What we live with everyday is not right

Partnerships for accountability and safer cities in South Africa

Cover image from Nwabisa Mengesile’s personal story.
Table of contents

Introduction

Biographies

Page 5

Executive summary

Page 9

Stories from Delft

Jacqui’s story: My Nightmare Becomes a Reality
Page 13

Soeraya’s story: Three Broken Hearts
Page 15

Dorina’s story: Ilvane (Chameleon)
Page 17

Findings

Perceptions about insecurity
Page 23

The Sustainable Development Goals in focus in Delft
Page 33

The Sustainable Development Goals in Context
Page 35

Factors that limit and/or enhance accountability
Page 43

Shifting the scales of power
Page 53

Proposals from the Delft Community Safety Group for how to improve safety in Delft
Page 63

Recommendations
Page 67

Methodology

Methods and processes
Page 24

Key steps in our process
Page 30

Personal stories
Page 32

Films
Page 34

Film: Gangsters in Uniform
Page 36

Defining accountability
Page 38

Learning how to build participatory accountability
Page 40

Causes of shifts in power
Page 52

Citizen action for accountability in Delft
Page 54

Critical reflections on ethics and power
Page 58

Citizen-based monitoring
Page 64

Risks of speaking out
Page 70

Watch the stories and films

Jacqui’s story: My Nightmare Becomes a Reality

Soeraya’s story: Three Broken Hearts

Dorina’s story: Ilvane (Chameleon)

Being Young in Delft

Gangsters In Uniform
Biographies

Sibulele Tutuka
Age: 18
I live in Delft, Sand River Road in 17th Section. I’m a DJ for 7 years now and have been called to play for a lot of events and big parties in the locations. I started in a troupe to stay out of trouble and to avoid being involved with the gangsters. I want to open a school for DJs and for those who don’t have enough sound system (equipment). I’m still hustling for myself for my future.

Manelisi Tutuka
Age: 23
I’m staying in Delft Leiden. The lovely people at the Sustainable Livelihood Foundation inspire me and I love my parents, my brothers and my friends. Last year I was attending courses at Cape Town City Varsity, the courses were “Carpentry, Life Skills and Occupational Health and Safety” (OHS). I also received a certificate accredited by Transport, Education and Training Authority (TETA) for OHS. In 5 years’ time I want to have driver’s license, and do a boiler operator course or a tower crane course so that I can work with big machines.

Phumelelo Maxson Mngomezulu
Age: 39
I studied the “Emergency Medical Dispatch” course and “Call Center Operations” at Cape Technicon. I live in Delft with my mother, father and one child. I volunteer as an assistant librarian at Voorburg Library and work on various volunteer community projects such as “I Like Green” which is an environmental awareness project that makes people aware of recycling and environmental issues. The Delft Safety Group project was good and I enjoyed working with the group. It is empowering to share a lot of stories and I really enjoyed the digital storytelling, and being involved in targeting police brutality and crime in the area.

Amien Fakier
Age: 50
I stay in Delft. I have been here for the past 19 years. I have been involved in the community for over 15 years starting with The Neighbourhood Watch to clean up crime in our area. Since then I have been working with many organizations for many years. I started working with the Sustainable Livelihood Foundation four years ago on various projects. I have also been involved in the community running a soup kitchen for 10 years, I have a soccer club in the community and I have a youth organization called “Dolphins Youth Academy” that I have been running for 18 years.

Farida Ryklied
Age: 41
I am residing 23 years in Delft. I studied law, and victim support services are my focus points. My passion is child protection services. I got involved in the Neighbourhood Watch when I was elected on the Community Police Forum in 2009 and since then I’ve been serving our community at large. I volunteer and coordinate Delft SAPS victim empowerment facility, which has won first place for five years for best practice from the 150 police stations in the Western Cape.

Mbalenhle Naimande
Age: 25
I live in Delft 25 Section. I am currently studying food technology at Cape Technicon. I am also a promoter on the weekends. I love working with people and learning new things. I love reading, entering races and exploring. I got involved with the Delft Safety Group because I wanted to learn and assist the community I live in, to better it. I learnt so much from the project.

Nwabisa Mengezeleli
Age: 28
I stay in Delft with my mother and my two cousins. I have been in Delft for 18 years, when I moved there from Gugulethu. I received my matric in 2007, and then studied computer literacy and travel and tourism through Megapro Computer School and Cape Business collage. I have volunteered as a home carer at Woodstock Haven Home. I am a hard worker who works well as an individual or in a group and I work well under pressure. I enjoyed the project, it helped a lot and I experienced so many things, I have learnt so much from the group.

Koolsum Ismail
Age: 58
I was born in District Six. After being evicted from District Six, we were thrown into Bonteheuwel. I grew up in Bonteheuwel and got married there and had four daughters. In 1998 I got a house in Delft. I called my new house “A New Beginning”. All the experience I picked up made me want to shelter kids and empower myself. I am currently involved in the Neighbourhood Watch and I shelter eight orphans. This makes me feel whole. I appreciate the opportunity Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation gave us. It is a platform where I felt safe to share. It really contributed to my empowerment.

Dorina Priscilla Mcentee
Age: 55
I have lived in Delft for 22 years. I love to work with my community and to talk about their problems. I love to talk with my family, community members and children to know the differences in Delft. I joined The Neighbourhood Watch because I think it’s important to be safe and help the police with crime in Delft South. I joined this project to learn and know more about how to help others. I am the rock in my community.
Biographies

Soeraya Davids
Age: 44
I am married with three kids and three grandkids. I am from Cape Town, Western Cape, where I live in Delft. I volunteer at Delft Victim Empowerment Room at Delft, SAPS (South African Police Services). I am helping people who have experienced trauma and I am very passionate about my community. I wanted to work in my community because everyday I see how people suffer from police brutality and I would like to make a difference.

Pieter Prinscens
Age: 53
I have been living in Delft for 20 years. I am a skilled handyman and work in construction and building. I have been a community leader in this community ever since I moved here. My door is always open to the community. I am also a Neighbourhood Watch member trying to reduce crime in my community.

Jacqui Adams
Age: 32
I have a three year old boy and love playing netball. I live in Delft and I have been part of all the workshops. I have learnt a lot in the workshops and it gave me more confidence and I met a lot of people.

Tashwell Denton
Age: 21
Tashwell lives with his parents in Delft, and he told his personal story through this initiative.

Gill Black
Age: 47
I’m originally from Scotland but have lived in Cape Town since 2002. My core interests lie in working with visual participatory methods to develop improved communication approaches for community engagement in science and public health. My experience as a field-based biomedical scientist in Kenya, Brazil, Malawi and South Africa, and extensive interactions with research participants in each of these contexts over 17 years, catalyzed my transition to the Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation (SLF) which I co-founded in 2010. I will not forget the many valuable lessons I have learned through working with my colleagues at SLF and the Delft Safety Group during this research process.

Rory Liedeman
Age: 37
I was born and raised in Cape Town and hold an Honours degree in Social Anthropology and a Master’s in Political Studies. I have been employed at the Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation since it began in 2010 and my current role includes membership on the SLF board, the oversight of various fieldwork projects, database management, community mobilisation and strategic engagement. I helped to further SLF’s citizen action work on issues of safety and security, through my work on a project that explored how to make citizen voices count in decision-making processes within the community of Delft. Working with this group over the past year I learnt so much about what the real requirements for true change are: commitment, passion, honesty, sacrifice, hard work and a sense of selflessness. The Delft Safety group have inspired me to shift the focus and nature of my work towards helping to realise positive changes for others in the spaces where I work.

Joanna Wheeler
Age: 39
I am a researcher, facilitator of creative processes, and an activist. I have worked with people in many different countries on issues of violence, insecurity and how to change entrenched and complex problems. I strongly believe in the importance of creativity and storytelling to help make sense of the world, and see how to change ourselves and what is happening around us. It has been an amazing privilege to work with the Delft Safety Group over this year, and I am inspired by their courage. I’m originally from the USA, but have spent the last 20 years living in Argentina, Brazil and the UK. I have been working in South Africa since 2003 and have lived in Cape Town for three years.

Nava Derakhshani
Age: 32
I am an ecofeminist, researcher, photographer and facilitator. I have worked in urban and rural environments with farmers, activists and community members. I deeply value the arts and personal narratives and the power they have for emotive communications. It has been a privilege to work with the Delft Safety Group and learn from their courage and resilience. It has also been incredibly heart breaking to learn of the trauma and daily violence that my fellow humans are confronted with on a daily basis. I am hopeful that this work is used for positive change in Delft, the Cape Flats and all marginalised groups and individuals globally. I am a world citizen with Iranian origins, a Swazi by birth, brought up in Botswana, and I have been living in Cape Town for 12 years.

Sinazo Peter
Age: 24
I am originally from the Eastern Cape, but I finished high school in Cape Town. I am a filmmaker, poet and artist, and I’m involved in many social projects in my community and in South Africa. I am driven by an interest to see a world where children live and grow loved and free from the evils of poverty, crime, and violence. I am inspired by the words of Nelson Mandela: ‘It seems impossible until it is done’. Having a way forward on how we can influence our young people across the world, means we need to reach others. It starts with a small group, like ours, to create change in our cities.
Executive summary

Purpose of this report
This report aims to provide inspiration and impetus to those making decisions about how to implement and monitor the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). It shows how local level experiences and ideas can contribute to greater accountability and ultimately to increasing the impact of policies and initiatives aimed at reaching the SDGs. The work featured here focuses on how to make cities and informal settlements safer and more inclusive, taking as a starting point the extremely high levels of insecurity and violence that characterise daily life for many within townships and informal settings in South Africa.

‘Violence is everywhere.’

These findings form part of the global initiative Participate: Knowledge from the margins, and are connected to other pilot projects in Ghana, Egypt and India. Participatory research from 2012 to 2014 undertaken by 18 organisations in 29 countries, found that accountable and inclusive institutions that respond to people’s claims for rights are central to effectively addressing inequalities. More accountable public and private institutions can respond more effectively to citizens’ needs, and challenge the inequalities and discrimination that deepen poverty and exclusion. A key dimension highlighted by this research was the value of participatory action research which, in its many forms and approaches, builds confidence and opens up avenues for people living in poverty and who are marginalised to enable people to hold those who abuse their positions of power accountable.

