood strategies, which are ways to earn a living as to enhance their chances of getting adequate housing by themselves.

4.2. The Role of Civil Society: AbM's Impact on Housing

4.2.1. Empowerment

The results of the research have revealed that AbM is involved in empowering the citizens especially the poor and helping them to build their identity. The role of helping poor people through empowering them and restoring their dignity was found in the responses to the different questions.

Jaysawal (2013), states that CSOs empower marginalised groups by providing access to information, transparency, and consultation in decision-making to ensure that the interests of the marginalised may be addressed by policy makers. As such AbM as an organisation is committed to making sure that citizens are well equipped with knowledge and skills so that they can contribute to decision-making and influence decisions about housing issues that affect them in their communities.

P1 was asked to explain what kind of empowerment AbM gives to citizens in relation to the adequate shelter. P1 said: *"The organisation educates people about their rights and teaches them various ways to voice their concerns. People are now able to engage with councillors unlike before, and they know their rights now unlike before. People know where to report their issues related to housing."*

P3 also indicated that AbM holds workshops and camps in order to teach people about land and housing. Furthermore, AbM encourages women participation and empowerment within the housing development space, and this has led to the organisation to establish a Women's League as part of their organisational structure.

P1 goes on to say that this has led eThekweni Municipality to despise them. It is the view of P1 that eThekweni Municipality views AbM as a threat rather than a partner in the provision of adequate housing to the citizens. It can be deduced that AbM teaches people about the human rights so that people can be able to hold the government accountable. This view is supported by P2, as he said:

"Since we as the natives are still poor, as long as the dignity of the poor is still not recognised, we will continue to hold the government accountable. We are currently dealing with Jika Joe Informal Settlement issues, and eKhenana Informal Settlement issues. As long as government is still not performing their constitutional duties, we will hold them accountable or to account. If needs be, we are going to continue to call for

solidarity both locally and international. Ours is to build a just society and equal society.”

AbM further empowers citizens and ensures that they partake in global dialogues about housing issues. P5 said: *“I have been to Norway and Ireland, to learn about informal settlements. I have also been to Gambia, and we are part of the African Commission of People’s Human Rights which is in Gambia.”*

Shack Dweller (SD3) also stated that the organisation has also taken one youngster within the community to Ghana and Brazil to learn about informal settlements in those countries.

For the organisation to send its members to international workshops and dialogues, it shows that they treat housing issues seriously. This helps both the member and the organisation to acquire new perspectives and ideas about the provision of adequate housing. Members get to understand and learn about housing challenges in foreign countries and how they manage their informal settlements or deal with the lack of adequate housing.

AbM continues to fight for the poor and the disenfranchised. P3 said: *“We as the organisation, we advance, promote the interest of the poor and marginalised people of South Africa, particularly the impoverished. However, we call ourselves impoverished because we are not just poor, but we have been made poor by the capitalist system and the government at large.”*

Similarly, P4 also asserts that AbM seeks to empower people who live in informal settlements. The participant indicated that the organisation has a saying which says “Asikwenzeli, Siyakwenzisa” which can be loosely translated to “We do not do things for you, but we help you to do things for yourself.” As such, AbM teaches people to be able to stand for themselves.

4.2.2. Participation: The Importance of Engagement between CSOs and Government

The research also discovered that AbM promotes participation in the community among local people, especially shack dwellers, as well as between the community and local government. AbM strives for participatory democracy between people living in shacks and government.

The P1 said: *“We strive for meaningful engagements between government and the citizens as such, we want the citizens to be part of any planning and development taking place”*. P2 also added, *“The government should not conduct community engagements for compliance and as box ticking exercise, but they should have meaningful engagements with us, civil society and the people.”*

The organisation seeks to bring government closer to the people and for people to understand how government operates. In most cases they attempt to negotiate with government on several initiatives, but they find themselves at loggerheads with the government. P2 said: *“We want to see people being able to speak for themselves and not rely on other people.”* The organisation also has a saying which says, “nothing about us, without us” as such they must be consulted in every development that concerns their lives and they must be part of any housing development process.

The organisation also organises meetings with relevant stakeholders where beneficiaries could sit and discuss the different challenges facing them. P2 said: *“We were able to meet with the MEC of Human Settlement, Mr Ravi Pillay. In the meetings with the MEC, we were able to discuss issues pertaining to housing and illegal evictions by eThekweni Municipality Furthermore, we were able to be given platforms to speak in various occasions and be able to be heard.”*

Džatková (2016) affirms this by stating that CSOs have the ability to mobilise members of the society especially the marginalised sections of masses, to participate meaningfully in politics and development matters. Bandauko (2015) also concurs with the above participants, arguing that by improving the participation of citizens within developmental matters in the society, CSOs play a critical role as mediator between communities and governments and help enhance the communities' participation. By meeting the needs of the poor, community participation is also seen as a vehicle to help achieve a socially just city and region (Bandauko, 2015).

In the attempts of engaging the government, P4 indicated that AbM has failed to engage with the eThekweni Municipality at the level they would want to, as the municipality is not willing to engage with them. P4 further provided an example of government failure in relation to engagement. The participant said: *“eThekweni Municipality signed a memorandum of understanding with the International Shack Dwellers Movement about the Upgrading of Informal Settlements. We did not know about the memorandum of understanding; and we were not engaged at all.”*

eThekweni Municipality was then criticised about signing this agreement with an international organisation, yet it has not signed any agreement with AbM. P1 stated that the response from eThekweni Municipality pertaining to the criticism, was that AbM is a third force which is set to destabilise the local government.

Government has been criticised for using a top-down approach in dealing with developmental matters. P2 stated that the government uses a top-down approach when dealing with housing issues, they do not engage with citizens, especially those who live in informal settlements. P5 indicated that government needs to understand that poor people and shack dwellers are able to think for themselves, as such government should not use a top-down approach on developmental matters.

P1 made an example of top-down approach used by government utilising the Cornubia Housing Development situated in the north of Durban. P1 said; *“eThekweni Municipality, Tongaat Hulett as the landowner and the technical experts, have had their say regarding the Cornubia Housing Development. However, shack dwellers, people who were promised houses in 2005 and people who live with rats, we have not had our say regarding the development.”*

P5 said: *“We as the poor, we are systematically excluded from formal discussions in South Africa. We are usually not treated as if we are citizens, or even as human beings. Government has been hiring experts who impose developmental decision on us as the citizens with regards to housing development.”* The citizens feel undermined by such acts.

P2 also argued: *“Government should not think on the behalf of us, but they should engage us as the citizens.”*

Similarly, P3 stated that politicians do not take them seriously; and argued “Government thinks that people who live in shacks are unable to think for themselves. The government needs to engage with us, be transparent and not make empty promises.”

4.2.3. Advocacy: Contribution to Policy Development

Court et al. (2006) posit that CSOs play a crucial role in influencing policy and encouraging engagements that lead to greater pro-poor impacts than contestation. Jaysawal (2013) also states that CSOs play a role in assisting government to formulate well-articulated policies and programs.

This is evident with AbM as all the participants highlighted the role of AbM in shaping and contributing to housing policy. P1 indicated that AbM has played a pivotal role in the informal settlement policy called, The Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) which has been adopted by the Department of Human Settlements. When asked to unpack the purpose of the policy, P1 said: “*The policy encourages the upgrade of informal settlements incrementally, through the provision of basic services and ensuring security of tenure. The policy prioritises the upgrading of informal settlements, rather than relocation of people within informal settlements.*”

The organisation has played a role in terms of advocating policy in relation to fires in informal settlements. P4 highlighted that the organization has attended to the issues of shack fires, by talking to government to come up with strategies to prevent shack fires. AbM produced a detailed research document detailing the prevention measures to shack fires in informal settlement areas. P4 said: “*Informal settlements are susceptible to fire and have been affected by fire on various occasions. As means to curb the fire challenges, we have contributed to the development of a policy relating to the electrification of some informal settlements. We have been championing this as means to curb fires in informal settlements.*”

Furthermore, the organisation has encouraged the re-blocking of informal settlements as means to upgrade them incrementally. The definition of re-blocking was then researched further by the researcher, and it is as follows:

“*Re-blocking is defined as a community-led process of reconfiguring the current layout of informal settlements by grouping shacks into clusters and reorganising the ground plane in such a manner as to optimally utilise space to promote the health, safety, well-*

being of households, with a particular focus on promoting accelerated service delivery to informal settlements.” The process of re-blocking is also valuable as collaborative planning tool to build grassroots capacity (City of Cape Town, 2013:4).

