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# Measuring the Democratic deficit

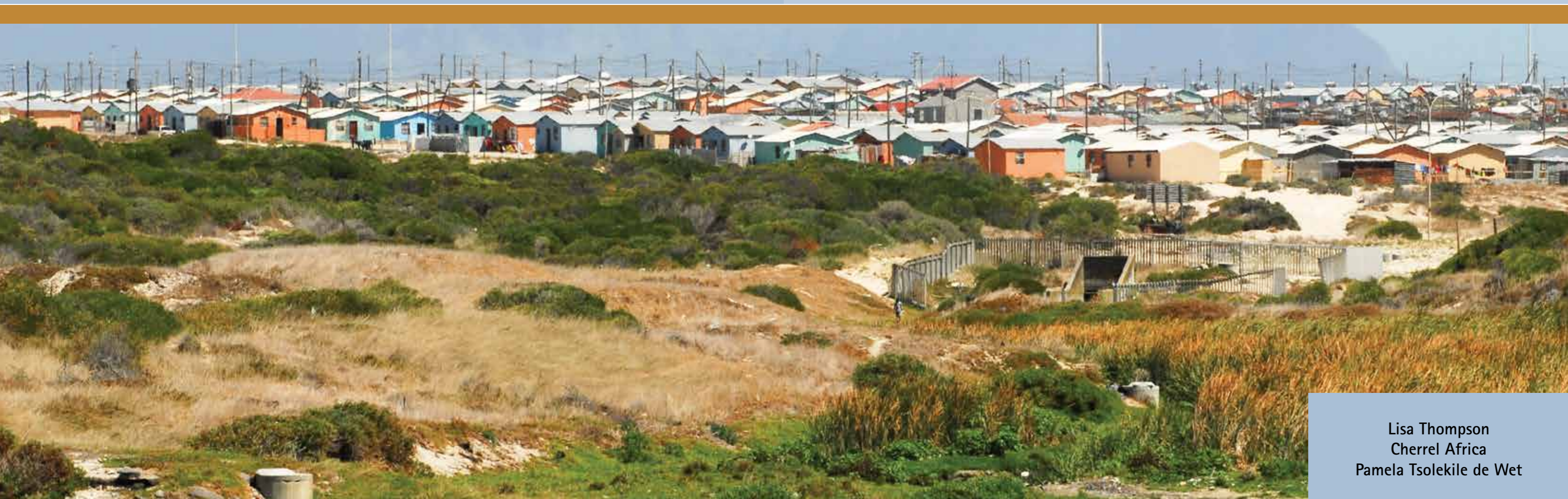
## in Khayelitsha, Langa and Delft, Cape Town

Survey report series

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Ford Foundation



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# Measuring the democratic deficit in Khayelitsha, Langa, and Delft, Cape Town

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## Research on citizenship, development and democracy at ACCEDE

The process of democratic transition, while it results in political liberties, has not necessarily created an inclusive citizenship for many previously disenfranchised and economically marginalised communities. While government has ensured, through the enactment of statutes and policies, the participation of local communities in decision-making affecting their day-to-day lives, participation through these state structures remains marginal. Previous research revealed the disconnect between the institutional arrangements of the state, on one hand, and the ability of the poor and marginalised to get their voices heard, on the other hand. It is therefore apparent that an enabling legislative and policy framework in and of itself is insufficient in ensuring inclusive participation.

In this context the challenge, for many, is how to find voice in meaningful and effective ways, so as to be able to access resources and opportunities which will enhance their livelihoods and thereby enable them to escape chronic poverty. At the level of policy analysis, there is a need to move beyond formalistic understandings of citizenship to examine the ways in which rights are interpreted and used. Of particular concern in this respect is the challenge to move beyond the notion of representative democracy (which typically invokes the widest national and international scrutiny and which is assessed according to the freeness and fairness of elections), to forms of participatory democracy, which have substantive meaning for the majority of citizens. How citizens' rights are understood, by both public officials and ordinary people themselves, profoundly affects understandings of their legitimate entitlements to social services, as well as their obligations as citizens.

Issues relating to constructions and reinterpretations of citizenship in southern contexts form the central focus of research at ACCEDE. The links between citizenship, democracy and development are explored through the VLIR funded project that focuses on Citizenship and Democracy, the Ford funded project on New Forms of Citizenship, and the international Citizenship Development Research Centre (CDRC) hosted by the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex.