Building on this knowledge from the margins, the current global project prioritises engaging groups that are living in poverty and marginalisation in the process of accountability. The project aims to support learning processes on participatory monitoring and accountability (PMA), generating insights and recommendations from on-going PMA mechanisms for embedding citizen participation for accountability in development policy and practice. Thus, each of the learning processes uses an action learning approach to support the activities of a group experiencing marginalisation, and to engage with policymakers, civil society, volunteer groups and citizens in each setting.

Framing of project and key findings
This report starts with understanding the significance of the experiences and perceptions of a group from Delft, a township in Cape Town, about their daily experiences of safety and security. It then considers what these experiences show about the structural context of marginalisation, violence and poverty in an urban context and how to build greater accountability. Crucially, this report traces the process of a group articulating how they believe this situation can change and who needs to be involved for meaningful change to happen.

Key findings are:
- There are high levels of violence in Delft and this affects the everyday lives of everyone who lives there.
- There are multiple causes of the forms of violence that are perpetrated in Delft and addressing the complex socio-economic and structural forms of violence are key to reducing physical violence.
- Rather than serving to protect the community from violence, in many instances the police fail to address violence and at times are responsible for violence against members of the community. Mistrust of the police is widely felt in Delft.
- Police corruption and brutality are rife and urgently need to be addressed.
- Existing structures intended to support or oversee the work of the police, such as community policing forums, are often ineffective and prone to corruption.
- In the absence of effective and trustworthy police services and a functional criminal justice system, communities resort to taking the law into their own hands. This can have dire consequences and can lead to innocent people being injured or killed.
- There is a lack of legitimate political leadership at the local and national levels.
- There is an urgent need for youth-led development and for the voices of young people to be heard and respected.
- The issues of crime, violence and corruption have to be carefully addressed at the local level in order to reduce the risks for participants in interventions like this one who are seeking to reduce violence in their communities.
- The use of participatory visual methodologies can provide a powerful way to understand the issues facing people in communities with high levels of violence, can empower people to develop ways to express and overcome traumatic experiences and to take action to change their circumstances. The stories told in this way, and in particular the video pieces that are created through the process, can be powerful advocacy tools.

How to navigate this report
This report describes a participatory research process facilitated by the Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation (SLF) in 2016. The SLF team worked in partnership with members of the Delft Safety Group. The report provides a way to understand the challenges people are facing every day in urban township settings in South Africa with regards to safety and security, violence, corruption and the police.

Key:
- Introduction
  The Introduction provides an Executive Summary of the report. It also describes the context of Delft and includes personal stories of three people who live there and who participated in the research process.
- Findings
  The Findings appear on the left hand side of the report with headings and subheadings written in red font. This section provides a detailed analysis of the research process and includes recommendations for building participatory accountability, based on the reflections and learning of the research team.
- Methodology
  The methods and process we used in this project and in our workshops can be read on the right hand pages of the report, running alongside the findings and recommendations. Headings and subheadings are written in blue font. This section contains descriptions of the stories and films produced by all members of the Delft Safety Group and also includes drawings and photographs of story-worlds created by the research participants.

All quotes are from Delft Safety Group members and are not attributed individually to protect anonymity.
**Delft Lives Matter**

In the post-1994 (post-apartheid) settlement of Delft, in Cape Town, there are deep frustrations. More than 20 years after the end of apartheid, exclusion runs deep. In Delft, which is a ‘mixed-race area’ in the categories of apartheid, levels of violence have reached epidemic proportions. Research conducted by SLF with the Delft Neighbourhood Watch between 2014 and 2018 used smart phones to monitor crime. The Neighbourhood Watch members reported 510 serious crime incidents including 30 cases of murder over only 6 months in 2015, in a population of 43,000 in Delft South. Currently gang-related violence and violence perpetrated by the police is on the rise, alongside very high levels of interpersonal and intimate partner violence. In August 2018 alone, there were 31 murders in Delft South. Community activists and police officers are being threatened and targeted. Gangs are targeting even younger children for membership. These acts of violence occur within a wider system of profound insecurity and uncertainty: opportunities for formal employment are low (over 43% of working age persons above 15 are unemployed), and political parties mainly operate through racially segregated patronage and populist strategies that leave post-election hangovers without doing much to improve conditions. This social and economic exclusion sits alongside an invisibility of Delft in the media and public discourse. When people die in Delft, most people in Cape Town just don’t hear about it.

**Neighbourhood Watch**

There are a variety of Neighbourhood Watches in Delft. Some are militarised and have been actively joining in police patrols while others take a position of ‘observe and report’. Some members of this action learning process have been part of the Neighbourhood Watch (NW) for 20 years. From their perspective, it has been difficult to prevent the militarisation of components of the NW, to stop corruption within the NW and the police, and to maintain the integrity of their role as observers. Young people are also not represented in the Neighbourhood Watches and have been targeted by some elements of the Neighbourhood Watch.
INTRODUCTION • STORIES FROM DELFT

Stories from Delft

The three stories that appear below are part of the group of eleven stories told by the Delft Safety Group in March 2016. The images are from their short films: some are their own drawings and some are photographs of their storyworlds.

We choose these three stories because they illustrate what it is like to live in Delft with violence everywhere, the ways that the pervasiveness of violence is fundamentally important to how to improve accountability, and the entrenched complexities of the relationship between violence, police and justice at the local level in Delft. This report starts with these stories because of the importance that we think that stories like these should have in how to improve the monitoring and accountability of the Sustainable Development Goals. The stories are represented here through some of the words and images, but please watch the stories as told by the storyteller here: vimeo.com/sustainablelivelihoods

'The community is the real force of justice.'

The South African policy context for safer and inclusive cities

Within South Africa, the issue of safety and violence prevention is politically contentious. From 2011-2013 there were numerous instances of vigilante murders in Khayelitsha and many suspected criminals were burnt to death, often by necklacing. The Commission was largely a response to the calls of social justice organisations (particularly the Social Justice Coalition) and members of the community who were calling for increased and improved policing. In 2014 there was a major episode of civil unrest and protest across multiple townships in Cape Town, specifically on the issue of police violence and corruption. All of this pressured the Provincial government into creating a Commission of Inquiry into the breakdown of police-township relations in Khayelitsha, the largest township in Cape Town.

The findings of the Commission point to the extremely low levels of trust between township citizens and the police; high levels of corruption; and inadequate resources for effective policing. ‘Police Performance Charts’ in particular provide a perverse incentive for not recording or downgrading reported crimes, a practice reported all over the country. This can be associated with crime reporting rates dropping in recent years. For sexual offences, Africacheck has estimated that only one in thirteen cases is reported. The National Victims of Crime Survey results show that the proportion of rape victims who report having been raped to the police decreased by 21% between 2011 and 2014. In sum, the Commission found that the police are often the source of insecurity within the context of the township. There is little to no citizen accountability over the police, despite constitutionally mandated oversight. The South African National Action Plan for 2016 for the Open Government Partnership has placed citizen-based monitoring of police as a key policy commitment. At the same time, the national government has reneged on a commitment to create a National Strategic Plan (NSP) for gender-based violence. Despite a public commitment to create the NSP, following a reshuffle of the cabinet after the national elections in 2018, the newly-appointed Minister for Women has refused to follow through on commitments to work with civil society organisations to develop a NSP.

Despite the importance of the issues of security across the country, and particularly in urban settlements, it is clear that there are major weaknesses in the policy frameworks at multiple levels. There are conflicting approaches; most policies do not address or recognise that there are signs that confidence in police is sorely lacking; there is an overall lack of funding; evaluation and monitoring of programmes is non-existent or not sufficient; and training of health care and police service staff to deal with different forms of violence appropriately is absent from policy. Finally, in spite of earlier commitments, there is a lack of effective preventative measures.

Sources:
"On the way to Belhar to go buy drugs... Suddenly, someone grabs me around my neck. Shocked - My body shakes. My mouth went dry so that I couldn’t swallow, talk or scream.

I tried to get loose, but the person assaulted me with an object. Repeatedly hitting me against the head, with this object. He then said, ‘hello, shut your mouth and stand still you!’ I start feeling a warm feeling, flowing down my face. I stabbed him back, or cut him, just to defend myself.

It was then, that I could free myself. I managed to kick off my flipflops, and to start running. And in that moment, I wet myself. I was frightened, and couldn’t believe that this was happening to me. I ran straight home. And only discovered my injuries at home, feeling the pain.

I realize today, that that young guy didn't want to mug me. He didn't even look through my pockets, or asked for money or for a phone.

I didn’t even waste my energy to go to the police. Because that wouldn’t have helped.”
When I got home that night after work, my youngest son told me that while they were out, one of our neighbour's children had lured him away and did something to him that was very sore. I could see the hurt and confusion on his face. He did not understand what had happened to him. A visit to the hospital a few hours later confirmed penetration. My 6 year old son had been sexually molested. All anger came to me. I thought of the impact that this was going to make on my family. I tasted salt in my mouth and I realized I was crying in silence. ...the boy that hurt my son was with his parents and I could see the fear in his eyes when the officer arrested him and put him into the cells. He was 18. The next day, the judge at Bellville court said that there was no evidence to proceed.

When I heard I felt furious and heartbroken and I wanted to shout from where I was sitting. At that moment I wanted to leave Delft, but my life was there. My youngest son went for counselling at ChildLine. I never thought what happened would affect the older boy. Mostly I blamed myself for leaving them alone... within a few months he had turned to drugs... Maybe that was his only way of coping. Years went by when it really hit me that I never dealt with the pain of my son being molested. We always avoided the boy who did it. I wanted justice so that something good can come out of what happened to my son. But the truth is that the justice system failed me, and now we just have to carry on.”
In 2012, a young girl was raped. I was walking on the road and saw a guy full of blood. I got him, I asked: why are you full of blood? He said he was in an accident – I asked for proof – he didn’t have it. I walked with him, I told him I can’t let you go at all because you don’t have proof. I asked to lock him in my friend’s garage. We locked him in the garage and I called the police. The reason I locked him in the garage, it’s because the community members were slowly coming.

The police van came and they put him in the van. I went to my house and the community members followed me. They asked me why did you let a guy that raped a child go into a police van? I said where is the proof that says he raped? I don’t have a proof. These women said I am a pimp and I am the one who sent this guy to rape. I was scared. I was very scared. My grandchildren will say their grandmother is killed by community members. I thought of my brother – he was killed by community members. He didn’t do anything.