The research conducted and produced by AbM in relation to shack fires and re-blocking of informal settlements is the advocacy role that is highlighted by Jaysawal (2013) reflecting how CSOs influence policy development by providing well researched findings to understand the challenges at hand.

The organisation further advocates that the construction of houses should involve skills transfer. P5 said: *“A house must not be seen as just a roof over your head, but it must be seen as a skills transfer; it must be seen as a poverty alleviation project, it must be seen as an asset to the person not a liability.”*

AbM further advocates that the location of houses should be closer to economic opportunities. P3 further argued that should people be empowered with skills such as brick laying, plumbing and electrical, they will be able to sustain themselves. By empowering people with such skills, government will be creating livelihoods within the community and people will not be forever dependent on government.

The location of houses is another important factor that contributes to adequate housing. The United Nations (2009) highlights that a house should be located within closer to socio-economic opportunities; this ensures that occupants of houses can access health-care services, employment opportunities, schools, childcare centres, and other social facilities.

The responses from all participants suggests that AbM brings peoples’ issues to the attention of government, mostly local government. Furthermore, this indicates that AbM monitors policy and programme implementation, and acts as a watchdog to contribute to the realisation of more transparency and accountability in the city (Lange, Wallevik and Kiondo 2000).

4.3. AbM Approaches: Bottom-Up

Some CSOs are criticised in the approach they use when dealing with community issues. Mitlin (2001) states that some CSOs impose their own agendas on the local communities they work with. In some instances, communities have had little control over the development process and gained little useful experience during the implementation of the development project.

However, when it comes to AbM, it is not the case. In addressing any housing challenges faced by citizens, AbM practices and encourages democratic processes in dealing with housing issues. The structure and functioning of the organisation in dealing with issues, takes a bottom-up approach. AbM has a General Assembly to hear people's views and take a mandate from the people. P3 said: *"When we take decisions, it is based people's views and needs. The movement belongs to the people."*

P4 made an example of the bottom-up approach used by AbM and said: *"In the discussion of expropriation of land without compensation, it was the local branches which made presentations to the committee responsible. This is part of the democratic process that takes place within AbM; for people to speak for themselves not anyone else."*

The organisation strives for participatory democracy between people living in shacks and government. P3 highlighted that AbM hosts a General Assembly once a month, which is a meeting that includes all local branches, provincial council, and members of the national council. In addition, the National Council meets once a month, and the provincial council also meets once a month. The local council (branch level) meets once a week.

It can be deduced that the local council is important for the organisation as it is where members of the organisation meet weekly to discuss issues pertaining to the functioning of the organisation as well as ways to carry out their mandate. These structures of the organisation, promote bottom-up approach. These meetings aim to encourage a process of local participation in every aspect of housing development. So, this resonates with Gramsci's role of civil society that it performs a democratic role as consensus and support is generated with debates and discussion (Chakraborty, 2016).

P2 indicated that AbM held an elective conference in 2021. The AbM National Council term of office runs for three (3) years, while the provincial term runs for two years. The local council office term runs for a year. P2 said *“By having these elections, we are determined to deepen our internal democracy. This is an opportunity to affirm that our that our movement belongs to its members.”*

Diamond (1994) argues that CSOs have been involved in promoting democracy and reinforcing good governance. In addition, they also check the power of the state, promote political participation as well as the upholding of human rights and freedoms. This is true for AbM as they create the environment where democracy flourishes for the poor masses, both within organisation structures and outside.

4.4. AbM Initiatives: Community Outreach

Pertaining to the work that the organization has done, shack dweller 1 (SD1) indicated that AbM has provided food parcels to the shack dwellers. Furthermore, AbM has assisted some shack dwellers pertaining to work opportunities.

SD3 also concurred with SD1 and stated that AbM has assisted the shack dwellers by providing food parcels. However, she highlighted that the food parcels provided by AbM were given to certain individuals, individuals who are connected or politically aligned to certain organisations. This results to food parcels not reaching the needy individuals.

Shack dweller 2 (SD2) also indicated that AbM has encouraged shack dwellers to build proper houses for themselves within the informal settlements. The shack dweller goes on to say that AbM believes that the houses that they can build for themselves are bigger than the houses that they can get from government. Government builds 40m² houses, but individuals can build bigger houses for themselves. SD3 argued that this is an indication that some people need land to build houses for themselves.

Shack dweller 4 (SD4) further stated that AbM has assisted people who have been affected by floods, i.e., Howick floods which took place in December 2021, AbM was able to assist those individuals by providing blankets and arranged temporary shelter with uMngeni Municipality.

Shack dweller 5 (SD5) highlighted that AbM has assisted the shack dwellers during fire disasters, by providing blankets, food and temporary shelter such as a tents.

4.5. AbM Challenges

4.5.1. Political Interference

During the interviews, another theme emerged which is political interference that affects the role of CSOs in the provision of adequate housing. All participants were critical on the influence of politics in the provision of housing to the citizens. P1 indicated that municipal officials have turned into politicians. The participant said: “*The municipal officials have politicised the provision of housing in a way that they give preference to housing opportunities to people from the same political party.*”

P4 concurred with P1, stating that AbM has tried to engage with eThekweni Municipality however, there is a view that municipal officials have become politicians and they are working on the mandate of the ruling party. P4 said: “*eThekweni Municipality is not interested in serving the citizens anymore, but they are interested in serving their constituency.*” P2 also emphasised that view by stating that the political party which is in power in the municipality tends to not service or prioritise a ward which is not led by their political party.

P1 highlighted that within AbM they do not support any political party, and they are not aligned to any political party. The respondent added that AbM makes it clear that all people from different political parties are welcomed in the organisation, however, people should put their political differences aside.

P2 indicated that members of the ANC, which is the ruling party, do not understand social movements. P2 said: “*ANC members deem any social movement to be political and therefore our organisation is viewed as the potential threat to those in government.*” P3 further argued that the ANC as the ruling party in Durban continues to seek to “criminalise” AbM rather than engaging them about how to provide adequate housing to the citizens and to also implement much-needed urban land reform.

P4 and P5 indicated that they are not recognised by ANC councillors in their respective wards, they are labelled as “izifika namthwalo”, loosely translated as “people who recently came into the area with their huge belongings”. P5 also indicated that councillors believe that shack dwellers invaded land as such they are not willing to assist shack dwellers.

The evidence permits to an interpretation that AbM as an organisation is a threat to the ANC, as the movement represents popular power outside of the ruling party.

Whilst engaging on the interference of politics on the role of CSO, part of the findings of this research have revealed the high levels of corruption taking place in relation to the provision of housing by eThekweni Municipality. All participants indicated that housing is a lucrative business where political patronage takes place and has links to organised crime. P2 suggested that local councillors together with municipal officials are selling RDP houses meant to benefit the poor. The participant further added that AbM, who have led mass occupations of prime state-owned and private land across Durban, are seen to be standing in the way of such networks.

4.5.2. Violent Environment

The research discovered the violent nature in which civil society and movements such as AbM operate. While the researcher was enquiring about the challenges civil society groups face in the provision of housing, the theme which is the violent nature in which AbM operates in emerged. This theme is interlinked with political interference and corruption taking place within the housing provision field.

P1 highlighted the brutality that shack dwellers endure at the hands of police and law enforcement officers. P1 said: *“There are evictions taking place led by the Anti-Land Eviction Unit of the eThekweni Municipality. The unit uses force and violence in evicting people on occupied land, and sometimes burn people’s clothes.”*

P5 highlighted that the government hires private security companies to protect the land being occupied and to evict people. The private security companies sometimes use live ammunition.

P1 goes on to say that the anti-land invasion does not follow the relevant legislation such as the Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act (PIE Act) when evicting people. The participant argues that people living in shacks and the poor should be treated the same way as people living in formal areas or posh suburbs.