This working paper series aims to stimulate academic and policy debates through research emanating from the research programmes, as well as through publishing the work of visiting scholars, postdoctoral and doctoral research fellows at the Centre.

The African Centre for Citizenship and Democracy (ACCEDE) was established in 2007. It is located within the School of Government, University of the Western Cape. Visit [www.accede.co.za](http://www.accede.co.za).

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# Measuring the democratic deficit in Khayelitsha, Langa and Delft, Cape Town

A statistical evaluation

Cape Town, 2011 and 2013

Lisa Thompson, Cherrel Africa and Pamela Tsolekile de Wet



2014

## INTRODUCTION

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In response to the ongoing service delivery protests across South Africa, ACCEDE has undertaken a series of quantitative surveys to engage citizens on their perceptions of levels of service delivery (including public and social services) in selected areas of Cape Town. The aim of the surveys and accompanying key informant interviews is to better understand how widespread levels of dissatisfaction are, as well as to try and pinpoint which groups mobilise for better governance and in what ways. This assessment also aims to establish at what point communities feel forced to protest as a response to perceptions of poor governance.

This evaluation reflects on the data of the latest two surveys (2011 and 2013) undertaken in three poor urban areas in Cape Town: Khayelitsha, Langa and Delft. These areas are significant as they are where the bulk of Cape Town's urban poor live. The data is supplemented with key informant interviews undertaken longitudinally (2008–2013) with leaders of community organisations and local government.

## METHODOLOGY

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In each of the study sites we used stratified random sampling.<sup>1</sup> The sample universe included all adults over the age of 18 years. Stratification was based on residential type and households were identified through random selection of a landmark from which to start out (for example, a street corner, a telephone booth, a school, etc). The team members walked in different directions at right angles to each other. The sampling interval was a random number corresponding to a day code and random selection of individuals within households alternated between the sexes to obtain an even gender split between respondents.

The evaluation focuses both on the degree to which negative perceptions of service delivery link to forms of participation and mobilisation and on how much ordinary citizens in these resource-deprived areas engage with governance organisations broadly defined. This analysis

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<sup>1</sup> The sample size of approximately 300 households allows for a margin of error between 5% and 6%, placing it well within accepted survey research norms.

shows that increasingly high levels of dissatisfaction do not correlate directly with statistically high levels of mobilisation/protest. Protest is under-reported, or possibly under-represented because it is more likely to occur in specific locales. Further research would help to give more depth to this tentative finding.

## POVERTY AND HEALTH INDICATORS

The data below shows that there is no clear linear progression of improvement over the years of democratic governance in access to basic food security and health indicators. Overall, poverty remains endemic. Basic health care is available although the steep decline in access to medicine and treatment in Delft shows how even gains in comparatively well-serviced areas can be dramatically affected by an area's growth, as is currently the case in Delft.

Table 1

Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family gone without the following:	Khayelitsha		Langa		Delft	
	2011	2013	2011	2013	2011	2013
Never had to go without food to eat	44%	36%	49%	58%	55%	43%
Never had to go without clean water for home use	69%	58%	70%	89%	83%	60%
Never had to go without medicines or medical treatment	68%	61%	75%	75%	87%	41%
Never had to go without fuel to cook your food	49%	38%	68%	66%	85%	42%

Table 2 gives some sense of income levels. There is, however, a tendency to refuse to respond to this question due to concerns about failing to qualify for social grant thresholds. However, notwithstanding this issue, 20% fewer respondents refused to divulge income in 2013 than in 2011 and a much higher proportion indicated incomes of between R1 000 and R6 000 per month.

Table 2: What is the total income of your household?

	2011	2013
No regular income	37%	8%
Less than R1 000	4%	15%
R1 001–R2 000	5%	21%
R2 001–R6 000	5%	22%
R6 001–R10 000	1%	5%
R10 000+	1%	2%
Refused/not indicated	45%	25%
Don't know	3%	3%

The figures above suggest that under-employment has decreased somewhat. However, they show that socio-economic concerns are not limited to unemployment or under-employment. Grievances centering around resource deprivation thus need to be understood more broadly than simply in terms of local economic development. There is a linkage between socio-economic concerns/problems, and conceptions of citizenship as an active, participatory process involving consensus and joint decision-making. (For a discussion of middle-range social movement theories/approaches see Ballard et al, 2006; Thompson and Tapscott, 2010.)