In 1997, my brother was killed. I was scared, very scared. We eventually went to court a month after the girl passed away. After 3 months the guy was released and free. The community came back to me saying I am the one who sent that guy to come and rape because he is now released. “

Dorina’s story is about when she encountered a man who she suspected of having raped and murdered a young girl in Delft. She and a friend tried to get the police to come and arrest him, but while they were waiting, a mob formed. Her own brother was killed by a bundu court, and she feared a similar fate for the man and herself. Eventually the police came to arrest the man, and she was left alone to face the mob. She managed to escape. The man was eventually cleared of charges due to lack of evidence, and Dorina was blamed by others in Delft for his release. This event took place in an area of Delft known as the bush of evil where many incidents of murder and rape have occurred.

Watch the story
Findings

Methodology
FINDINGS METHODOLOGY

Perceptions about insecurity

What it is like to live in Delft
This pilot highlights that the experience of living in Delft is often characterised by emotions of fear, helplessness, hopelessness, and a sense of injustice. Violence is pervasive and an everyday occurrence leading to profound insecurity. Insecurity is also connected to experiences of violation of the personal (of people’s private space, and their bodies). The instances of violence catalogued through this project point to the high and increasing levels of brutality and severity of violence in Delft.

‘Violence is everywhere. The violence involves everyone.’

The pervasiveness and severity of violence is combined with a high level of unpredictability. Violence can happen at any time of the day or night, on the street, in schools, at the shops: there are no safe spaces. This unpredictability leads to a lack of trust in people and institutions. This situation disproportionately affects children and young people. Young children are at risk of violent crime and young people are more vulnerable to violence. Friends, family, police, community leaders, and even within the SLF research process. Gender norms, including expectations about the roles of men and women, also inform how people experience violence. In the context of South Africa, historically constructed categories of race, and the spatial segregation of apartheid also inform daily life and the experience of exclusion/inclusion and of insecurity.

Who is responsible for violence
There are blurred lines around who is responsible for violence, which further exacerbates the unpredictability and resulting lack of trust. The police play a central role in the dynamics of violence in Delft: in carrying out violence themselves, but also in being absent/failing to intervene to stop it.

At the same time, some people in Delft still look to the police to respond to violence. Gangs can provide a form of security, but are also responsible for shootings. Those closest to you can be the source of violence too. For young people, friends can become gang members, a boyfriend or a girlfriend can become involved in the gangs, and then the violence spills over. Soeraya’s story, for example, shows how a neighbour can be responsible for violent abuse of your child. These organised examples of violence are not separate from intimate and personal forms of violence. For example, Dorina’s story shows the connections between rape of a child, a bundu court and the failure of the police to protect her from mob justice. ‘Bundu courts’ are informal trials held in response to an act or crime in the township, in which decisions about guilt and punishment are carried out by consensus and enforced immediately. Although they are called ‘courts’, which suggests a form of deliberation and accountability, it is more accurate to describe them as a form of mob justice in which the anger and frustration at the failings of the formal justice system, and the sense of violation of particular

Action-learning and participatory methods for accountability
This pilot used participatory visual methods within an action-learning approach to address particularly sensitive areas of inquiry around the issues of safety, insecurity and accountability in the township of Delft. For this pilot, the definition of an action learning approach is one in which researchers and residents co-construct understanding about the significance of the daily experiences in Delft. Through repeated cycles of iteration, expression, and reflection, the group articulates and experiments with the ways in which they can collectively address problems in their community, with a particular focus on addressing violence. This process had a strong visual component at every stage. Taking a visual approach can surface forms of knowledge not accessed easily through text-based forms of research. The visual helps to illuminate and amplify a nuanced understanding of people’s experiences. We worked with visual methods to allow people from Delft to illustrate their daily realities, the ways in which their lives are connected, and the dynamics at play in the place where they live. Creative and visual techniques allowed participants to express ideas about what needs to change, why and how, through stories. The methods we have used (which are described in more detail below) have provided novel insights into different perspectives on safety, insecurity and accountability, at both individual and collective levels.

Participants engaged in a research process that included personal storytelling, collective visual power analysis, collaborative narrative-based filmmaking, and dialogue and debate with government institutions. The main goal of this pilot is to foster citizen engagement with government actors at different levels, in order to inform policies on security in the township and increase accountability. Despite existing formal accountability mechanisms, accountability for safety in Delft is weak. This pilot focused on the deep exploration and description of possible new informal mechanisms for increasing accountability, which can be closely connected to formal processes. These methods can contribute to participatory accountability because they facilitate a) dialogic and relational forms of accountability, and b) the political mobilisation which changes system dynamics to enable shifts in relationships of power. This process demonstrated how a growing capacity to legitimately represent issues in their community in an important step towards accountability for people from the margins. With this action comes risk, which needs to be analysed by the groups in their own research process.

Methods used
This pilot used a layered approach to creative, participatory processes that bring people’s experiences and their ideas for change to life. These methods use technology to articulate and amplify these experiences and ideas, so that people can use their stories and films to initiate new conversations, dialogue and debate on accountability. In this pilot, these two processes were linked by a visual analysis of power within individual, personal stories, and were situated in an action-learning framework.

Personal storytelling for transformation
Personal storytelling for transformation (PST) is a method that operates simultaneously on
social norms (such as the rape and murder of a child) come together very quickly with often violent punishment of suspected perpetrators.

A key driver of violence in Delft identified through this project is the relationship between gangs and the police. The perceived hypocrisy of the police with regard to their use of violence significantly undermines trust in the police within Delft, and contributes to the sense of confusion and insecurity described above.

What these stories tell us about citizens’ expectations of the state
In terms of security, perceptions of the police have the biggest influence on citizens’ expectations of the role of the state. When people in Delft are desperate, they will still try to access police services even though they do not have trust in the police, and there is a general sense that the police services are not to be depended upon. Everyone has a negative experience with the police to recount. Yet the police are still clearly expected to make Delft safer. Younger people are more wary of the police and less likely to call upon them than adults.

Citizens also expect a response from their own community to situations of insecurity and violence. This can involve neighbours, organised groups like the Neighbourhood Watch, and more spontaneous groups like the bundu courts.

While the Delft Safety Group acknowledges that sometimes neighbours need to respond in situations of extreme violence, they also very clearly believe that it should be the police or other government services who should be accountable for addressing violence and its consequences. This dilemma relates to the impossible choices people in Delft face: while their experience shows that they cannot rely on the police for protection, they still expect the police to make them safer.

3 levels: the personal, the collective and the social. Within a group context, the PST process invites participants to explore an experience of deep significance in their personal lives through reflective and creative techniques. The methodology enables participants to recall and share their experiences safely in a group setting with other participants whose lives have been affected by the same social issue or issues, and to craft these experiences into powerful short-form stories.

Collective visual power analysis
This method involves people in a visual analysis of their own stories, using power as a lens to disaggregate their story and understand why things happened. Interrogation of the authority or powerlessness of characters in stories developed through a PST approach facilitates an understanding within the group of storytellers about forms and dimensions of power based on Gaventa’s categories of power. The visual analysis process enables participants to see shifts in power within their stories and to reflect upon what thoughts, actions or inactions caused those shifts to happen. Considering the individual stories in this way creates the basis for a collective analysis of the connections between personal experiences, the structural drivers behind the problem being addressed and the dynamics of accountability. Finally, interrogating these connections opens the possibility for thinking through grounded potential solutions.

Collaborative narrative-based filmmaking
This method allows people and groups to visually communicate their perspectives and positions using compelling narratives in film. The process is intended to enable people to take action towards solving the problems they face, by communicating their perspectives to decision-makers, their communities, their families and the wider public. It is an iterative, creative process in which the group develops every aspect of the film together over an extended period of time.

Photo from Mbali’s story showing her escape from the perpetrators. Young people are more vulnerable to insecurity.

Safety Group members assisting one another in learning video technology for their films.
help, the more responsibility they take for addressing violence, the more this undermines the accountability of the government in providing security. Community-led responses to violence are complicated in terms of their implications for accountability. In some cases, community responses to violence can ‘let the police off the hook’, while in other circumstances they can focus attention on holding the police to account. Other aspects of the state became visible through this process, including the locally-elected ward councillors, schools, and social workers. The films and the stories point to the multiple and mutually reinforcing failures of accountability in Delft, at both everyday and episodic levels. While the issues with the police are at the fore in terms of insecurity, exclusion is deepened by the rejection of children and young people from school, the lack of responsiveness/corruption of locally-elected officials, and the lack of adequate support or resources from social workers. In the analysis of the group, the most important issues in Delft in terms of accountability are police corruption and brutality, the lack of legitimate political leadership at the local and national levels, and the need for youth-led development. The stories and films show how these three issues are interwoven in people’s daily lives, and the difficulty in addressing these issues in isolation.

**Impossible choices**

This situation of insecurity presents people with impossible choices. The uncertainty and confusion about who is involved in crime and violence and who can be expected to provide protection leads to confusion about what is happening and how to address it. As shown by the film ‘Being Young in Delft’, young people find themselves with no food, no jobs, no alternatives, and drugs all around them. Young people can face an impossible choice between joining a gang and going hungry. Individual responses to this situation that emerged through this project include a turn to idealised versions of life and people, self-isolation, using violence to retaliate or for protection, and ‘taking the law into your own hands’. Leaving Delft is often not an option due to the financial costs of moving, but also because of the acute housing shortages that exist in Cape Town.

Community networks, such as the Neighbourhood Watch can offer both a sense of security and be a force to be feared, depending on your position in the community. For example, many young people are not sure if they should trust the Neighbourhood Watch, as some factions of the Neighbourhood Watch have used violence to specifically target young people who were hanging out in a park. At the same time, other elements of the Neighbourhood Watch have assumed a position of ‘observing and reporting’ and refuse to use violence to intervene. There is a strong perception that community interventions to stop violence are required in the absence of reliable formal systems of justice, even though the outcomes of community justice are decidedly mixed. Neither the police or community structures offer guarantees for dealing with insecurity and violence and residents in Delft are often ‘In Delft South it’s more of a territory. The Terribles are just shooting randomly, taking over the whole of the Western Cape. All the information is given [to the police]. Where the shipments are, the guns, but they don’t attend to any of that stuff... We are all saying the same thing as the community members, we are fighting a losing battle.’
Youth in safety group practicing their movie: Being Young in Delft. The main character is standing with a sign reading: “No Job. Grade 11”.

faced with an impossible choice between the two. Neighbourhood Watch members trying to uphold the justice system can face mob justice when other community members take out their frustration with the failures of the formal justice system on them, as in Dorina’s story.