P2 indicated that it is the members of the ANC that perpetuate and encourage this violence towards people who are homeless or lack adequate shelter. P2 said: *“We as AbM members, we routinely face censorship, intimidation and even murder by local city officials as we attempt to pressure them into providing housing, improving living standards or preventing the violent eviction of our people in informal settlements.”*

In addition, P2 further continued by stating that AbM members have been arrested by law enforcement officers, on falsified charges. P2 said: *“A young leader, Ayanda Ngila, from the community of eKhenana Informal Settlement was arrested on trumped charges and jailed for long periods.”*

As stated above, it is argued that the ANC views AbM as an enemy rather than a partner in development.

P3 added that AbM has lost 18 members within a period of 5 (five) years. P3 said: *“Most of our members have been killed by the Municipal Land Invasion Unit of the eThekweni Municipality. Some of them have been killed by the South African Police Service (SAPS), some of them have been killed by the Metro Police, some of them have been killed by the izinkabi (hitmen) hired by ANC councillors.”*

The participants named two AbM members that have been killed by law enforcement officers and izinkabi (hitmen) namely Mr Sfiso Ngcobo and Ms Thuli Ndlovu. Mr Ngcobo, the chairperson of AbM Branch in eKukhanyeni Settlement, was killed in 2019 within eKukhanyeni Informal Settlement in Durban. Furthermore, the P3 indicated that in 2014, AbM activist, Ms Thuli Ndlovu was killed by hitmen after speaking out against ANC councillors who were allocating housing to ANC members in KwaNdengezi. The participant highlights that this is a common practice across eThekweni Municipality, where government houses are given to underserving beneficiaries.

4.6. AbM Strategies

4.6.1. Engagement

In a conversation with AbM members, all the members indicated that AbM uses different strategies to assist the citizens in the provision of adequate housing. The first strategy AbM uses is engagement with relevant stakeholders.

P1 said: *“We strive for meaningful engagement between government and the citizens pertaining to the provision of housing. We engage with government in the form of writing letters and holding meetings with the relevant stakeholders in government.”*

Other participants also concurred with P1 that the organisation first attempts to engage with the government pertaining to housing related issues.

4.6.2. Media Statements

Moreover, participants indicated that the organisation uses media statements by publishing them on the organisation’s website. The media statements are to ensure that the public are sensitized about the challenges faced by the citizens in relation to the provision of adequate housing. Additionally, AbM issues media statements to news outlets detailing their housing issues. P2 said: *“We issue media statements to radio and TV stations, to name and shame the government.”*

4.6.3. Marches and Roadblocks

Once AbM receives no response or no joy from the government in relation to their concerns, P3 said: *“We take to the streets in the form of marches and roadblocks.”*

In a follow up question, AbM was questioned if they promote violence by engaging in roadblocks. P2 said: *“We do not believe in violence and do not condone any form of violence. We always urge our members that struggles against the lack of housing should be conducted in a non-violent way and very organised manner. When we organise a road blockade, we always ensure that no one is threatened or harmed. We will always allow an ambulance or other emergency vehicle through the blockade.”*

4.6.4. Litigation and the Use of Legislation

When questioning the organisations successes, another strategy emerged from the interviews, which is litigation. P1, P2, P4 and P5 indicated that the organisation has been successful in several legal cases with government. As such, AbM uses litigation and/or legislation when addressing housing related issues. They have taken the government to court on several occasions, especially with regards to illegal eviction by the municipalities.

P1 said: *“In 2009 we managed to take the KZN Department Local Government, Housing and Traditional Affairs to court to do away with the Slums Act which was designed to do away with the shacks before the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The Constitutional Court found that section 16 of the Slums Act is unconstitutional, and inconsistent with the Housing Code and the Housing Act which were passed to effect section 26(2) of the Constitution.”*

P2 further indicated that the organisation has also won against the Department of Human Settlements in several cases. P2 said: *“In 2015, we also won against the ‘blanket order’ sought by the KwaZulu-Natal MEC for Human Settlements. The ‘blanket order’ was intended to authorise mass evictions and to prevent the occupation of at least 1 568 properties in KwaZulu-Natal.”*

When asked if AbM encourages land invasion, P4 said: *“As AbM we do not encourage land invasion, but we support residents who live in informal settlements through legal means to avoid illegal eviction. We have received several permanent court orders to stop illegal evictions by eThekweni Municipality.”* P5 also highlighted that the organisation uses court orders in terms of supporting shack dwellers as to ensure that shack dwellers are not evicted easily.

4.6.5. Land Occupation

Land occupation is another strategy the organisation uses to address the issue of inadequate housing. Participants were asked the reasons behind the occupation of land or land invasion. P3 replied: *“We do not invade land, but we ‘occupy’ vacant land. We look for land which is closer to economic opportunities and reside. Some of us were renting flats and backrooms in townships, and we could not afford the rent and transport money to our workplaces anymore. Then we look for a place which is closer to our workplace or economic opportunities.”*

AbM believes that occupying vacant land is another way of addressing housing issues. P4 said: *“Occupying land is another way of fighting the system of capitalism and further seek attention in terms of our plight when it comes to housing.”*

However, their “occupation of land” has negative impacts as P4 added: *“Since the organisation fights the system of capitalism and housing issues through land occupation, the municipality punishes us by not providing the informal settlement areas with basic services such as water and electricity.”*

4.7. The Relationship between AbM and other Stakeholders

The participants indicated that the organisation has a working and cordial relationship with several NGOs, both locally and internationally. P1 said: *“We normally work with various NGOs, and we are supported on the projects we undertake by our partners.”*

P1 stated that AbM works with International Budget Partnership (IBP), where IBP conducts social audits, assessing the status and access to basic services such as water, electricity, etc. and presents those outputs to local municipalities.

Furthermore, P1 goes on to say that IBP together with AbM checks accountability and governance issues in municipalities by ensuring that budget is spent accordingly. They also empower communities to look after temporary services that have been provided by government and social partners.

AbM has a good relationship with international organisations, and they have been recognised internationally for their effort in the provision of adequate housing to the citizens. P3 said: *“Our President of Abahlali, won the Per Anger Prize for 2021 for his work which centres on the right to home, land, and survival for the most impoverished inhabitants of the country’s shack settlements. The prize was awarded by the Swedish Government on the 21st of April 2021. Per Anger recognises activists around the world who fights for human rights.”*

Furthermore, the second participant stated that AbM works with Landless Workers Movement (MST), a social movement from Brazil. MST encourages government to address housing challenges using a case-by-case approach, not a copy and paste strategy.

Locally, P4 also indicated that AbM has a very good relationship with local stakeholders. P4 said: *“We form part of the Durban Coalition of the Poor which is made up of organisations such as Ubunye bamaHostela and South Durban Community Environment Alliance. We also work with Church Land Programme, who are responsible for managing land owned by religious groups. They assist the organisation when we are doing re-blocking of informal settlements.”*

The participants all agreed that the relationship with the KZN Human Settlements was better when the previous MEC between 2012 to 2019 was still at helm. The then MEC, gave AbM a platform to speak on various occasions and made time to hear their

concerns. However, this has changed over the years as the latest human settlements administration are not engaging with them.

All participants indicated that the relationship with eThekweni Municipality is hostile. P2 said: *"We have faced many evictions in Durban by eThekweni Municipality since our movement was formed in 2005. Almost all these evictions have been violent, unlawful and criminal."*

Furthermore, it is stated above that ANC councillors and the municipality 'punishes' informal settlements dwellers by not providing them with basic services such as water and electricity. P5 also stated that they need to be ANC members to be helped.

With regards to the Housing Development Agency (HDA), there is no relationship to such an extent that AbM does not understand the role and mission of HDA. Furthermore, the participants indicated that there is not relationship with the private sector. However, P1 indicated that they are willing to accept and have a relationship with the private sector as long they do not attempt to control the organisation.

All participants indicated that there is a good relationship with shack dwellers, and they have a good relationship with other shack dwellers movements including the International Shack Dwellers Alliance.

SD4 indicated that there is good relationship between AbM and shack dwellers. The respondent further indicated that AbM does not discriminate, and they are willing to assist everyone including people born in other countries. SD4 provided an example and indicated that there was as an electrification project within the Cato Manor settlement and the municipality did not electrify shacks where Lesotho nationals reside. However, AbM managed to engage with eThekweni Municipality to ensure that the houses (shacks) of Lesotho nationals are also electrified. SD4 said: *"Abahlali recognises every person as a human being and the pain of the Lesotho nationals is also their pain."*

SD 5 also indicated that the relationship between AbM and shack dwellers is good. The organization communicates with the shack dwellers through community meetings. The respondent further indicated that AbM has paid tertiary registration fees for students living in shacks and also paid for drivers' license lessons for several shack dwellers. This is another way of ensuring that shack dwellers are given opportunities

to create livelihoods so that they can be able to find shelter for themselves and not rely on government.