The survey data on how citizens engage with local governance organisations shows that the vast majority of ordinary people in townships have used spaces for participation/mobilisation that are created by local government, and most are not involved in protest action. However, participation in everyday decision making and consultation with governance organisations seems to be waning as people become aware of how little impact their input makes on decision making.

In terms of community allegiances, religious affiliation/church membership remains the single most important form of social glue in all three areas. Mobilisation and indeed collective participation are not spearheaded by community organisations such as the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO) or the Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF). Some organisations, who purport to represent the community, do organise protests and lobby action, but as with the ‘poo’ protests in Khayelitsha in 2012–13, it is not clear how much general community sanction such media-grabbing tactics actually carry. It is clear from the statistics on protest that the participants are a very small minority in the areas surveyed. Even if under-reporting is factored in, it would appear that protest is restricted to certain groups and micro-areas: ‘hotspots’, where specific grievances are addressed by organised groups like Abahlali base Amondjolo (hereafter Abahlali)(interviews with members of Abhlali, 2013).

## CITIZENS' IDENTIFICATION OF KEY SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

The survey addresses the question of key socio-economic problems facing communities at both national and local levels. The table below indicates the number of respondents that rated the particular item as one of the top three problems facing South Africa.

Table 3: Most important problem in South Africa

	Khayelitsha		Langa		Delft	
	2011	2013	2011	2013	2011	2013
Housing	72%	15%	59%	22%	49%	26%
Job creation/unemployment	70%	59%	67%	54%	68%	54%
Crime and safety	41%	54%	29%	35%	22%	46%
Corruption	1	33%	1	30%	2%	32%
Poverty	13%	10%	9%	21%	8%	22%
Services	3%	4%	10%	3%	5%	8%
Toilets	9%	--	4%	--	1%	--
Water	5%	4%	4%	1%	2%	2%
Electricity	7%	13%	7%	1%	3%	6%
Roads	5%	--	5%	--	1%	--
	(29%)	(21%)	(29%)	(5%)	(12%)	(26%)
Drug and alcohol abuse	--	--	--	--	4%	--
Education	7%	11%	9%	6%	6%	34%
HIV/AIDS	1%	2%	1%	8%	1%	2%
Health	2%	3%	2%	1%	4%	7%
	(3%)	(5%)	(3%)	(9%)	(5%)	(9%)

NOTE: This was an open-ended question with up to three responses accepted. The percentages reflect the proportion of cases that gave a particular response, hence a total of more than 100%.

## PERCEPTIONS OF COMPETENCE OF LEADING POLITICAL PARTY

The questions pertaining to perceptions of political competence are revealing in that all three areas maintain strong support for the ANC. This is corroborated by levels of distrust of local Democratic Alliance (DA) leaders, as illustrated by the data on trust presented towards the end of the report. However, perceptions of national competence are overwhelmingly negative, showing that despite electoral allegiance, the vast majority of citizens in poor urban areas are not satisfied with the competencies of the ANC in addressing the needs of those who support them. It is equally revealing that most respondents did not question the legitimacy of the ANC as the leading political party in government, indicating that at a political ideological level, the ANC's role as both vanguard liberation movement and leading party in government is still accepted. The legacy of apartheid and lack of perceived legitimate opposition are contributing factors emerging from qualitative fieldwork in these areas (see Conradie and Thompson, 2011; Tapscott, 2011). This support for the ANC led to high levels of electoral support in the national elections in 2014 despite levels of community dissatisfaction and criticism of ANC policies and leadership.

Table 4: How well or badly would you say the ANC has handled the most important issue over the past year?

	Khayelitsha		Langa		Delft	
	2011	2013	2011	2013	2011	2013
Badly/very badly	78%	62%	75%	71%	81%	77%
Well/very well	21%	35%	24%	28%	18%	20%
Don't know	1%	3%	1%	2%	1%	2%

The tables below reveal the ongoing lack of politically acceptable voting alternative to the ANC. Despite the inroads that the DA has made in Cape Town, the vast majority of residents in the urban areas surveyed do not think that anyone could do a better job of running the country than the ANC, despite its perceived lack of competence in delivering on key socio-economic issues. As shown in our 2008 and 2011 surveys, this presents an ongoing dualism of disillusionment and yet an overwhelming loyalty towards the ANC. Qualitative interviews conducted over the last 10 years in these three areas have also revealed that the DA, although tolerated as the leading party, is still considered a 'white' party, despite its efforts to garner more support in historically ANC-dominated areas in Cape Town.