Soeraya’s story also illustrates how the lack of accountability in one (terrible) incident impacts on the lives of many, and for many years. A failure of accountability in this case on the part of the police and the justice system exposes the links between safety, health, wellbeing and also to education and employment.

‘I didn’t want to join the gangs, but then I didn’t have other options. I was hungry and I needed something to eat.’

Key steps in our process

Step 1
Forming the Delft Safety Group

Step 2
Personal Storytelling for Transformation Workshop

Step 3
Collective Power Analysis Workshop

Step 4
Collaborative Narrative-based Film-Making

Step 5
Collective Analysis and Report Writing

Step 6
Collective Action and Engagement Events
‘You may have a call to talk out by community - but they will not speak out the truth because the police are absolutely involved [with the gangsters]. If you speak out the police will turn on you and you will be at the brunt end of it.’

Conclusions
Understanding the experiences of insecurity in Delft is important in that it shows what an appropriate version of safety for Delft and other contexts like Delft could look like. There is a fine line between vigilantism and ‘community-led security’, which is often crossed. The lack of an accountable and effective police force pushes the response to violence into community-led responses, which are unpredictable in their intent and outcomes. In policy terms, there is also an oversimplification of the reality that does not recognise the intersections of and complex cycles of violence and victimhood that people in Delft face.

Implications for accountability
• The lack of trust in the police and corruption at the local and national levels in political leadership is leading to more general lack of trust in government. Participatory accountability processes require addressing the need to build trust between different groups at the local level (including with national government representatives). Building trust in this context requires a long-term commitment and will not be achieved through one-off episodic forms of participation (like a consultation for a safety plan).
• There is a need to channel the commitment at the community level to addressing insecurity into building a better police force and constructing the basis for more accountable political leadership. Within this action learning process, some steps have been taken towards constructing the basis for an inclusive collective position on security, but much more is needed to sustain this process.
  • The underlying problems in Delft are wider than a lack of accountability. The pervasive violence, insecurity and deep and multiple overlapping forms of exclusion are accompanied by rising trends of vigilantism and gang-control. Attempts to address accountability and increase safety in line with the SDGs must first consider the implications of this context and the risks of government or other outside initiatives in contributing to the problem by exacerbating corruption.

Iovane (Chameleon)
Author: Dorina Priscilla Mcentee
Dorina is a community safety leader and she tells of a traumatic incident where she tried to provide justice to a boy believed to have raped a girl in her neighbourhood. She wanted to give him a fair trial with the police instead of an angry and unforgiving mob of community members. Her own brother was killed by angry community members and she feared a similar fate for the boy. Instead, the girl died and the community’s anger intensified, leaving her vulnerable and fearful for her own life.

3 Broken hearts
Author: Soeraya Davids
Soeraya’s story relates how she was confronted by her youngest child’s rape, the lack of justice/accountability as her family was forced to live with the perpetrator in their neighbourhood for years on end and her older son’s ongoing substance use, which began as he felt responsible for the incident.

Who’s fooling who?
Author: Kooslem Ismail
Koolsem’s story focuses on how she tried to hide in her cupboard when three men try to break into her home in the middle of the night. She calls the police for help but to no avail and further inquiry proves futile. She joins the community watch forum in an effort to make Delft a safer place for everyone.

The truth about Delft, the place I called home
Author: Mbalonkile Nzingane
Mbalo moved to Delft after being robbed hoping to start a new life. On a walk home one afternoon she and a friend are robbed in broad daylight. Traumatised, she now lives with a watchful eye at every hour of the day.

Fear
Author: Nwabisa Mengezoleli
Nwabisa’s close friend is stabbed to death by a group of gang members causing her to question his affiliations. She struggles to associate him with gangsters as he was a kind friend and is haunted by the memory of him on street corners where they would greet.

My Nagmerie kom waar!
(My nightmare becomes reality!)
Author: Jacqui Adams
Jacqui, a young Delft resident, tells a compelling story of being targeted for murder on a drug run. She was able to fight back and free herself, yet continues to be affected by the incident.

My Hartbreken storie oor my familie.
(My Heartbroken story about my family)
Author: Peter Prinscens
Peter is summoned home to discover his family has been violently attacked. His wife was held at gunpoint and his son required hospitalisation. The police were unresponsive to his calls until he threatened to take the law into his own hands. Nonetheless, the suspect identified by his children was released and he became disillusioned with the police and any hope for accountability.

SAPS Fails our community
Author: Amien Fakier (with story analysis by Farida Rykleb)
Amien tells a story of his children being attacked by gangsters. In the absence of police support and fuelled by blind rage, he violently confronts the gangsters. He attempted many times to get help or an answer from the police, hoping that his 20 years of volunteering with them would mean something. Instead he lost energy and faith in the police.
The Sustainable Development Goals in focus in Delft

The Sustainable Development Goals include targets on the city, and on security, resilience and preventing violence, particularly against women and girls:

**Goal 5**
Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls

**Target 5.2** To eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation

**Goal 11**
Make cities and human settlements safe, resilient and sustainable

**Goal 16**
Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all, and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.

**Targets**
16.1 Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere
16.8 Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms
16.6 Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels
16.7 Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels

This project shows the importance of how the goals and targets intersect with one another in terms of real experiences of marginalisation and insecurity in cities. In practice, the recognition of the intersections between the goals will be important for their successful implementation, as complex social problems like gender-based violence in South African cities cannot be addressed in isolation from other issues.

Any clashes between a global policy commitment to the goals, and the national and local policy context in South Africa is likely to make it more difficult for highly marginalised citizens from townships to hold their government to account. The findings from Delft raise questions about how the global framework will be translated in real terms into specific national contexts. Because citizens must navigate the local and national policy spaces in order to make claims for greater accountability, there are important considerations arising from this context for the global framework.

The pilot is part of a global project that is aligned with the ‘leave no one behind’ framing of the SDGs, with a focus on SDG16 as a gateway goal. Learning from these processes will be collectively analysed and synthesized in a global report. These outputs will contribute to United Nations discussions on the monitoring and implementation of the SDGs.

Crime in our community
**Author:** Phumelelo Mngomezulu
Phumelelo is violently assaulted and robbed on his way to work early in the morning. He was alone and had no help from anyone, neither the police nor the community policing forum was around to help leaving him to feel unsafe in his neighbourhood.

Police brutality
**Author:** Manelisi Tutuka
Upon graduation from high school, Manelisi jubilantly returns home. Unprovoked, police assault him on his walk causing him to lose his front teeth. He is turned away by police officers when he tries to report the assault causing him to feel vulnerable and unprotected.

Wonderful
**Author:** Sibu Tutuka
Sibu is a young boy who is orphaned and lives with his elder brothers. In their pursuit of drugs he is uncared for and goes hungry. He longs for stability and is finally taken in by his grandparents, giving him relief and the opportunity to be a “good boy”.

Torture house!
**Author:** Tashwell Denton
Tashwill is a young man who finds his sister being kidnapped by a gang member in his home. He struggles to get assistance as police are not available.

Being young in Delft
**Author:** Delft Safety Group members
This film, created by young people from the Delft Safety group, uses a single character to depict the often unsurmountable challenges that young people in Delft are confronted with. She is faced with poverty, violence, corruption, school exclusion and finds herself with no other option but to join a local gang to meet her material needs. Through the gang, she gets caught up in an armed robbery that goes wrong and she goes to prison. The film concludes with calls to action from the youth detailing the support they envision from government and their own community.

Gangsters in uniform
**Author:** Delft Safety Group members
This film shows the corruption that ordinary Delft citizens are increasingly powerless to overcome. Gangsters trade on street corners and police officers are bribed away - and the distinction between the two is blurred. The film concludes with a call for transformation of the police in Delft, including a commission of inquiry into the Delft police force.
The Sustainable Development Goals in Context

The SDGs are an ambitious set of goals, and constitute the first global development framework. While this is an improvement on some of the shortcomings of the Millennium Development Goals, which were less holistic and did not apply to ‘developed’ countries, there is now a major challenge in how to monitor the implementation of the goals. Processes of accountability for the implementation of the SDGs are essential to their success, but must be relevant at the local and national levels. Given the number of goals (17) and targets (in the hundreds), monitoring implementation is a major challenge.

The issue of safety in the city is a good test case for how accountability at a localised level is needed to reach the SDGs. Issues of security within townships and informal settlements cut across and affect all aspects of people’s lives, in their homes, on the streets, for young and old. These everyday experiences also encompass interactions (or lack thereof) with the state, and in far too many instances citizens’ rights are undermined. The findings from Delft point to the importance of surfacing and exploring these grounded realities in terms of understanding how to structure and design processes of monitoring and accountability that interweave the SDGs with local, national government processes. One aspect of the challenge around implementation is data collection about progress towards the goals. The existing model of data collection relies on national statistics offices. While important, statistical data collection does not involve people in holding authorities or global funds to account, and is weak in terms of how it contributes to greater accountability. In addition, for some of the most complex and pressing social issues facing South Africa, existing data sets are not sufficient to understand the problem or the possible solutions. The existing data sets reinforce silences and gaps, especially the perspectives of the most marginalised. People on the margins are often not fully represented through civil society organisations or other formal mechanisms, and have perspectives on problems and their causes that are difficult to capture through surveys. For example, research on violence shows how people refuse to answer or misdirect responses about sensitive issues such as who is responsible for violence in their communities.

Most of the decisions about resource allocation, programming, and policy directions for the implementation of the SDGs are still being made in isolation in capital cities, or by agencies in New York. There are large gaps between what is happening at the local level, where the real possibilities lie for meeting the goals, and the processes in place for monitoring progress. Not enough has been done, in the South African context in relation to the SDGs, to ensure the link between monitoring and increased accountability. Accountability requires shifts in relationships of power that incorporate both answerability and enforceability between citizens and government institutions.

Gangsters in uniform

Gangsters in Uniform, a collaborative film by the Delft Safety group, highlights everyday challenges faced by ordinary South African citizens and the major shortcomings when dealing with the police, whose single most important task should be to keep their communities safe, prevent crime from happening and support citizens in their time of need. A key theme highlighted throughout the film is how deeply corruption has taken hold in Delft, with many police officers participating in the local drug economy and with clear connections made between them, who are meant to uphold the law, and those who break it. These relationships are most often fuelled by greed and the quest for monetary gain. The film illustrates how easy it is for innocent people to be brought into harm’s way when police officials abuse their civic duties and impose power over South African citizens without showing any remorse or concern for consequence.