4.8. Funding of AbM

This theme emerged with the question regarding the relationship between AbM and other CSOs. P1 stated that the organization gets its funding from several donors especially international donors. Furthermore, the organisation relies on membership funding as affording members contribute R50 per year to the organization.

In addition, P3 added that they get funding from organisations such as Doctors Without Borders, Pan Africanist Project, the Socialist Party of Zambia, and Socialist Party in the United States of America. Universities abroad and students from universities abroad also fund the organisation through donations. Unfortunately, the organization does not get funding or support from local businesses.

The organisation does not receive any funding from government, and they would not be comfortable with state funding. P2 indicated that the organisation believes that funding from government would come with conditions, and they would ultimately be controlled by government on how to operate the organisation. Any individual is allowed to fund the organisation; however, funding should not come with conditions that will be in conflict with their mission, vision and belief as an organisation as well based on conditions to control the organisation.

4.9. Challenges Faced by Shack Dwellers

SD1 highlighted that they do not have electricity within their area as such they have resorted into connecting the electricity illegally. Furthermore, the respondent highlighted that they have issues with regards to waste removal, as the municipality does not collect waste regularly or frequently, this has led to the informal settlement being filthy. SD1 further highlighted stated that there is a river that traverses the informal settlement, the river is dirty and poses a serious health hazard to the shack dwellers when it rains.

SD3 also mentioned that some residents within the informal settlement do not have identity documents, as such they are unable to get assistance in terms of government housing subsidies.

SD2 further emphasised the point made by SD 1 that the lack of proper housing and waste refuse removal as another issue which poses serious health hazard.

Shack dweller 3 (SD3) indicated that eThekweni Municipality provided temporary toilets for the shack dwellers, however the temporary toilets provided by the municipality are dirty and they are not cleaned frequently as they should. The running river is also a major problem as it overflows on raining days and water enters the informal dwellings.

Similarly, with SD 3; SD4 and SD5 highlighted that the lack of adequate sanitation is a major problem and poses a serious health hazard to the shack dwellers. The temporary toilets provided by the municipality have not been cleaned for a very long time. In addition, the respondents highlighted that the lack of electricity and lack of adequate shelter is another problem.

5. Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations

The purpose of this research was to investigate the role of CSOs in the provision of adequate housing to the citizens with the case study focused on the role of AbM in the provision of housing. Scholarly perceptions about the role of CSO were considered during the interviews held with members of AbM and Shack Dwellers in eThekweni Municipality. Theoretical arguments were tested through interviews and findings highlighted that CSOs exist in a dynamic environment that is vulnerable to politics, social matters, economics and technology, and any change in the environment attributes a potential threat to the functioning of such a system. This chapter presents a discussion of the key findings of each objective, a conclusion on the research topic and recommendations for further research.

5.1. Discussion of Results

5.1.1. Discussion Pertaining to the First Objective

The first objective of this study was to explore the role AbM plays in the delivery of adequate housing to the citizens.

The study findings show that in the delivery of adequate housing to the citizens, AbM plays a role of empowerment, promoting participation and advocacy, all of which will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

a) AbM as an Organisation - Ideology of AbM

Firstly, the role of ABM in the delivery of housing also touched on the ideology of AbM. All participants highlighted that the organisation is guided by the principle of Ubuntu and Ubulalim which is inspired by Frantz Fanon and Karl Marx. Gibson (2008b) defines Abahlalim/Ubulalim as a deeply rooted humanism where everyone shares everyday suffering, the pain, as well as the laughter. Khosi (2020) further adds that ABM engages with the struggle of housing by forming a space in which their ideas can be collectively organised, which they describe as the 'University of Abahlali'.

Gramsci highlights the importance for the working class to be organised in the form of movements in order for them to better their social conditions. Therefore, through ABM, the poor people or working class are able to organise themselves and make demands in relation to the provision of adequate housing and land, and also find ways to better their livelihoods. The 'University of Abahlali' is also a way in which experiences of shack dwellers are acknowledged and valued through living politics. AbM members are conscientised into possibilities for different solutions to their housing needs such

as *Ukhuhlaliso* – this leads to a counter hegemonic challenge in terms of how shack dwellers are viewed and how services to shack dwellers can be provided.

Findings show that AbM is a CSO which can be categorised as a social movement. The organisation is driven from the bottom up and intervenes in the provision of adequate housing to the poor as well as advocating for the dignity of a black person. All the participants highlighted that the organisation is committed to building a just and equal society where people enjoy equality and access to opportunities.

The definition of social movements is taken from della Porta and Diani (2006) who state that social movements are organised, yet informal social entities that are engaged in extra-institutional conflict that is oriented towards a goal. AbM is also issue orientated as they fight for housing, land, and dignity of a black person. Furthermore, AbM is involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents, in this case it is the government, as they seek to hold it accountable in relation to the provision of adequate housing.

Additionally, AbM can also be categorised as a CSO which interacts with the state with no intention to overthrow it. Overthrowing the government indicates some form of political instability within a country, and Simcic (2013) defines overthrowing the government as an “*illegal and overt attempt by the military or other elites within the state apparatus to unseat the sitting executive.*” AbM does not have any political ambitions of becoming the next government, but they call on the government to take necessary actions to ensure the delivery of adequate housing to citizens and to interrogate their capitalist macroeconomic planning which does not serve the poor. This point is also highlighted by Diamond (1994) that civil society groups does not aim to win formal power or office in the state.

b) Citizen Empowerment

Findings from this research reveal that AbM plays a role in empowering communities living in informal settlement areas by teaching them about their rights and various ways to voice their concerns. Empowerment is the degree to which individuals and groups have autonomy and self-determination (Mumtaz, 2021). The literature above also highlights the importance of CSO's in empowering citizens, as Makoba (2002) states that that civil society is geared towards empowering communities that have been traditionally disempowered.

AbM is also empowering the community economically through training and skills transfer. The organisation has also taken several members to international workshops where they learn about informal settlements and housing issues.

From the analysis, it was found that citizens do not need handouts from the government, however they want to be given opportunities to participate meaningfully in the economy. Participants highlighted that AbM encourages people to be self-sufficient. As such, in the pursuit of assisting citizens to create sustainable livelihoods, P2 said *“AbM empowers communities to use the resources available to them, to produce something for economic advancement, such as producing food in home gardens to supplement income.”*

The formation of CSOs such as AbM is important as these organisations give the working class a platform to air their concerns and the possibility of climbing up the societal ladders using their intellectual ability instead of handouts, as Chakraborty (2016) indicates. AbM is not expecting the government to feed them or provide them with handouts, they are willing to contribute whatever they can, but they want to be given a platform to contribute (Gibson, 2008b).

c) Promoting Participation

As AbM empowers the disadvantaged and marginalised members of society, the organisation also plays a major role in improving the participation of citizens in developmental matters. Participation at all levels of government is enshrined in the constitution of South Africa and CSOs facilitate citizen participation (Bosch, 2017).

Most participants noted that the organisation is improving participation of citizens with regards to housing matters. The organisation also has a saying which goes, “nothing about us, without us” as such they must be consulted by local authorities in every development that concerns their lives, and they must be part of any housing development process.

AbM also strives for a bottom-up approach and local participation in every aspect of development policy. Therefore, AbM’s role in improving participation, aligns with Gramsci perspective that civil society is important in bringing socio-political change in the society as the working class are given a platform to discuss and promote counter-hegemonic ideologies (Saifullah, 2018). When participating in developmental matters, the citizens tend to realise their power and identity, and their knowledge improves

when it comes to housing related matters because they are given the space to do this through AbM engagements.

d) Policy Advocacy

CSOs are founded on the principle of advocating for and/or proposing alternative policies to the government, business sector and other institutions (Salgado, 2014). As such the role of AbM has evolved over time and AbM as an organisation has moved beyond service delivery issues and they now advocate for better policy in relation to housing and upgrading of informal settlements. AbM has understood the importance of policy in driving societal change and the need to participate in policy development. With regards to policy advocacy, P1 highlighted that AbM has also been influential in the development of housing policy in South Africa as they have contributed to the development of the UISP Policy. AbM has also championed the re-blocking of informal settlements to ensure safety and improve the living conditions of shack dwellers.