Table 5: Could any other political party have done a better job than the government handling this issue?

	Khayelitsha		Langa		Delft	
	2011	2013	2011	2013	2011	2013
No	80%	80%	84%	82%	85%	25%
Yes	10%	8%	7%	9%	10%	28%
Don't know	10%	12%	9%	9%	5%	47%



Table 6: Which political party (could have done a better job)?

	Khayelitsha		Langa		Delft	
	2011	2013	2011	2013	2011	2013
No other party	90%	91%	92%	89%	91%	71%
Democratic Alliance	6%	4%	3%	4%	6%	21%
Congress of the People	1%	<1%	2%	1%	2%	1%
Inkatha Freedom Party	--	<1%	--	<1%	--	1%
UDM	2%	1%	1%	1%	--	<1%
PAC	--	--	--	2%		1%
Don't know which party	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%	5%

The tables above show that despite criticism of the ANC, there is also an ongoing, widely held perception that no other party could do a better job of governing South Africa (Conradie, Tsolekile and Thompson, 2012). The DA's service delivery successes are dismissed as insufficient and largely orientated towards previously advantaged communities, except in Delft, where there has been a noticeable increase in support for the DA in the last two years.

## POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC GRIEVANCES AT LOCAL LEVEL

In all three case-study areas, respondents have consistently ranked crime as the highest priority problem. In the 2013 survey this is of growing concern, particularly in Khayelitsha and Delft. Concerns around gangs and drug abuse have also risen sharply in all three areas while housing provision and services have shown decreased levels of concern in Khayelitsha and Langa. Crime- and gangster-related concerns may simply have taken precedence in the ranking of concerns rather than indicating that there have been huge improvements in housing and service delivery. In 2011 Delft showed the highest percentage of community concern over gangs and drug and alcohol abuse. However, in 2013 showed a sharp rise in concerns about these issues in Langa and Khayelitsha too. Organisations like KDF in Khayelitsha attest to the burgeoning problem of insufficient policing, gangs and drug abuse in the townships.

Table 7: Most important problem in area/neighbourhood

	Khayelitsha		Langa		Delft	
	2011	2013	2011	2013	2011	2013
Crime/criminals/criminal activity	39%	34%	43%	31%	43%	34%
Lack of safety	2%	3%	<1%	3%	2%	3%
Hijackings	1%	2%	--	<1%	--	2%
Rape	3%	7%	<1%	1%	1%	7%
Break-ins/robbery/theft	7%	32%	--	16%	5%	32%
Murder	0.3%	3%	--	1%	--	3%
	(52%)	(81%)	(44%)	(52%)	(52%)	(81%)
Services	1%	6%	3%	2%	6%	6%
No toilets/insufficient toilets/too far/unsafe/unhygienic/sanitation	16%	5%	13%	6%	3%	5%
Water/water supply/water gets cut	8%	10%	5%	2%	2%	10%
Electricity	11%	18%	3%	2%	6%	18%
Roads/road accidents/dangerous roads	6%	1%	1%	--	1%	1%
Drainage/blocked drains/stinking drains	5%	<1%	1%	2%	1%	<1%
Street lights broken/no street lights	3%	3%	--	3%	2%	3%
	(50%)	(43%)	26%	(15%)	(21%)	(43%)
Housing	39%	15%	36%	19%	6%	15%
Job creation/unemployment	19%	38%	35%	35%	17%	59%
Pollution/dirt/rats/flies	15%	1%	7%	4%	4%	1%
Gangs/gangsters/gang violence	3%	15%	--	5%	4%	15%
Drug/alcohol abuse	5%	10%	7%	29%	16%	10%
Close down taverns/taverns close too late	1%	2%	--	4%	2%	2%
Noise/disturbances at night/community conflict	1%	1%	--	3%	1.2%	1%
	(9%)	(28%)	(7%)	(41%)	(21%)	(28%)
Poverty/poor living conditions	7%	7%	4%	16%	3%	7%
Fire/house or shack can burn easily	3%	2%	--	3%	--	2%
Flooding	1%	6%	--	3%	--	6%
HIV/AIDS/health concerns/TB/illness	1%	2%	2%	7%	1%	2%

NOTE: This was an open-ended question with up to three responses accepted. The percentages reflect the proportion of cases that gave a particular response, hence a total of more than 100%.