The subsequent impact this has had on communities has resulted in a situation where police are now feared more than gangsters who ride through the streets of Delft wielding guns in broad daylight. All that remains is to rally to each other’s side in a desperate attempt to present a united front against both the violent force from gangsters and corrupt force from South African cops.

Fear of the police is a very real thing in Delft and community members who stand up against the police are often met with the impossible choice of not knowing exactly who they can trust, while simultaneously holding onto hope that there remains someone trustworthy to whom they can turn to. For people living in Delft, these untouchable gangsters in uniform pose the biggest threat to civil liberty, to their freedom, and in so doing, represent an oppression that turns back the clock in our country by at least 50 years.
Defining accountability

**Accountability** describes the rights and responsibilities that exist between people and the institutions that affect their lives, including government, civil society and the private sector. The concepts of answerability and enforceability are key to accountability. **Answerability** means that power holders and decision makers are available to give clear and acceptable explanations for their actions or inactions, and take responsibility for them. **Enforceability** means that citizens can ensure that promises and policies are acted on, and that poor performance or abuse of power are punished. In contexts where there is a loss of trust between government and citizens, where relationships are distorted through corruption this can undermine accountability and the exercise of citizenship as a right to rights.

This pilot shows the possibilities for participatory accountability, which includes social accountability processes, but extends beyond these to include more everyday forms of accountability. The concept of participatory accountability begins with the process of bringing people together to combat a profound sense of isolation and marginalisation, and to build recognition, belief in one’s self and power within at a personal level alongside a sense of dignity and rights. Attention to this personal dimension of accountability is the starting point for building the foundations for collective action towards accountability. Our definition of participatory accountability includes both episodic forms of participation for accountability (such as Community Policing Forums, elections, and ward committees), as well as everyday forms of participation for accountability (such as everyday interaction with police and government officials).

Central to participatory accountability is an opening up of the political space and better governance and increased responsiveness of governance actors reflecting shifts in power towards marginalised groups across both episodic and everyday encounters with the state and other powerholders. This report considers how everyday and episodic forms of participation for accountability interact and ultimately influence the outcomes of accountability processes for people on the margins.

Further aspects of participatory accountability include:

- A focus on the holistic and positive outcomes for individuals and groups living on the margins, recognising the importance of the intersecting nature of issues in daily life
- A concern with recognition of people’s identity and rights as well as meeting their basic needs, with attention to the importance of the intersectionality of inequalities (including gender, age, national origin, sexuality, historically constructed racial categories, and geographic location)
- An articulation of accountability as both a right and a claim. It is a necessary process and also an outcome.
- Recognition of the importance of an enabling environment (e.g. basic civil and economic rights)

If only we had better opportunities in our communities, we wouldn't have been here [in prison].

Social accountability approaches use different participatory mechanisms (such as community scorecards, citizen report cards, citizen juries, and participatory budgeting) within an institutional context (such as local government, state clinics, government schools, etc.) to address the quality of service-delivery and access to rights. There has been substantial discussion about the potential contribution of social accountability approaches as well as a growing critique of the relevance and applicability in different contexts.

Participatory accountability goes beyond social accountability: it is multidimensional and built on iterative relationships. It recognises the importance of context in the outcomes of accountability; and it assumes a non-linear dynamic process, which can include reversals in accountability outcomes; and it focuses on the complex power relations at play and help strengthen accountabilities to highly marginalised people in townships on the issues of security.

The findings in this report contribute to improving approaches for monitoring for accountability by:

1. Presenting clear and compelling evidence about how issues of safety and security matter in terms of the SDGs, showing how factors are limiting or enhancing accountability related to these issues, and showcasing concrete ideas grounded in real life experiences about how new and better forms of accountability can be built.
2. Show how to build accountability in a context of insecurity by piloting an action-learning process with a strong creative and visual component. Elements or components of this process can be used to inform the design of accountability processes in other contexts and at scale.

Findings are organised according to:
1. Perceptions about the extent and nature of insecurity and safety from community leaders, young people, members of Community Policing Forum; and, how these experiences shape the expectations of people around their roles as citizens and of the state.
2. The factors limiting government accountability, including that of the police, locally elected officials, the community policing forum, and provincial and national government bodies, on the issues of safety and security, and the processes/relations of power that are in place and what is limiting or reinforcing them.
3. Concrete proposals of processes, mechanisms or structures can respond to the complex power relations at play and help strengthen accountabilities to highly marginalised people in townships on the issues of security.

These findings are based on a collaborative analysis with the Delft Safety Group, and within SLF. The analysis draws on:
1. 12 personal stories (short films) about their experiences of insecurity/safety in Delft, told through an in-depth collaborative and creative processes.
2. Collective visual power analysis by the storytellers of their own stories.
3. 2 films produced by the group through a collaborative film-making process, strongly linked to an action-learning approach.
4. Transcripts of our workshops and engagements at every stage of the process and debriefing notes.

This section of the report describes how the action learning and action research process can support mechanisms and processes of participatory accountability in the context of Delft. This section illustrates how specific components of the process and methodology can contribute to building capacity for citizens to call for answerability and enforceability in relation to community safety in an urban setting.

Entry points
Finding the right entry point for action-learning processes and building accountability is not straightforward. The pre-existing and ongoing commitment of many of the Delft participants to the accountability issue being addressed provided a strong basis for initiating the research process in South Africa. This entry point was further strengthened by the group’s familiarity with SLF and members of the facilitation team. Some members of the group have known researchers at SLF for several years. The in-depth understanding of the context of Delft allowed us as researchers to carefully navigate the many factions controlling different aspects of the CPF, the NW, and other civic organizations in Delft.

The implications for accountability are that if the government wants to undertake an initiative to involve people in Delft in monitoring services, developing plans and priorities, or holding the police to account, the entry point for these initiatives is extremely important. Affiliation to a particular faction or group (political, criminal, etc.) will determine the ultimate legitimacy and possible efficacy of any initiative.

Inclusion
Seven of the Delft Safety Group participants – six of whom were members of the youth group – had not previously worked with SLF or been involved in community activism when they first joined the project. Young people in South Africa face specific barriers to participating in citizen action as they are mainly concerned with finishing school and trying to get jobs. However the daily lives of the youth who joined the action-learning process were being significantly impacted by drugs, violence and corruption and they each had a determined and vested interest in confronting and addressing these issues.

We worked with role-play methods at multiple stages in the both the personal storytelling workshop and during the development of the collective videos. When given the space to dramatize scenes and scenarios, participants came up with creative and convincing ways to present their ideas. Throughout the project process, the older group members tended to dominate discussions and much of the time the younger participants struggled to make an equal contribution to the conversations.

This dynamic aligns with cultural norms in South African society. Working with a range of different methods and techniques including drama, drawing, photography and film provided an opening for the younger group. It gave them the courage to shape and articulate their perspectives, and a platform to convey their suggested solutions for change, which would in turn spur on the older members of the group.
'It] can sometimes be very overwhelming, to think about how you can change things, because you see in the stories and maps how bad the situation is. You can really hold onto what you can do by having it in a drama. Acting it out makes people feel like there is a possibility. And it shows things which may not come out when just using words.'

Although the dynamics of the process were challenging and sometimes became competitive because of the multiple personalities involved and differences in race, age, and language abilities, there was an increasing sense over the course of the project that the entire group is committed to acting collectively. Having different ages and racial groups coming together was a significant and important step forward. The implications of this for accountability initiatives is to consider carefully the persistence of intersecting exclusions, and to recognise that people live this exclusion in very real and embodied ways. Holding a once-off process, with episodic encounters is not enough to shift the deeply embedded forms of exclusion at work. A starting point for increasing inclusion must be to acknowledge the ways that people have been and are excluded and to offer ways of redressing this.

Articulating positions
The twelve personal stories that were told through this project were the outcome of an intensive workshop process involving an array of interactive, visual exercises. All of the stories refer to experiences of terrible violence and moments of profound insecurity and fear. The approach that was followed in the personal storytelling process enabled the content of each story to be highly personalized, and distinct.

The telling of these stories highlighted blockages in the accountability process. They shed light on what needs to be addressed in order to improve security and safety in Delft and what kinds of expectations citizens have of their government.

SLF facilitator:
Do you think your message is there in your story? What you wanted to get out?

Delft Safety Group member:
I think the message is clear because the police brutality is something happening on a daily basis in Delft.

The method of building a model of a key moment in the story used during the personal storytelling workshop enabled symbolism and the inclusion of vivid colour, texture, expression and emotion. Creating these detailed scenes helped participants to recognize the wider accountability issue or issues that they wanted to challenge.

There are important implications for accountability from this aspect of the process. While people’s experiences are important in terms of considering how problems can be addressed, it is also a mistake to assume that people will have immediate answers for the problems they face. Instead, attention is needed to how people living on the margins can make sense of their own experiences in order to develop a more insightful and critical analysis of the problems and craft careful and strategic solutions. This is not an instant process, and the tendency towards consultative processes for accountability presumes that positions are clearly established and known. This pilot shows the need to work with people much more closely over time to develop positions.
Factors that limit and/or enhance accountability

The film, ‘Gangsters in Uniform’ follows the story of a corrupt police officer that beats up a man, and the man’s attempts to get justice for his treatment. The man tries unsuccessfully to file a complaint with the police, and to contact his ward councillor. He turns to a community meeting (attended by gangsters) to organise a protest. All of these efforts lead to no effect. The everyday and episodic forms of accountability do not connect or are both corrupted. The film illustrates how difficult it is to address accountability when it comes to safety and security in Delft. It ends with specific suggestions for policy makers about how to improve policing in Delft.

This project shows how both answerability and enforceability are weak in Delft with regards to policing and security issues. Marginalisation and corruption are at the root of the lack of accountability. These findings are based, in large part, on the power analysis conducted by members of the Delft Safety Group of what causes shifts in power in their own stories (see ‘Causes of shifts in power, p52’).

Bringing corruption into focus

A striking finding throughout this process is the extent of the effects of corruption. Corruption filters into the everyday lives of people living in Delft and is a major contributing factor to the erosion of the social fabric and legitimate leadership. What has become very clear is that there are actors within the township that can influence the outcomes of an accountability process through their relationships with other power-holders, but their ethics are often questionable: they may be aligned with gangs, factions of the police or neighbourhood watch using brutal force and extortion, or drug dealers. Those who took part in the research process who are seeking a more accountable form of political leadership and want to see transformation happen are forced to choose: make bargains with those who have the power, or be sidelined and keep hold of their principles.