Wagle (1999) argues that CSOs influence policy reform by dialogue and persuasion and not by confrontation. Based on the interview held with AbM, it is worth noting that AbM does not use confrontational tactics in influencing policy reform, but they use engagements as well as carefully researched findings and first-hand experience to influence policy reform in relation to land and housing.

From the advocacy activities of AbM analysed in this study, it can be concluded that AbM is an important partner in promoting good governance and policymaking in South Africa.

The response from all participants suggests that AbM bring peoples' issues to the attention of government, mostly local government which is at the coalface of service delivery. Furthermore, the data indicates that AbM monitors policy and programme implementation and acts as a watchdog to contribute to the realisation of more transparent and accountable government. This line of thinking also resonates with Reisinger (1997), who asserts that civil society in developing countries has played a crucial role of being a check-and-balance against the state, especially when it deviates from the norm and tends to be repressive.

AbM has full understanding of adequate housing, as such they are able to hold government accountable and ensure that it delivers adequate housing to the people. The organisation fights for people to get housing that is closer to economic

opportunities; for people to get title deeds to ensure security of tenure; and for basic services to be provided to the citizens which leads to adequate housing.

5.1.2. Discussion Pertaining to the Second Objective

The second objective of this study was to examine the strategies and tactics AbM use in advocating for the provision of adequate housing.

Based on the findings from the study, AbM uses five (5) strategies to assist citizens with regards to the provision of adequate shelter namely, engagement, publishing media statements, protests, litigation and/or use of the legislation as well as land occupation.

Engagement implies that there is a dialogue between the government and civil society over matters that concern the society (Goswami & Tandon, 2013). AbM conducts engagements with government and other stakeholders through meetings and using a bottom-up approach. Through the process of engagement, the community is able to understand government processes better and have access to information that helps them understand and mobilise around the provision of adequate housing. Furthermore, through engagements, government is also able to understand better the needs of the society in relation to housing.

Secondly, AbM issues media statements on their website and other media platforms to ensure that citizens are aware of housing issues affecting people. Budlender, Marcus and Ferreira (2014) highlight that it is vital to have a public information campaign that informs people of their rights as an effort to achieve social change on rights issues. Through the media statements by AbM, people are made aware of their rights and the law which enables them to change their situation.

According to South African Human Rights Commission (2016), Section 17 of the South African Constitution of 1996, states that “*everyone has the right, peacefully and unarmed, to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket and to present petitions.*” Holding protests and marches is another strategy used by AbM and the citizens to voice their concerns on issues pertaining to housing. This strategy is common in South Africa where citizens protest when they are unsatisfied by the delivery of services by government. Khosi (2020) highlights that those protests tend to give voice to the minority and marginalised parts of the society, and it is a strategy used by many CSOs around the globe.

AbM highlighted that as an organisation, they attempt to hold peaceful protests, however protests have been violent, and people have been injured during protests. This strategy used by AbM aligns with Gramsci's theory of civil society, that social movements indeed engage in protests while challenging government and those in power (Saifullah, 2018).

In addition, the study results show that the use of the legislation and litigation is a strategy used by AbM. Just like other organisations, CSOs are bounded by the constitution and laws of the country they operate in and use these legislative and judicial avenues in their advocacy roles (Clark & Salloukh, 2013).

Litigation is one of the commonly used strategies by AbM to assist citizens with adequate housing. All the participants and members of AbM seemed to be aware of the litigation process and their rights in relation to housing matters – in this sense movement participants are conscientised as to their material conditions and their rights pertaining to housing, this is largely through their interaction with the movement. The research results revealed that AbM has launched several court proceedings against government when their constitutional rights were not upheld by the state.

P1 gave an example of the use of the legislation in addressing housing issues. P1 indicated that AbM was able to take the KZN Department of Housing in 2009 to court pertaining to the Slums Act which enabled the government to eradicate shacks before the 2010 World Cup. The Constitutional Court, as the apex court in South Africa, found Section 16 of the Slums Act unconstitutional and inconsistent with the Housing Act.

As such, the research findings indicate that the awareness of rights is an important precondition if communities are to enforce their rights in a manner that leads to social change.

AbM is very critical of the capitalist system and believes that it is the major contributor to the landlessness and shortage of housing. P2 said, "*The problem is not that there is no well-located land to accommodate citizens. The crux of the matter is that land is owned by private companies and individuals, and most land in Durban is owned by one huge company, Tongaat Hulett.*"

As such, the last and fifth strategy used by AbM is land occupation. In common or legal language, AbM encourages the invasion of vacant land. According to the PIE Act

of 1998, an unlawful occupier means “*a person who occupies land without the express or tacit consent of the owner or person in charge, or without any other right in law to occupy such land.*”

However, all the participants (AbM members) indicated that they do not invade land but they “occupy land.” The organisation encourages that people without land should occupy vacant land as a strategy to address the housing backlog. This strategy has led to many shack dwellers being violently evicted by law enforcement officers. This is a result that land occupations by AbM are not within the confines of the law and result in conflict between the organisation and the municipality (Brown, 2021).

The strategies used by AbM, are in line with the description Ballard, et al, (2006) used when describing social movements, that they engage the state through lobbying, court action, demonstration, and even outright resistance. AbM uses these strategies to fight hegemonic forces and the dominant class within society.

5.1.3. Discussion Pertaining to the Third Objective

The third objective of the study was to examine the successes and challenges of AbM in the provision of adequate housing.

Findings from the study reveal that AbM has been successful in citizen empowerment. This success is attributed to the exposure of shack dwellers to international workshops where they learn more about housing issues, and this was organised by AbM. The organisation's success is also seen in the use of legal processes to ensuring that the government does not use illegal methods in the eviction of shack dwellers. The organisation has won a number court cases where the government used illegal processes to evict shack dwellers. By preventing illegal eviction, the organisation has been successful to certain degree in restoring the dignity of a black poor person.

Furthermore, through the works of the organisation, people in informal settlements are able to engage with councillors unlike before, and they are now aware of their rights. People are now informed about what and where to report their issues related to housing, they also have recourse through their engagements with AbM.

The organisation has been in existence for over sixteen (16) years, and they are still relevant in today's struggle against housing provision. Most social movements or CSO are unable to be effective for a long period of time (Mitlin, 2001). Furthermore, the research discovered that CSOs play a critical role in assisting communities during disaster times. AbM has worked with comrades in solidarity, assisting the organization and the citizens when there are disasters such as floods and fires, thereby providing blankets, food, and temporary shelter in the form of tents.

As AbM has contributed to the development of housing policy, they have been successful in the implementation of re-blocking of informal settlements. The Kennedy Road Re-blocking exercise is an important example of how this informal settlement upgrading methodology can have a significant impact on quality of life. The re-blocking of informal settlement led to a cleaner environment, safer shelters, which are safe from fire as well as shelters that are bigger and of better quality. These are all factors which contribute and lead to adequate shelter.

Although the organisation has been successful in achieving the above-mentioned, they have faced (and continue to face) challenges in their quest for the provision of

adequate shelter to the citizens. This included having a complex relationship with the local government.

The members of AbM expressed the challenge of getting access to and engaging with eThekweni Municipality. The organisation has not been able to hold meaningful engagements with eThekweni Municipality pertaining to the delivery of housing to the citizens. The response from the participants indicate that eThekweni Municipality has politicised the provision adequate housing in such a way that beneficiaries who are affiliated to the ruling political party get preferential treatment and access to basic services and housing opportunities. This is highlighted by P3 as she said: "*Ms Ndlovu was murdered in KwaNdengezi Township after speaking out against ANC councillors who were allocating housing to ANC members.*"

The murdering of AbM members also depicts a volatile situation on the ground as several prominent members of AbM were killed while trying to expose corruption that was condoned by councillors and municipal officials by selling RDP houses. It can be said that the killings are also politically motivated since members of the ANC view AbM as a threat rather than a partner in development. P3 said this with regards to the killings of AbM members: "*... some of them (AbM Members) have been killed by the izinkabi (hitmen) hired by ANC councillors.*"

These killings make it difficult for AbM to carry their mandate as members of the organisation fear for their lives. This is a challenge that poses a serious threat to the existence and functioning of CSOs in South Africa. If their lives are in danger, CSO members are unable to carry out their mandate of holding the government accountable.