The table below shows that the majority of respondents do not think that the areas they rank of main concern are receiving sufficient attention on the part of local government. This is particularly revealing in terms of the high ranking of crime and crime-related violence in all three areas.

Table 8: How well or badly would you say your municipality has handled this issue over the past year?

	Khayelitsha		Langa		Delft	
	2011	2013	2011	2013	2011	2013
Badly/very badly	84%	69%	84%	82%	73%	76%
Well/very well	16%	24%	16%	12%	26%	17%
Don't know	--	7%	--	6%	1%	7%

## PERCEPTIONS OF COMPETENCE AT LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL

Over the last three surveys (2008 to 2013) satisfaction with service delivery showed marked improvement in Khayelitsha, an improvement in Langa in 2011 which levelled out in 2013, and an increase in dissatisfaction in Delft between 2011 and 2013.

Table 9: Overall how satisfied are you with the delivery of services in your area?

	Khayelitsha		Langa		Delft	
	2011	2013	2011	2013	2011	2013
Fairly/very satisfied	49%	57%	62%	57%	79%	46%
Not very/not at all satisfied	51%	39%	38%	40%	21%	51%
Don't know	--	5%	--	3%	--	3%

Table 10: How much of the problems your area do you think your municipality can solve?

	Khayelitsha		Langa		Delft	
	2011	2013	2011	2013	2011	2013
All of them	41%	12%	35%	19%	28%	14%
Most of them	13%	27%	16%	9%	32%	33%
Some of them	22%	44%	29%	44%	36%	31%
Very few of them	17%	6%	10%	24%	2%	10%
None of them	6%	8%	5%	3%	<1%	5%
Don't know	<1%	2%	5%	1%	1%	8%

Over the last three surveys there has been clear dissatisfaction with ward councillors and local government. The table on the following page shows that 2013 is no exception. It shows an overwhelming ongoing concern with levels of participation and information around local government programmes. It also indicates a general disillusionment with the degree to which councillors behave ethically and/or fairly with regard to resource allocation (services/employment opportunities).

Table 11: How well or badly would you say local government in your area is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say?

	Khayelitsha	Langa	Delft
Consultation in your community?			
Badly/very badly	61%	63%	69%
Well/very well	23%	29%	17%
Don't know	8%	8%	15%
Making local government programmes known to you?			
Badly/very badly	65%	59%	71%
Well/very well	27%	34%	12%
Don't know	8%	7%	18%
Providing effective ways to handle complaints about councillors or officials?			
Badly/very badly	71%	77%	72%
Well/very well	19%	22%	12%
Don't know	10%	11%	17%
Performing their tasks?			
Badly/very badly	68%	63%	69%
Well/very well	24%	29%	18%
Don't know	8%	8%	14%
Managing local government programmes			
Badly/very badly	67%	64%	68%
Well/very well	20%	25%	15%
Don't know	12%	12%	16%
Showing that they care about the community?			
Badly/very badly	70%	62%	70%
Well/very well	21%	28%	15%
Don't know	8%	10%	16%
Being honest in handling public funds?			
Badly/very badly	74%	71%	70%
Well/very well	13%	9%	16%
Don't know	13%	20%	15%
Being fair in allocating services?			
Badly/very badly	71%	68%	64%
Well/very well	22%	35%	23%
Don't know	8%	8%	13%
Being fair in allocating employment opportunities?			
Badly/very badly	75%	64%	79%
Well/very well	16%	29%	9%
Don't know	8%	7%	13%

The lack of communication around key local government initiatives designed to increase citizen participation and input into local socio-economic initiatives is underlined by the clear lack of uptake into local IDP processes. Despite a carefully re-designed process of communication on IDPs spearheaded by local government and driven by local sub-councils, the following tables show that most communities are not involved in IDP consultation processes.