‘If you are good if you do the right thing, if you want to help your community; then you are seen as bad... If you stand up for others, you are left alone - by yourself and no one will stand by you.’

In the individual stories, many of the storytellers speak about the absence and unresponsiveness of the police when called for in an emergency situation and their disappointment in the South African justice system. The stories also showed that most members of the group have faced some form of reprisal as a result of trying to be involved in changing the context of violence in Delft. A trauma counsellor in the victim empowerment unit of the Delft police station who was involved in supporting the personal storytelling workshop explained how she has been threatened in the process of supporting the research project.

Young people dramatizing the problems and solutions they see in their areas. The yellow sign reads: “WHO CAN MAKE CHANGE IN OUR COMMUNITY??!”

‘I didn’t realise that what we are living with on a daily basis is actually not right. We are dealing with so much out in the community we hardly have time to look after our own things at home in our lives.’

Representation and Legitimate Leadership

Stepping from collective power analysis into video making was a key transition for strengthening accountability within the Delft group. At this point, participants noticed how significant their stance was in creating leverage. Participants were increasingly recognized that their stories and films could provide leverage to represent the struggles and challenges that they and their fellow community members are facing, what they themselves want to do about it and what they want others to do too.
‘The sad part is the police. The community know who it is [but] they are not strong enough to go to the police to say it was this one or that one. Let me give you an example why. This woman’s husband was selling dagga (dope). She went to the police. They got 6 bags of marijuana by her. When the husband came — she said ‘the dagga is gone’.

He went to Khayelitsha to get a lot of people, and they assaulted her. And she has two kids. And they wanted to kill her. She wanted to get away. For almost a week she slept at the police station. Then she went home. He beat her again. They [the police] didn’t protect her. She gave the dagga to them, but they didn’t protect her. Now she is still roaming around.’

course of her work at the station. Through their stories the group convey a strong sense that no one is safe or has any protection in Delft whether they work in close proximity with the police or not.

A serious implication of this work is how carefully the issues of crime, violence and corruption have to be addressed at the local level. During the film-making process there was an enthusiastic discussion about the possibility of holding a meeting in Delft to share the stories and videos with the township community. Although they wanted to engage with their fellow community members about their reasons for joining the pilot and what they had produced through it, the group were not sure how to do this without dangerous repercussions for themselves or the audience members. There is so much violence all around them that their lives are constantly at risk.

The consequences of a lack of trust in the police

‘There is no trust in SAPS because whenever you feed them information, they don’t take it seriously. The community is the eyes and ears of SAPS. To feed them information [about gangsters] is a big risk but we are not there then who is going to protect our family.’ – Inception workshop in Delft

The lack of trust in the police leads to underreporting of crime, particularly with young people. While it is clear that there is a need for whistle-blowing to address corruption within the police, there are very high risks associated with this. Personal investment in assisting the police services is not reciprocated, and can also lead to negative repercussions.

Focus was further sharpened while planning the approach to filming in Delft. Making decisions about where certain scenes should be shot, for example, brought a strong sense of collective identity into the group dynamic. Deciding on roles and responsibilities for the real time film-making was a crucial step in terms of highlighting SLFs accountability to the group as the facilitation role that the research team had played in workshop spaces now extended into supporting the collection of video footage out on the streets in Delft. Collective decision making and the allocation of responsibilities during film-planning also augmented the group’s accountability to their community as leaders and change agents. The action learning process thus created conditions for legitimate and more equitable representation in the call for answerability and enforceability. The approach built a platform which enabled community leaders to move into political roles and fostered increased confidence amongst citizens to voice their experiences and build horizontal citizen networks.

The lack of legitimate leadership and representation is a recurring problem in Delft and other contexts like Delft. This pilot shows how a participatory accountability process can catalyse new leaders and different logics of representation.
Gaps in representation and lack of legitimacy
A key factor limiting accountability is the gap in representation at the local level. To constitute legitimate representation at the grassroots level is difficult for a number of reasons: entrenched patterns of party politics informed by clientelism, the influence of armed actors including the police and gangs, and the daily struggles to survive and to make ends meet for leaders and their families. It is not necessarily the case that grassroots representatives have legitimate political power to speak on behalf of others in their community, and constructing that legitimacy in this context is not easy. For example, the Neighbourhood Watch groups and the CPF have been plagued with internal disputes over leadership and representation, and are questioned in terms of how inclusive they are of different perspectives in Delft.

This project highlights the lack of legitimate leadership within Delft and helps to explain why this is the case. Building more legitimate leadership could enable shifts in accountability, but leaders will have to negotiate the factors limiting accountability including clientelism, threats of violence, and lack of resources. A wider base of collective action that includes young people and has legitimacy and accountability is urgently needed in Delft.

Given the marked lack of trust in the local government and the high levels of corruption in Delft, the potential for participatory accountability processes to strengthen representation and legitimate leadership is significant.

Shifting power relationships between citizens and people in decision-making positions
Collective viewing of the power maps allowed the group to examine patterns of power within their own stories and compare them to the patterns in the other stories. This process enabled participants to step back and consider their experiences through a wider lens; to see from a new perspective where their lives have been affected by power dynamics and gaps in accountability. The collective analysis fostered a heightened awareness and shared understanding among the participant group about how their stories represent the ways in which citizens experience life in Delft.

‘The knowledge I gained here has uplifted me – being here I learnt of the necessary steps, I’ve learnt a lot.’

It made visible the nature of the issue of crime and violence in Delft and demonstrated that the weave of power in the township is complex and tangled – especially as it relates to power that is held by gangs, and the police. It helped to illuminate how change happens through shifts in power, but also how very differently people understand and make use of the concept of power. Considering power relations and control in this way helped the participants to see and understand what makes them feel oppressed and helpless, and what would make them feel stronger and more empowered as citizens. The argument that changing accountabilities is about changing relationships of power is not new. However, this pilot shows how an analysis of power that is connected to people’s lived experiences is able to open up new insights into how to shift entrenched patterns of exclusion by considering power in a holistic way.

Conclusion
This pilot fostered some promising developments through its approach of using visual participatory methods to strengthen accountability. Participants have described their enhanced confidence to speak to others in their community about issues of safety, and their sense of heightened capacity to articulate and represent these issues. The action learning process has helped to build foundations for legitimate representation and has contributed to creating the conditions that are necessary for citizens to make an informed and coherent call for accountability in the context of urban insecurity.

Training in technologically driven participatory visual methods has given the Delft group the courage to try something new in their efforts as community leaders and active citizens in the fight against violence and corruption. Learning about the value that certain types of technology can have for strengthening accountability stimulated interest in, and engagement with, the tools and equipment, even in an older generation. Having access to resources and equipment heightened the sense of agency among the group at a time when they were feeling hopeless and helpless. It also fostered a new sense of responsibility to themselves and their fellow community members to keep trying.

Technologically enabled forms of communication – such as digitized stories and video/films - have credibility and can therefore provide a strong platform for participatory accountability. Stories and films that are made through participatory processes reflect real life situations that resonate with wide and diverse audiences, and because of their recongnizable authenticity they can be convincing and earn the trust of government officials, even when those decision and policy makers are situated in formal institutions.

An image from Amon’s storyline showing the key moment in his story. Against a striking red background, his children are depicted holding each other while surrounded by a group of armed gang members.
Conclusions
This pilot has highlighted a number of factors that limit accountability around issues related to safety and security in Delft. Levels of trust in the police are extremely low and there is a real risk that could lead to a breakdown of the citizen-state relationship in other areas.

Corruption, lack of trust in the police, and failures in political representation are combining in Delft to heighten marginalisation and weaken accountability. As discussed above in relation to the roles of citizens and the state in insecurity this is deeply related to an increase in community-led responses to violence which have a long history in townships linked to apartheid, including bundu courts, vigilantism, and neighbourhood watches of various types. These community-led responses are not under the control of the government and may make insecurity and the lack of accountability worse in some circumstances. On the other hand, given the very low levels of trust in the police, community-led responses are also often perceived as the only viable alternative.

Implications for accountability
• An important risk to consider is the ways in which initiating processes of participatory (or social) accountability could heighten the problems described here by fuelling corruption, or in transferring the responsibility for guaranteeing the right to safety from the state to the residents in Delft.
• The vacuum of accountability represents a governance failure; citizens find their own alternatives, which points to the fundamental societal need for participatory monitoring and accountability as a way of checking the breakdown of trust in government at all levels.
• The risk of speaking publicly about issues of safety and power in Delft is another

“You are powerless when arrested. You can’t get a phone call, clean clothes, something, nothing. When you’re locked up – like yes, you’re away.”

Our work has shown that the use of technology can add an important element to a call by citizens for accountability from the state, but that technology forms only one part of a complex participatory process that involves many other crucial steps.

The personal stories and collaborative videos that have been created by local citizens through this process will be shared as catalysts for wider discussion and debate. Showing them in community and political forums will allow an exploration of possibilities for co-constructing solutions to insecurity within a township setting.
important consideration for processes of accountability. As people’s safety after speaking out is not guaranteed, initiatives to improve accountability must take into consideration the potential risks to making information available and making particular individuals vulnerable to reprisal.

- Episodic opportunities for participation to increase accountability (such as consultation on safety plans, and citizen-based monitoring of police services) will not be successful without accompanying attention to the factors that limit or enhance everyday forms of accountability. Everyday forms of accountability can be addressed through paying attention to dynamics of power in Delft and considering the implications of these for how to design processes for accountability at scale.

### Causes of shifts in power

Delft Safety Group’s analysis of their own stories of insecurity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What caused a negative loss of power in the stories</th>
<th>What caused a gain of positive power in the stories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Increasing levels of violence</strong>&lt;br&gt;More gangs, more thugs, more drug trafficking and use</td>
<td><strong>Togetherness, Connecting (Ubuntu)</strong>&lt;br&gt;This is a change that is still happening. Exposure to life choices, rebuilding a healthy family, working with SLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative consequences of violence</strong>&lt;br&gt;Loss of family, death, assault/robbery</td>
<td><strong>Road to Empowerment and Healing</strong>&lt;br&gt;Empowering myself, healing myself, counselling, getting back self-esteem, finding a drug-free place, moving away from an unsafe place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Injustice and police corruption</strong>&lt;br&gt;There is no justice. The police are not fulfilling their role</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The way we feel about living in our community</strong>&lt;br&gt;Fundamentally unsafe in our homes, streets. Fear, hopelessness, helplessness, anger, frustration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Effects on the family</strong>&lt;br&gt;Abandonment, being ostracised, family conflict, leading to a growing sense of anger and feeling powerless. Drug addiction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Delft Safety Group reflecting on the power dynamics in their individual stories as a collective.
FINDINGS > SHIFTING THE SCALES OF POWER

Shifting the scales of power

The Delft Safety Group and this learning process provide important insights into how relationships of accountability can change. From the group’s perspective, police corruption needs to be addressed at a national level in order to unblock the negative cycles in Delft.