In addition, the government and law enforcement use the legal system to further curtail the function of AbM. This is highlighted above as AbM members are jailed on trumped up charges and jailed for long periods in order to scare them and make them dysfunctional. P1 said: "*Our members are being arrested by police through the directive of ANC government as an attempt to intimidate and silence us in the fight for housing and land.*"

Furthermore, the study highlighted that shack dwellers, without adequate shelter, they face illegal evictions and brutality from the eThekweni Municipal Land Invasion unit and the SAPS, who are deployed by the municipality. Therefore, government is often a

culprit in violating the rights of citizens, most of the time unleashing the armed forces onto innocent citizens in the name of control and restoring order.

However, with reference to Gramsci's hegemony theory, by utilising law enforcement officers, it is another way the government reinforces hegemonic positions and ensuring that the state maintains power. Chakraborty (2016) also affirms that hegemony is not only about gaining the power but it also about maintaining that power. Therefore, the state plays a role in organising all political and administrative forces to reinforce the "hegemonic" positions of all dominant groups. The dominant groups in this case, are also the private sector businesses who get preference within the allocation of land for profit driven businesses, rather than poor citizens. It can be deduced that the state uses its power through the police and municipal officials who are affiliated to the ruling party, to maintain power and control over the citizens.

The study also found that individuals without adequate housing, are likely not to have a proper physical address. As such without a proper traceable physical address, an individual is unable to open bank accounts and take credit to better one's life. People without adequate shelter are then at a disadvantage of not being able to participate fully in the economy without proper physical addresses, as some are living in shacks.

Furthermore, since the environment is politicised, some councillors are not willing to provide people with letters confirming their physical addresses especially those related to AbM. SD1 addressed this matter by stating that "*Some of us do not have identity documents and we are unable to get government subsidies.*" Furthermore, P3 also indicated that shack dwellers do not have physical addresses as they reside in unplanned settlements and councillors only give confirmation of addresses to certain people. P5 also indicated that councillors believe that shack dwellers invaded land as such councillors are not willing to assist shack dwellers.

The findings suggest that housing and land go hand in hand, as some people are not in need of free government houses, however, they need vacant serviced land to build their houses for themselves. There is serious need of well-located serviced land, which is closer to socio-economic opportunities and facilities. AbM advocates that well-located land, which is closer to the business districts, should be released to citizens who need land.

5.1.4. Discussion Pertaining to the Fourth Objective

The fourth objective of the study was to analyse the perceptions towards AbM amongst shack dwellers and other stakeholders namely, the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Human Settlements and eThekweni Municipality.

The last research objective of the study addressed the relationship AbM has with stakeholders and citizens, especially shack dwellers. The research findings reveal that the relationship between AbM and eThekweni Municipality is hostile and has been problematic over the years. The study discovered that eThekweni Municipality does not entertain AbM and does not engage with the organisation as they should. This is evident as there have been several illegal evictions led by eThekweni Municipality's feared Land Invasion Unit; and there has been bloodshed in those evictions.

This problematic relationship that AbM has with eThekweni Municipality resonates with what Ballard, et al, (2006) indicate that sometimes the relationship between the state and social movements, hovers between adversarial and engagement, sometimes involving both. The animosity between the two is also as a result of political differences and the contestation of political space. eThekweni Municipality political leaders, view AbM as a threat to the governing party, which is the ANC, as the movement represents popular power outside of the ruling party. P4 highlighted this by stating that: "*eThekweni Municipality is not interested in serving the citizens anymore, but they are interested in serving their constituency.*"

Furthermore, the findings show that AbM has a firm relationship with the shack dwellers it represents. As AbM was formed by shack dwellers in Kennedy Road, Durban, the findings indicate that it has close ties and affinity with people living in shacks. AbM has assisted shack dwellers with food parcels, ensuring that informal settlements are electrified and taking shack dwellers to international workshops amongst other things.

The data provided in chapter four also highlighted that AbM enjoys a good relationship with international and local NGO's. This is evident as AbM works with various organisations and formed a Durban Coalition of the Poor. Contrary to popular belief, AbM does not have any financial difficulties as they have several donors who fund the movement. This is an indication of a good relationship the organisation has with other stakeholders.

Furthermore, the research discovered the relationship between social movements and NGOs, as AbM as a social movement, is assisted by NGOs to drive change in the society. NGOs such as IBP and Church Land Programme provide assistance to AbM with regards to addressing and managing informal settlements. P4 said this about the relationship AbM has with NGOs: *“We also work with Church Land Programme, who are responsible for managing land owned by religious groups. They assist the organisation when doing re-blocking of informal settlements.”*

5.2. Recommendations

The main purpose of the research was to investigate the role of CSOs in the provision of adequate housing to the citizens. This study explored the critical role played by CSOs in the provision of adequate housing to the citizens and the development process. For CSOs, government and other stakeholders related to the provision of adequate housing, the study therefore presents the following recommendations as way forward:

5.2.1. Cooperation between Government and CSO

The researcher believes that there should be cooperation between all government spheres and all CSOs. CSOs should be provided the necessary space to operate by the relevant authorities. CSOs should have meaningful engagements and forge regular discourse between communities, government from all three (3) spheres and the private sector. It is important for government to consult the public before they implement new policies.

Collaborative action between civil society and public authorities leads to more dynamic, efficient, and effective development and implementation of development policies. Citizens are usually alienated from the political processes, as such cooperation between all structure tends to address this concern in modern democracies.

Civil servants are supposed to be servants of the people including CSOs like AbM. CSOs should also not operate in competition with the government. They should seek to capacitate government in areas where government lacks.

In their role, CSOs should not undermine local government. The researcher believes that CSOs should partner with local government with an intention of strengthening local government and they should not undermine the sphere. CSOs like AbM should not be seen to support a particular political party, but the move should be towards having an a-political local government which encourages CSO involvement.

It is therefore, recommended that community members should be mobilized and encouraged to form associations for development programme initiatives. Afterall, CSOs enjoy trust from their members and society to voice concerns and to represent their interests. CSOs are essential for good governance and the productive management of public funds.

5.2.2. De-politicisation of Service Delivery

This study highlighted political interference in the provision of adequate housing which yields to houses and basic services not reaching the deserving citizens. Therefore, it is important for government officials and political office bearers to separate party politics and government operations.

The researcher believes that there is a need to de-politicise the delivery basic services to the citizens. According to Madumo (2016), de-politicisation can be defined as taking out any form of politics within a bureaucratic structure and the avoidance of partisan control of the bureaucracy. De-politicisation ensures reforms within public administration institutions where political interference is dominant.

Politicisation in local government develops as a result of the interference by the political leaders in the administrative and managerial affairs of the local government (Madumo, 2016).

It is paramount to train and teach government officials to be non-partisan in the delivery of services and be devoted to non-partisan interests. The influence of politics in administrative functions in a municipality causes delay in the delivery of services in the local government sphere. Therefore, the administrative arm of local government should be free from political interference because services in municipalities should be equally distributed and not provided only to individuals who have a partisan interest.

The political structure of the local government indeed makes it difficult to separate politics and the running of the municipalities. As such it is difficult to have a mechanism to procedurally ensure that all people are treated equally. However, local government is needs to develop policy and legislation to ensure the de-politicisation of the environment and to ensure. In conclusion, no mechanisms are fail-safe for stopping improper political interference.

Furthermore, the study recommends proper governance in government institution so as to minimise political interference. Proper governance ensures that the organisation has adequate mechanisms to preserve the integrity and ensures its independence. Thus, the study recommends proper governance in government structures.

5.2.3. Provide Basic Services in Informal Settlements

The government of the day needs to intensify the provision of basic services to the informal settlements as means to improve the well-being of the citizens. Physical improvements need to happen alongside social and economic programmes that deal with broader structural inequalities. The role of physical improvements and the provision of basic services in informal settlements are crucial. The lack of basic services such as electricity, street lighting, proper walkways, safe public spaces, and toilets places the lives of citizens at danger as vulnerability heightens and also provides an opportunity for crime and violence to take place.