Table 12: Have you ever heard of an Integrated Development Plan? (2011)

	Khayelitsha	Langa	Delft
Yes	92%	96%	99%
No	8%	4%	1%

Table 13: Have you ever been asked to give input into the IDP for your area? (2013)

	Khayelitsha	Langa	Delft
Yes	11%	5%	4%
No	59%	64%	67%
Never heard of an IDP	27%	19%	21%
Not indicated	4%	12%	8%

## LEVELS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY GROUPS, LOCAL ORGANISATIONS AND IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE STRUCTURES

Table 14 shows high levels of membership of religious groups but low levels of membership of political and socio-economic organisations of the social movement variety, such as trade unions and SANCO.

Table 14: I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are a leader/official, a member, attend meetings even though you are not a member or are not involved in the group at all?

Khayelitsha				
	Not a member	Member	Leader or official	Not indicated
A religious group (e.g. church, mosque)	32%	62%	5%	1%
A political party	68%	30%	1%	1%
A community policing forum	83%	14%	2%	1%
Your street committee	80%	16%	3%	2%
A school governing body	87%	11%	1%	1%
A trade union	86%	11%	2%	2%
Some other association or community group	78%	18%	3%	1%
Langa				
	Not a member	Member	Leader or official	Not indicated
A religious group (e.g. church, mosque)	38%	60%	2%	1%
A political party	77%	22%	0.3%	1%
A community policing forum	93%	5%	0.7%	1%
Your street committee	81%	18%	0.7%	1%
A school governing body	92%	6%	0.3%	1%
A trade union	93%	6%	--	1%
Some other association or community group	91%	8%	1%	1%
Delft				
	Not a member	Member	Leader or official	Not indicated
A religious group (e.g. church, mosque)	26%	72%	2%	1%
A political party	89%	10%	--	1%
A community policing forum	98%	1%	--	1%
Your street committee	95%	4%	<1%	1%
A school governing body	97%	2%	--	1%
A trade union	97%	2%	--	1%
Some other association or community group	86%	12%	1%	1%

Table 15 shows that there is nevertheless participation in ward and street committee meetings in Khayelitsha, Langa and Delft.

Table 15: Whether or not you are a member, how often have you had the opportunity to attend committee meetings of each of the following?

Khayelitsha					
	No, never	Yes, once or twice	Yes, often	Don't know	Not indicated
Your ward committee	61%	28%	3%	4%	4%
Your street committee	37%	42%	14%	3%	4%
A trade union	74%	12%	4%	6%	4%
Some other association or community group	53%	25%	13%	5%	4%
Langa					
	No, never	Yes, once or twice	Yes, often	Don't know	Not indicated
Your ward committee	74%	18%	4%	2%	2%
Your street committee	40%	35%	24%	1%	1%
A trade union	85%	10%	1%	1%	2%
Some other association or community group	88%	5%	2%	2%	2%
Delft					
	No, never	Yes, once or twice	Yes, often	Don't know	Not indicated
Your ward committee	66%	25%	5%	3%	1%
Your street committee	52%	30%	13%	3%	1%
A trade union	88%	3%	2%	5%	1%
Some other association or community group	74%	11%	9%	6%	1%

Table 16: Have you ever attended a public event or meeting organised by any of the following?

Khayelitsha					
	No, never	Yes, once or twice	Yes, often	Don't know	Not indicated
A political party	60%	31%	6%	2%	2%
Your community policing forum	61%	30%	3%	4%	2%
Your street committee	37%	45%	13%	3%	3%
A school governing body	62%	25%	7%	3%	4%
A trade union	78%	12%	2%	5%	3%
Some other association or community group	57%	28%	10%	3%	2%
Langa					
	No, never	Yes, once or twice	Yes, often	Don't know	Not indicated
A political party	52%	35%	11%	--	2%
Your community policing forum	69%	22%	3%	3%	3%
Your street committee	34%	39%	24%	--	2%
A school governing body	75%	19%	3%	0.3%	3%
A trade union	88%	8%	1%	0.3%	3%
Some other association or community group	87%	8%	1%	1%	3%
Delft					
	No, never	Yes, once or twice	Yes, often	Don't know	Not indicated
A political party	73%	17%	7%	1%	2%
Your community policing forum	67%	25%	4%	3%	3%
Your street committee	56%	27%	13%	2%	3%
A school governing body	68%	22%	6%	2%	3%
A trade union	89%	4%	2%	2%	3%
Some other association or community group	75%	10%	10%	3%	3%

Table 17: Have you ever wanted to attend a meeting or event but were unable to attend?

	Khayelitsha	Langa	Delft
No	71%	82%	66%
Yes	24%	13%	31%
Not indicated	5%	5%	3%

Table 18: What prevented you from attending?