Resilience and accountability
This pilot shows what resilience means in the context of Delft and also what can deepen this resilience. Resilience includes finding a way to survive in a place like Delft; to maintain a sense of hope and possibility; to raise children and take care of family; and in some cases to be able to decide when and how to address problems faced. The power analysis process of individual stories showed a ‘determination to carry on’ with their lives, even though they have faced very high levels of violence.

While this may not seem a very striking finding, when considered in relation to the scale of violence in Delft, the resilience of many people in the face of violence is an important factor to consider in terms of how to address the problems. It is important to note that there have been many attempts by members of the group to address the problems of insecurity and well-being in Delft. Their commitment to this process itself illustrates their determination and resilience.

The source of this resilience is often a supportive family member, friend or neighbour, although this is not always enough. Some people also point to the importance of wider networks that can provide solidarity (such as women’s groups). Despite the lack of trust and the difficulty in knowing who to trust, connections and relationships to wider networks are an important aspect of how to address isolation. For many of the young people in the group, the sense of isolation is strong, and they often expressed having less resources for resilience than the older group. In general, the resilience shown by the Delft Safety Group and others in Delft is being exploited by the lack of accountability for security, because it is people’s resilience and ability to continue to survive that allows the problems to continue.

This pilot also shows how people’s resilience is being stretched: the boundaries are being pushed further and further by the extent of the problems and the depth of the failures by the state, and more and more resilience is being asked of people. The sense emerging from this pilot is that the breaking point for many people in Delft is not far away. A self-replicating negative cycle of insecurity, lack of trust in the police, and the rise in gangs and protection rackets is becoming increasingly likely. Evidence from other urban contexts shows how this kind of cycle can worsen into near complete breakdown of governance, intergenerational transmission of violence and trauma, and in some cases, civil war.

Approaches to accountability in Delft should start with sources of resilience and abilities to respond to problems in very difficult circumstances and how these can be deepened. Initiatives

Citizen action for accountability in Delft

In August 2016, 31 murders have been reported in Delft because of the increasingly violent interactions between two well-established gang factions. In response to this growing threat to the security of the township, an official community meeting was called and held in Delft on the 1st of September 2016, attended by Dan Plato, The Western Cape Minister for Community Safety. The Delft community had called for him to be included in discussions about how the situation could be addressed. The meeting was attended by two of the Delft Safety Group members, one of whom directly asked Mr Plato what his Department are doing are to ensure that ‘citizen voices get taken seriously and are responded to in good time with the confidence and sensitivity that they deserve’.

A SAPS member at Delft responded by asking aggrieved residents to keep calm and promising that a full-scale investigation was being initiated. The other group members that attended the meeting posted on the group WhatsApp: ‘So proud of my community, they surely had their voices heard’.

We have tried different things, but it’s hard to get a real solution to the situation.’

53 54
to increase accountability should ask: in what ways do attempts to achieve accountability replenish or reduce people’s resilience? If a policy intervention or lack of responsiveness undermines this resilience, it is likely it will not lead to the shifts in power towards greater equity needed for greater accountability. For example, if an attempt to increase accountability involves certain people taking the risk to publicly denounce corrupt police and face harassment as a result, then while they may temporarily increase accountability, they will also be left with less resilience to continue to engage in addressing problems in future.

**Allow for dissent and contestation**

Already there is a significant element within Delft that has given up on the current government system, and particularly the police. Dissent, contestation and confrontation are one set of responses taken by Delft residents with the police, political parties and political representatives. Any interventions to improve accountability must also allow for space for dissent and opposition in order to meaningfully surface counter-narratives to those being projected in the community and not be based solely on an assumption of ‘ordered participation’.

For example, the provincial government has held a round of ‘consultations’ to develop safety plans for Delft and other areas in the Western Cape. While these encounters are an opportunity for episodic participation for accountability for people in Delft, they do not adequately address the underlying lack of legitimate representation of diverse perspectives in Delft within public processes of participation. As a result, instead of leading to a more accountable and grounded approach to safety in Delft, they can sanction particular factions who capture these events and want to maintain power in Delft as a shield from greater scrutiny. This kind of perverse effect from interventions intended to improve governance arrangements is well documented in other urban contexts (Wheeler 2012). Another limitation of episodic forms of participation, such as the safety plan consultations, is that they are based on an ordered and consensus based form of discussion that does not leave enough space for dissent and contestation, which characterises the more everyday encounters between people in Delft and the state.

**Work with people in Delft to find real solutions**

Potential interventions to improve accountability should take as a starting point that people living in the community have already tried many different tactics and approaches to address the problem. There are no simple solutions to such a complex set of problems, but there may be some steps that can be more easily taken than others. An analysis of solutions community leaders and residents have already tried is an important place to start as it will be likely to help avoid interventions that will fail.

In the analysis of how people were able to make changes in their own stories for the better, they pointed to the importance of having the ‘power to’ influence others. Yet the larger political and socio-economic system under which people live makes it incredibly difficult to address the violence community members face in Delft. Many people are left with the sense that they want to
Safety group members working together to analyze the power dynamics in a personal story using different colours of string to represent different kinds of power.

Throughout this pilot, the SLF research team endeavoured to navigate the process and all relationships with an ethically sound and reflexive approach. Many different ethical challenges arose during the pilot.

Critical reflections on ethics and power

Throughout this pilot, the SLF research team have been reminded about the importance of constructing an equitable basis of representation that includes the experiences and perspectives of marginalized citizens. We have become even more aware of the implications when those people with the deepest knowledge and insight are silenced, or edited out of the process. The project process also strongly reinforced the need for the team at SLF to set aside enough time to understand the changes that citizens want to see in their lives, and how to support their relationships with each other and the action research process.

Being Young in Delft

Being Young in Delft is a short film made by research participants. It illustrates the difficulties young people in this South African township face. As much as individuals want good lives for themselves, there are persistent structural failures in the lives of youth driving their disempowerment. Youth feel invisible to duty-bearers, poverty and inequality manifests as social exclusion. These obstacles feel insurmountable and youth are faced with no other option but finding alternative, yet exploitative, support networks in gang membership or in relief in the form of substance use. Drug dependency is closely linked to gangsterism and both lead to violence and often death. The film also has a clear message as to what the youth ask for to improve their lives. For these young people the issue of safety in public space is significant, and also one where they can see a clear accountability relationship with the state. The provision of facilities can provide safe environments for young people to gather.

With this statement in mind, we have been very cautious about how much information to make available in the public sphere about the situation in Delft in terms of police corruption and gang activity. We have endeavoured to pay critical attention to our own use of power at every step.

Our extensive and diverse experiences of facilitating visual participatory processes, both in South Africa and in other county contexts - and our previous work together as a research team - helped to strengthen the support that SLF was able to give the participants throughout the process.

A vital element of SLF’s role in this project has been to mediate between different accountability actors at grassroots and national government levels. In our capacity first and foremost as process facilitators and researchers, it was important to avoid the risk of formalising this role, but it was also crucial to recognize the importance of local level mediation, and where best to situate ourselves as intermediaries. The careful negotiation of our relationship with the group in Delft and with the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation has been critical. Trust takes a long time to build and is easily destroyed.

The people from Delft who partnered with SLF in this project knew from the beginning of the partnership that we were not going to be able to walk into their community and make it a safer or more secure place. Because they had no-one else who was really listening to them, they saw our value as people they could trust as sounding boards and as an organization that could work with them and support the creation of new spaces of change.

Throughout this project, the SLF research team have endeavoured to navigate the process and all relationships with an ethically sound and reflexive approach. Many different ethical challenges arose during the pilot.

The role of researchers as interlocutors and mediators

Our extensive and diverse experiences of facilitating visual participatory processes, both in South Africa and in other county contexts - and our previous work together as a research team - helped to strengthen the support that SLF was able to give the participants throughout the process.

A vital element of SLF’s role in this project has been to mediate between different accountability actors at grassroots and national government levels. In our capacity first and foremost as process facilitators and researchers, it was important to avoid the risk of formalising this role, but it was also crucial to recognize the importance of local level mediation, and where best to situate ourselves as intermediaries. The careful negotiation of our relationship with the group in Delft and with the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation has been critical. Trust takes a long time to build and is easily destroyed.

Two of my peers were killed in an argument over something as simple as a bottle of beer. That is how serious the violence is in Delft.

Critical reflections on ethics and power

With this statement in mind, we have been very cautious about how much information to make available in the public sphere about the situation in Delft in terms of police corruption and gang activity. We have endeavoured to pay critical attention to our own use of power at every step.

Our extensive and diverse experiences of facilitating visual participatory processes, both in South Africa and in other county contexts - and our previous work together as a research team - helped to strengthen the support that SLF was able to give the participants throughout the process.

A vital element of SLF’s role in this project has been to mediate between different accountability actors at grassroots and national government levels. In our capacity first and foremost as process facilitators and researchers, it was important to avoid the risk of formalising this role, but it was also crucial to recognize the importance of local level mediation, and where best to situate ourselves as intermediaries. The careful negotiation of our relationship with the group in Delft and with the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation has been critical. Trust takes a long time to build and is easily destroyed.

Throughout this project, the SLF research team have been reminded about the importance of constructing an equitable basis of representation that includes the experiences and perspectives of marginalized citizens. We have become even more aware of the implications when those people with the deepest knowledge and insight are silenced, or edited out of the process. The project process also strongly reinforced the need for the team at SLF to set aside enough time to understand the changes that citizens want to see in their lives, and how to support their relationships with each other and the action research process.

We have learned that the breadth and depth of commitment required by a research team engaged in the facilitation of participatory accountability, especially when using visual methods of research, extends far beyond that called for in more removed research processes.
‘In the power analysis of their stories, people chose ‘power to’, but in most stories they are still isolated with no help or direction. It shows that people are still wanting to do something, but the whole system that people are dealing with doesn’t make it easy.’

Some of the Delft Safety group members played a leading role in coordinating and facilitating a packed community meeting which was called to deliberate on his leadership. This action indicates the sense of increased agency among the group to represent the best interests of their community, and their intervention to prevent people in positions of power from compounding the violence and corruption in their community.