5.2.4. Tolerance and Social Crime Prevention

The research also discovered high levels of brutality and killings taking place. As such, there needs to be tolerance between CSO and government to prevent violence between these two institutions. Furthermore, crime prevention strategies need to also focus on groups that are most at risk of either offending or becoming victims of crime, for example, poor communities, the youth, women, and children and the disabled.

The research was limited to the role of one CSO in South Africa. It is therefore suggested that further research be undertaken on the role of civil society in the provision of adequate housing to the citizens, in other countries that may be used as a benchmark for success for South Africa.

5.3. Conclusion

This study concludes with an assertion that AbM plays a significant role on the delivery of housing to citizens. This was tested in the interviews that were held which confirmed that citizens have previously benefited from the interventions of AbM in the provision of adequate housing to citizens through: citizen empowerment, advocating for public participation, policy advocacy and improving governance, as cited in the above paragraphs.

AbM is a unique social movement that empowers citizens and encourages participation in the pursuit of adequate housing. AbM has ensured that hundreds of families have land and a roof over their heads. To assist citizens with adequate housing, AbM uses various strategies such as policy advocacy, legal petitions, research, engagements with government and involving grassroots members and where necessary mass mobilisation such as protests. Using this lens, the role of AbM can be perceived as that of solidarity with citizens who tend to be voiceless,

undermined, and vulnerable in issues relating to the delivery of adequate housing and dignity.

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Appendix 1: Interview Schedule

The Role of Civil Society Organisations in the Provision of Adequate Housing to Citizens: A Case of Abahlali BaseMjondolo

A. Questions prepared for Abahlali BaseMjondolo

1. Research Question:

What role does Abahlali BaseMjondolo play in the delivery of adequate housing to citizens?

1.1. Interview Questions:

- 1) What does ABM do?
- 2) What type of civil society organisation is ABM?
- 3) Who and what inspires ABM as a movement?
- 4) Has ABM contributed to any policy development in relation to the provision of housing?
- 5) Has ABM been able to assess the impact of its organisational contribution towards housing intervention in KZN?

2. Research Question:

What is Abahlali BaseMjondolo strategy and tactics in advocating for the provision of housing to the poor?

2.1. Interview Questions:

- 1) How does ABM go about advocating for the provision of housing to the poor?
- 2) What type of platforms do you normally use to fight for the provision of housing?
- 3) How is the organisation funded?
- 4) How can your tactics or strategies be improved to achieve better results?
- 5) Is ABM still relevant in today's struggle of providing housing to the poor? If Yes/no, please support your statement.
- 6) How do you select or identify people you are going to help? What criteria do you use to identify people you help?
- 7) Is there any interference from the state in terms of the functioning of ABM? If yes/no, please elaborate? Positive or negative?
- 8) Is there a working relationship between the state and ABM?
- 9) Have you assisted any families with housing?
- 10) The influence of politics in your role as ABM?
- 11) If private businesses (the market) funds civil society/ABM, do they have any influence in the running of the ABM? How do they influence the organisation?

3. Research Question:

What are the challenges Abahlali BaseMjondolo have faced while advocating for the provision of housing to the poor?

3.1. Interview Questions:

- a) What have been the stumbling blocks to ABM in realising their goals?
- b) How has ABM overcome those challenges?
- c) How does ABM overcome challenges and what keeps the organisation motivated in the midst of challenges?

3.2. Research Question:

What have been the successes of Abahlali baseMjondolo in advocating for the provision of housing to the poor?

3.3. Interview Questions:

- a) What are some of the achievements from ABM?
- b) Who are the stakeholders that contributed to the abovementioned achievements?
- c) What aspects/strengths of the organisation have contributed to the successes?

4. Research Question:

What are the perceptions amongst shack dwellers and other stakeholder pertaining to Abahlali BaseMjondolo?

4.1. Interview Questions:

- a) Describe the relationship of ABM with eThekweni Metro; KZN Human Settlements; HDA; and the Community including shack dwellers.
- b) Describe the relationship of ABM with the political heads?
- c) To what extent does politics influence the operations of ABM as a movement?
- d) What is the relationship of ABM with private business? Do you get funding from them?
- e) Some say ABM has lost its mojo; the organisation is in decline; do you agree with this perception? Yes/No, please elaborate.
- f) Is ABM happy with the way government provides housing to the poor? Yes/No, please elaborate.

5. Questions to Shack dwellers?

- a) What is your experience in dealing with Abahlali baseMjondolo in relation to the provision of housing?
- b) How long have you stayed in a shack?
- c) Has ABM helped you or anyone you know pertaining to the provision of housing?
- d) How is the relationship of ABM with the shack dwellers?
- e) What are the challenges that you have faced in engaging and dealing with ABM?
- f) How does ABM go about in assisting the poor with housing?
- g) Do you see ABM and other civil society groups helpful towards the need of the shack dwellers?

Appendix 2: Gatekeepers Letter

Abahlali baseMjondolo Movement SA



P.O Box 26
Umgeni Park
4098

Phone:(031)304 6420
Fax: (031) 304 6436
E-mail:
abahlalibasemjondolo@telkomsa.net
Website:
<http://www.abahlali.org>.

.....
27 July 2021

University of KwaZulu-Natal
School of Built Environment & Development Studies

Dear Mr Mhlongo,

Re-Request for Permission to conduct Research with Abahlali baseMjondolo Movement SA.

Thank you for showing interest in our movement. We also appreciate that you find value in our work.

After consultation with leaders of the National Council, Abahlali baseMjondolo Movement SA has resolved to grant you a permission to access our facility and to carry out interviews with our members as per your request.

In granting you this permission, we have also assigned our Head of Popular Education, Comrade Thapelo Mohapi to provide you with the support or supervision you may need during the course of your research. Or alternatively, I will still be available myself to provide you with guidance and support where it may be needed.

Thapelo Mohapi can be reached on: thapelom769@gmail.com or 074 774 4219.

Otherwise we wish you all the best in your career.

Yours sincerely,

S'bu. Zikode | President
Abahlali baseMjondolo Movement S.A
Address: Suite 13-16 Diakonia Conference Centre, 20 Diakonia Avenue,
Durban, 4000, Telephone: [+27 31 3046420](tel:+27313046420) | Fax: [+27 31 3046436](tel:+27313046436) | Mobile: [+27 83 547 0474](tel:+27835470474)

Appendix 3: Consent Form

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Note to researchers: Notwithstanding the need for scientific and legal accuracy, every effort should be made to produce a consent document that is as linguistically clear and simple as possible, without omitting important details as outlined below. Certified translated versions will be required once the original version is approved.

There are specific circumstances where witnessed verbal consent might be acceptable, and circumstances where individual informed consent may be waived by HSSREC.

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date:

Name:

My name is Nhlakanipho Mhlongo a Master's Degree Development Studies student with the University of KwaZulu-Natal, School of Built Environment and Development Studies, Howard College, Durban, 4040, South Africa.

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research of "The Role of Civil Society Organisation in the Provision of Adequate Housing to the Citizens: The Case of Abahlali BaseMjondolo." The aim of the study is to explore how civil society organisations (Abahlali BaseMjondolo) advance the provision of adequate housing to the citizens; what are the challenges they face in the pursuit of sustainable housing development and how do they hold the government accountable with regards to assisting the destitute in terms access to adequate shelter as per the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

I humbly request your permission to allow me to obtain information from your company/organization for purposes of research. The study is expected to enrol 10 participants which will be made up of by 5 members of Abahlali BaseMjondolo (ABM) and 5 shack dwellers. Furthermore, the study is intended to enrol yourself as a participant representing your organization. It will involve setting appointments with you and kindly requests that you allocate time for a face-face interview with me on set dates and times.

The study seeks to achieve the following objectives:

- a) To explore the role Abahlali BaseMjondolo plays in the delivery of adequate housing to the citizens.
- b) To examine the strategies and tactics ABM use in advocating for the provision of adequate housing.

- c) To examine the successes and challenges of Abahlali BaseMjondolo in the provision of adequate housing.
- d) To analyse the perceptions towards Abahlali baseMjondolo amongst shack dwellers and other stakeholders namely, KwaZulu-Natal Department of Human Settlements and eThekweni Municipality

This study is funded by the myself, the researcher. Permission has also been obtained from ABM to make it a case study in this research.