	Khayelitsha	Langa	Delft
I didn't have transport	4%	2%	6%
I didn't have sufficient information	3%	1%	13%
I didn't have the time	13%	4%	10%
Other	5%	4%	4%
Not applicable	75%	88%	68%

In contrast, Table 19 shows that most interviewees are not involved in participatory spaces on a regular basis. It remains a significant fact that over the last three surveys conducted in the three areas, the most consistent high levels of membership and participation is through the church. It remains revealing that while many attend public street-committee meetings, i.e. those held after public announcement through loudhailers calling everyone concerned in the 'street' (often a nominal term for an specific micro area), the table below shows very little involvement in the regular (weekly) organisational and problem-solving meetings held by street committees.

As with the 2011 survey, it also shows that political deliberation over issues pertaining to communities does not happen regularly among the broader populations in these areas. This presents a somewhat different picture from the information gathered from those who are actively involved, who often claim a very broad level of support and community trust and commitment (see Conradie and Thompson, 2011).

Table 19: Do you ever get together with others and to make your ward councillor listen to your concerns about matters of importance to the community? Percentage saying 'have never'

Khayelitsha		Langa		Delft	
2011	2013	2011	2013	2011	2013
61%	36%	57%	69%	82%	69%

Interviews with KDF leadership and community leaders underline that most communities do not find attending meetings leads to outcomes that are tangible or visible to them or their communities. The poor rating of satisfaction in the performance of local councillors and local government shows that there is inadequate linkage of effective policy implementation to participatory processes. Advocacy and engagement through local organisations like KDF could help to close the gap between negative perceptions of participation and local government service delivery.

## CITIZEN PERCEPTIONS OF AGENCY

Relating to the point made above, communities' perceptions of their ability to exert influence continues a steady downward trend, as can be seen from the 2013 responses to the question of the extent to which active involvement (agency) can have an impact on resolving problems facing the community. Although many respondents have engaged with local community organisations or ward councillors, and/or attended public meetings organised by local government, there are negative perceptions of how much influence this has.

Table 20: Perceptions of influence and agency

'Strongly agree' with the following statements	Khayelitsha		Langa		Delft	
	2011	2013	2011	2013	2011	2013
People like me do not have any influence over what the government does	61%	69%	60%	54%	56%	78%
Politicians do not care much about what people like me think	87%	82%	90%	72%	93%	87%

Despite perceptions of a lack of influence over government or political representatives, the table below shows that most ordinary citizens do not engage in protest action. This finding has been consistent over the years of surveys from 2008. Qualitative interviews with local government and community leaders show that while a few organisations, such as Abahlali, have organised protest action that sometimes turned violent, for the most part community organisations have opted for negotiation and dialogue rather than protest, including Abahlali in Khayelitsha in recent years.

Table 21: Have you taken part in a protest or demonstration in the last twelve months?

	Khayelitsha		Langa		Delft	
	2011	2013	2011	2013	2011	2013
No	89%	80%	91%	91%	99%	91%
Yes	11%	12%	9%	5%	1%	5%
Don't know	--	8%	--	4%	--	4%

## CITIZEN LEVELS OF TRUST IN POLITICAL LEADERS AND KEY GOVERNANCE INSTITUTIONS

As with notions of agency and influence, levels of trust in key political institutions, leaders and local governance structures continues to decline in most cases. The table below also indicates ongoing levels of distrust in the DA as the leading political party in the Western Province, with the exception of Delft, where there is somewhat more DA support due to the more heterogeneous ethnic composition of communities.