I will prepare an interview schedule, which will be sent in advance so that you can familiarize yourself with the questions I will ask. The interview will take a maximum of 60 minutes. During the interviews, the researcher will record the interview and take notes provided that it is not a problem with you. If you feel uncomfortable, you can declare beforehand so that I can find other ways of capturing the information correctly. However, I would like to request that you accept the use of a recorder as there is no harm in having the interview recorded but it will ensure that your responses are recorded accurately.

You are more than welcome to withdraw from the study if there are pressing circumstances hindering you from participating in this study, either during or before the study. If such a need for withdrawal arises, please let me in advance preferably in writing. Please be advised that the researcher can also terminate the participation of the respondent from the other for other reasons. In a similar manner, the researcher will communicate in writing beforehand about the desire to terminate the respondent from the study.

I promise that I will treat information obtained from your yourself with the highest level of confidentiality where necessary, in line with the ethical requirements inherently imbedded in this research.

The nature of the research will not impose any physical or psychological harm to the participants. There will be no risk associated in the research and this will be disclosed with the participants. Participants will be ensured that their views will be confidential and that they have a right to discontinue with the interview if they wish.

This study is of great value to your organization as it add value to existing knowledge about the role that civil society organizations play in the provision of adequate housing to the citizens that our country so earnestly desires.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at (076 4306 338) or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

CONSENT

I, _____ have been informed about the study entitled “The Role of Civil Society Organisations in the Provision of Adequate Housing to Citizens: The Case of Abahlali BaseMjondolo by Mr. Nhlakanipho Mhlongo

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study that the research will conform to the conventional ways of conducting a study such as setting appointments with members of ABM who will be expected to participate in face-to-face interviews with the researcher on agreed dates and times. The researcher has also stated that he will provide us with the interview schedule and interviews will not be more than 60 minutes.

The researcher has also expressed that he would like to record every interview for accuracy. I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to. I have been informed about any available compensation or medical treatment if injury occurs to me as a result of study-related procedures.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at 076 4306 338, email address: nhlakamhlongo@gmail.com.

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

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion	YES / NO
Video-record my interview / focus group discussion	YES / NO
Use of my photographs for research purposes	YES / NO

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Witness
(Where applicable)

Date

Signature of Translator
(Where applicable)

Date

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

ISICELO SOKUGUNYAZWA UKWENZA UCWANINGO LOKUSEBENZISANA NABANTU

ULWAZI NGEMVUMO

OKUZOSEBENZA NGEZIGABA

Bacwaningi: Kuyisidingo ukuthi konke kwenziwe ngobuchule noma ngokucophelela ngokomthetho, ukuthi konke okwenziwayo kube ulwazi olucacileyo ngokolimu olwaziwayo, futhi kungabi bikho ulwazi olubalulekile oluzokweqiwa kulokhu okungenzanzi. Ulwazi oluhunyushiwe luzodingeka emva kokuthi ulwazi lokuqala selugunyaziwe.

Ngezizathu ezithile ulwazi lungamukelwa ngokukhuluma kudingeke ukuthi kube nobufakazi noma ngezizathu ezithile Ulwazi ngemvumo yomuntu ngayedwa lunqatshwe noma lususwe ikomide (HSSREC).

Ulwazi oluqukethwe ngokuzibophezela ukuba yingxenye yocwaningo

Usuku: _____

Igama: _____

Igama lami nginguNhlakanipho Mhlongo (inombolo yami yocingo u-076 4306338; email address: nhlakamhlongo@gmail.com)

Uyamenywa ukuba ube ingxenye noma ukusebenzisana kocwaningo olubheka "Iqhaza elidlalwa izinhlangano zomphakathi ekuhlinzekeni kwezindlu ezanele emphakathini."

Ucwaningo lufuna ukufeza izinhloso ezilandelayo:

- a) Ukuhlola iqhaza elibanjwa yi-Abahlali BaseMjondolo ekulethweni kwezindlu ezanele kwizakhamizi.
- b) Ukuhlola amasu namaqhinga asetshenziswa yi-Abahlali BaseMjondolo ekuphakamiseni ekuhlinzekeni kwezindlu ezanele.
- c) Ukuhlola impumelelo nezinsalelo ze-Abahlali BaseMjondolo ekuhlinzekeni kwezindlu ezanele.
- d) Ukuhlaziya imibono ebheke ku-Abahlali baseMjondolo phakathi kwabahlali bemijondolo kanye nezinye izinhloso zomphakathi ezibambe iqhaza ekuhlinzekeni kwezindlu ezanele okubalwa kuzo, uMnyango weZokuhlaliswa KwaBantu KwaZulu-Natali kanye noMasipala waseThekwini.

Lesisifundo asinabo ubungozi futhi akukho lapho ozozizwa ungenakho ukukhululeka. Siyethemba lolucwaningo luzosisiza ukwazi kangcono ngabantu baseThekwini ukuthi benza njani uma befuna ukukhombisa amalungelo abo. Okunye okumele ukwazi ngalolucwaningo akukho muhlomulo ngokusebenzisana nathi ngalesisifundo. Lesisifundo sibhekiwe ngokwenkambo yobulungiswa sagunyazwa ikomide lesikhungo sasenyuvesithi UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics.

Lesisifundo sibhekiwe ikomide elimele ubulungiswa sagunyazwa isikhungo seseNyuvesithi yakwaZulu-Natali.

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Uma kukhona izinkinga obhekana nazo noma kukhona imibuzo ungaxhumana nomcwaningi (kuleminingwane enikezelwe) ningaxhumana futhi nekomide elimele ubulungiswa lase UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences kuleminingwane elandelayo

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Ukusebenzisana nathi kulesisifundo awuphoqelekile, unalo ilungelo lokushintsha umqondo noma ngasiphi isikhathi uhoxe. Ngasesayidini lethu njengoba senza lolucwaningo asinawo umhlombulo esizowunikezela kuwe kodwa singakunika uma sesiqedile ukwenza ucwaningo iphepha ukuze ulifunde noma ubeke umbono ngalo.

Umcwaningi akukho lapho ezothatha khona igama lakho futhi konke ozobe usitshela khona akukho lapho oyokubona khona ukuthi uwena. Konke ozokutshela umcwaningi kuzogcinwa kahle kukhiyelwe ekhabethe. Esizobe sikugcine kwicomputha nakho kuvikelekile ngoba kuba nenombolo yemfihlo uma uyivula. Emuva kweminyaka emihlanu siyokushabalalisa lolulwazi osinike lona.

ISIVUMELWANO

Mina _____ ngazisiwe ngakho konke mayelana nocwaningo oluhlaziya “Iqhaza elidlalwa izinhlango zomphakathi ekuhlinzekeni kwezindlu ezanele emphakathini.”

Nginikeziwe ithuba lokuthi ngiphendule imibuzo mayelana nalolucwaningo noma isifundo futhi ngiphendule ngendlela engineliseka ngayo Mina ngiyamemezela ukuthi ukuba kwami ingxenye yalolucwaningo angiphoqiwe futhi ngingayeka noma nini ngaphandle kokuphazamisa lesisifundo. Uma ngabe ngiba nemibuzo noma yini ephathelene nalolucwaningo ngingaxhumana nomcwaningi

Uma ngabe ngiba nemibuzo noma ngifuna ukwazi kabanzi ngamalungelo ami ngokusebenzisana nani kulolucwaningo noma okumayelana nalolucwaningo noma ngabacwaningi ngingaxhumana nomcwaningi uNhlakanipho Mhlongo kunolombolo ethi-076 4306 338. Okanye ngingaxhumana futhi nekomide elimele ubulungiswa lase UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences kuleminingwane elandelayo.

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Okwengeziwe ngemvumo okudingekayo

Nginyanikezela ngemvumo ukuthi

Ukusebenzisa isiqophamazwi / ingxoxo yedlanzana labantu AKUKHO/YEBO/CHA

Ukusebenzisa ivido kucwaningo /ingxoxo yedlanzana labantu AKUKHO/YEBO/CHA

Ukusebenzisa izithombe zami ngenhloso yocwaningo AKUKHO / YEBO/CHA

Sayina ukuzibophezela

Usuku

Kusayina ufakazi uma ekhona

Usuku

Kusayina ochazayo uma ekhona

Usuku