Table 22: Levels of trust in political leaders and key governance institutions

	Khayelitsha		Delft		Langa	
	2011	2013	2011	2013	2011	2013
<b>National Parliament</b>						
Not at all/just a little	40%	76%	34%	63%	49%	45%
Somewhat/a lot	58%	15%	60%	24%	49%	44%
Don't know/not answered	2%	8%	6%	13%	2%	11%
<b>Your local municipal council</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>
Not at all/just a little	55%	75%	49%	59%	63%	58%
Somewhat/a lot	43%	20%	45%	28%	35%	31%
Don't know/not answered	2%	5%	6%	13%	2%	11%
<b>The police in your area</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>
Not at all/just a little	35%	58%	47%	46%	55%	31%
Somewhat/a lot	63%	37%	47%	50%	43%	59%
Don't know/not answered	2%	5%	6%	4%	2%	10%
<b>Courts of law</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>
Not at all/just a little	29%	56%	44%	31%	47%	26%
Somewhat/a lot	68%	36%	50%	59%	51%	62%
Don't know/not answered	3%	8%	6%	10%	2%	12%
<b>Community policing forum in your community</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>
Not at all/just a little	37%	60%	44%	47%	52%	34%
Somewhat/a lot	58%	29%	48%	22%	45%	39%
Don't know/not answered	5%	11%	8%	31%	3%	27%
<b>Ward committee in your community</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>
Not at all/just a little	40%	60%	39%	53%	58%	34%
Somewhat/a lot	56%	32%	52%	9%	39%	44%
Don't know/not answered	4%	8%	9%	38%	3%	22%
<b>Street committee in your community</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>
Not at all/just a little	35%	54%	39%	47%	47%	24%
Somewhat/a lot	61%	39%	52%	22%	50%	62%
Don't know/not answered	4%	7%	9%	31%	3%	14%
<b>SANCO</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>
Not at all/just a little	36%	55%	39%	20%	47%	27%
Somewhat/a lot	57%	24%	50%	23%	49%	18%
Don't know/not answered	7%	21%	11%	57%	4%	55%
<b>School governing bodies in your community</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>
Not at all/just a little	8%	44%	30%	26%	6%	22%
Somewhat/a lot	74%	40%	57%	58%	74%	57%
Don't know/not answered	18%	16%	13%	16%	20%	21%
<b>President Jacob Zuma</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>
Not at all/just a little	43%	57%	34%	77%	50%	44%
Somewhat/a lot	54%	41%	60%	13%	48%	44%
Don't know/not answered	3%	2%	6%	10%	2%	12%
<b>Premier Helen Zille</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>
Not at all/just a little	85%	84%	61%	53%	91%	81%
Somewhat/a lot	12%	12%	33%	37%	7%	7%
Don't know/not answered	3%	4%	6%	10%	2%	12%
<b>Mayor of Cape Town</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>
Not at all/just a little	76%	83%	61%	59%	86%	80%
Somewhat/a lot	16%	12%	32%	30%	11%	6%
Don't know/not answered	8%	5%	7%	11%	3%	14%

## CONCLUSION: PERCEPTIONS OF DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE

Rather paradoxically, given the negative perceptions of local government's performance and decreasing perceptions of political agency, there is an increase in perceptions of satisfaction in the way that democracy works in South Africa. While problems of a socio-economic nature such as unemployment and poor services still remain, ongoing opportunities to engage as citizens of South Africa in formal democratic electoral processes may account for this more positive evaluation.

Table 23: Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in South Africa?

	Khayelitsha		Langa		Delft	
	2011	2013	2011	2013	2011	2013
Very satisfied	3%	13%	3%	29%	8%	13%
Fairly satisfied	24%	18%	23%	32%	25%	25%
Not very satisfied	38%	36%	44%	24%	36%	35%
Not at all satisfied	31%	30%	30%	13%	30%	22%
South Africa is not a democracy	1%	1%	<1%	1%	1%	2%
Don't know	--	2%	--	1%	--	3%

The surveys show the urgent need for further local government engagement with communities and leaders on how participation in local governance processes could be re-envisioned to ensure that citizens feel their participation and inputs make a difference. In the Western Cape, this is particularly important as there are high levels of dissatisfaction in the ability to engage in local participatory processes.

The survey shows some gains in certain areas, for example, an overall decrease in prioritising housing as a problem area. However, community groups like Abahlali are quick to mention that these gains are only in certain areas, and not in Khayelitsha, for example. The 2013 survey underscores the problems of local governance. Levels of involvement in or membership of community organisations and social movement groups remain relatively low. It is possible that key local organisations could play a much bigger role in helping direct and strengthen the involvement of communities. Historically, organisations such as KDF in Khayelitsha have maintained a non-partisan developmental organisation profile with wide-based involvement in communities and legitimate ties to government. Such organisations could possibly serve to channel grievances and resource concerns and demands into broad-based community developmental proposals that could be linked to defined policies. This will be particularly important for the ruling DA to ensure that negative perceptions of how local development initiatives and service delivery policies are prioritised are ameliorated in the medium term.

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