Build accountable, legitimate political leadership
This pilot demonstrates that, despite many difficulties and barriers, residents in Delft are able to work together to address their lack of security and accountability, with the right support. The increased sense of agency within the Delft group and commitment to inclusive strategies for safety founded on trust and impartiality presents a shift in the dynamics of accountability relationships and actors within Delft. A key factor, going forward, is how to sustain momentum and build and sustain legitimate leadership within community-led groups. Achieving answerability of the state and enforceability of rights claims requires legitimate representation of diverse voices and interests, particularly of those most marginalised by violence and insecurity. Legitimacy means constructing the basis for more inclusive kind of representation that does not leave out certain voices and experiences. The lack of legitimate leadership is a factor contributing to insecurity and corruption, as shown in both films.

This pilot has encountered the precariousness of political alliances and promises at the local level, and there is still much to learn in terms of how more accountable political leadership can be sustained in Delft and in South Africa. Where trust in local-level accountability actors is broken down then this fractures the social contract between citizen and state further distancing the state or engagement from people’s everyday lives. Local community leaders from the research would need to be different. Providing appropriate support to work out the top priorities and how to convey them to decision and policy makers can be hard, especially when the problems are complex and cross-cutting, and when we see how difficult these problems become in people’s real lives.

Managing expectations
The pilot process demanded a lot of the Delft participants and the facilitation team. The project process enabled the group to see how much they have to deal with in their lives and the lives of others in their community. To be able to step outside of your environment and then look back into it from a wider perspective is important and valuable and also creates a challenge in terms of how to respond to the problems identified and people’s suffering and trauma. Those that become involved see so much that is wrong and needs to be different. Providing appropriate support to work out the top priorities and how to convey them to decision and policy makers can be hard, especially when the problems are complex and cross-cutting, and when we see how difficult these problems become in people’s real lives.

The expectations of the Delft group regarding the potential of SLF and this pilot to make a contribution in terms of strengthening accountability and attaining justice oscillated between making things better and making things worse. This uncertainty within the group about their ability to be agents of positive change in...
group are exploring how they can move into political roles in which they speak on behalf of others and engage with the state, and they have been using the action research process as a platform to gain political legitimacy. This raises tensions between the potential for co-option of the research process and need for legitimate political representation at the local level. Certain figures within Delft from the police and the different Neighbourhood Watch factions have tried to exert influence over this learning process, such as influencing who is involved, who endorses the outcomes and findings and what happens with results. These pressures are indicative of the kinds of pressures that operate in Delft within any process of mobilisation. It is not yet clear to what extent involvement in the process gives Delft Safety Group members legitimacy to speak on behalf of this process and a wider constituency in the community. Yet the opportunities for representing Delft are already happening through this pilot. SLF has had a key role in instituting a transparent process for deciding who gets which opportunities and how positions can be discussed and endorsed by the group as a whole.

Their community reflects the blurred lines of their engagement in corruption and violence in their lives. Going forward we cannot openly commit to supporting everything the group raises, requests help with or wants to do in Delft. To do so would be in conflict with the aim of capacity development, empowerment and sustainability. We also have to consider the resource constraints of the project framework, and other implications at both professional and personal levels. However there is an ethical obligation for the facilitation team to stay in touch and play a supportive and enabling role for as long as possible.

Negotiating risk
Participatory accountability processes involve inherent risks which need to be identified and discussed collectively as soon as possible. Negotiating risks means it may not be possible to carry out all the planned elements of an accountability initiative and that the process that is undertaken needs to be fluid and flexible. It is important to note that avoiding risk entirely was not our aim, as we believe that inhabiting risk and uncertainty is part of how positive change can happen.

Including SAPS, or members of local political parties would have added different viewpoints, and perhaps provided a bigger picture of the situation regarding crime, violence and corruption in Delft. However, through our close interaction with the community members, we understood that the presence of officials in the workshops would have been intimidating for them. There was a possibility that SAPS or the CPF would co-opt the process which would have undermined the entire project.
Proposals from the Delft Community Safety group for how to improve safety in Delft

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How policing needs to change</th>
<th>How this change can happen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Improve police visibility of police officers in key areas with input from the NHW &amp; community</td>
<td>More effective disciplinary procedures for SAPS members who step out of line and do not follow legitimate policing procedures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get corrupt police out but do this in a way so that any negative impact that may result from this process does not get placed at the feet of the community and individuals working toward positive change</td>
<td>Have better, more accountable political leaders at the local and national levels. The extent of the corruption at SAPS departments must be exposed and dealt with harshly from the highest level right down to the ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop police brutality by exposing the current relationship between the police and citizens and the realities that community members face when dealing with some police officials</td>
<td>Better councillors are required to help advise traumatised and confused citizens on how to better approach the police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change the top structures of the police and allow citizens to access important government officials and high level meetings</td>
<td>Choose new leadership in the police force and change the police force from top to bottom, and from inside out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police should work with the Neighbourhood Watch in mutually respectful and complimentary ways and not in competition or against one another</td>
<td>The government and the police force should see the conditions we are living in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better work requires increased SAPS engagement with the community to create ‘real partnerships between police and the community’ (street committees, fight gangsters and residents)</td>
<td>Better structures should be put in place whereby the community is able to hold the police force to account</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police must realise that gangsters are also human and should engage with those who show some kind of alternative response in order to move forward which is not necessarily linked to the use of aggressive and brutal physical force</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase the commitment of police</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Citizen-Based Monitoring

One SLF researcher and one Delft Safety Group member were invited to participate in a two day workshop in September 2016 that focused on how to advance citizen based monitoring (CBM) with the Department of Planning Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME) in the office of The Presidency. The two representatives made a strong impression and were able to link well with others working in the community safety space, such as the national police commissioner’s office. At this meeting they were able to host an informal viewing of the Gangsters in Uniform film and encouraged the DPME to support the inclusion of Delft as an extension site for the implementation of an Open Government Partnership (OGP) that involves CBM and as part of the call for multi-stakeholder collaboration ahead of the 4th South African Country Action Plan.

SLF aims to raise funds, through the PMA project, to implement a pilot that will utilise existing project networks and relationships to drive an action research process that will strengthen citizen voices in monitoring service delivery with a particular focus on Delft South African Police Services (SAPS), thus helping the DPME to work towards key goals of Commitment 1 of the South African country action plan.
Proposals from the Delft Community Safety group for how to improve safety in Delft

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How Delft needs to change for children and young people</th>
<th>How this change can happen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Need more: Art facilities, sports and recreation, parks, youth projects/interventions</td>
<td>Assistance in creating more jobs and opportunity for skills development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness, support groups for youth to prevent crime and consequences</td>
<td>Youth should be channelled into jobs after skills development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth intervention projects should explore alternatives to crime</td>
<td>Youth need more role-models that will help encourage youths to have a high self-esteem and positive attitudes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These dynamics highlight the care that needs to be taken when bringing together different stakeholders, especially where there is a direct dependency relationship that is likely to prevent a free exchange due to unequal power relationships. By working with visual methods in which citizens become more aware of their realities and think deeply about how they can intervene to be involved in making change, we also potentially make them more susceptible to backlash, especially in very dangerous environments like Delft. With this in mind, we have been cautious about how much information to make available in the public sphere regarding the situation in Delft in terms of police corruption and gang activity. We have also taken a negotiated approach to risk, in which the SLF team and the Delft residents discuss together the potential risks of the work and how to address them. However some of the group members have notably become more active and more vocal at community gatherings in Delft in protest against poor service delivery by SAPS, and police corruption.

Finding the right boundaries
Facilitating this action learning process has reminded the SLF team about the crucial importance of making sufficient time for engagement. It takes a considerable amount of time to better understand other people’s lived realities in complex and precarious situations, the changes that citizens want to see in their lives and the ways that they believe these changes may happen. It is only through the sustained commitment by all who are involved that an action-learning process can reveal if, how and to what extent these changes are realized. However, making time often means having to confront issues that go beyond the project, and extend to much more enduring relationships of friendship and solidarity.
The real data revolution

- The real data revolution needed for the SDGs is one in which the people most affected by the goals and targets have a much bigger say in determining how to measure if those goals and targets are met.
- This pilot shows how disaggregated data is not enough for monitoring the implementation of the SDGs or for achieving shifts in accountability because top-down data collection does not leave enough space for citizens to define the issues and questions that they think are important. Concepts such as safety, legitimacy and good governance are highly contested and carry different meanings making them hard to define, operationalise or measure in indicator form.
- The existing data sets used to monitor global goals and targets reinforce silences and gaps, and the perspectives of the most marginalised are highly specific at both national and local levels. Interventions to improve accountability must be designed in response to political conditions, potential shifts in power and control, and the framings of the problems and potential solutions put forward by those living in places where violence affects daily life.
- Initiatives to improve accountability must recognise the importance of first shifting the sense of helplessness and hopelessness that threatens to overwhelm people living on the margins. This is a requirement for moving towards greater accountability. This pilot shows one approach that can shift this sense of hopelessness, by starting with creating a sense of connection to a wider group, a sense of being heard/listened to, and recognising the importance of people's own experiences of insecurity. This starting point allowed participants and researchers are instantly able to participate.
- It is important to extend who is accountable within government in relation to community safety beyond the police. Local government officials, educators, social workers, health care workers and other local government officials are also important to shifting the dynamics of accountability. Without addressing safety through participatory inclusive mechanisms, those who are socially isolated and excluded through violence and insecurity will continue to be excluded from adequate health care, education, economic opportunity, etc. One form of exclusion will reinforce another. The achievement of the SDG for safer cities and a
FINDINGS • RECOMMENDATIONS

Reduction in violence will involve addressing many of the other SDGs at the same time.

Leave no one behind

- Participatory accountability approaches, such as this pilot, illuminate the interconnected nature of the SDGs, and show that a vacuum of accountability will undermine progress towards all the Goals.
- The inclusion of young people is critical but increasing security is not the right reason to invest in young people. Young people deserve support to unlock their potential in their own right and have their voices heard in building better societies. Where young people’s right to participation is realised, there is scope for inclusive and empowering development that positions young people as contributors.
- Initiatives to create participatory accountability should consider the ways that exclusions operate, and address these directly before expecting ‘public participation’.
- The examples from this pilot that have led to the most positive responses to the lack of security and accountability have involved the ‘power to’ influence someone or something through ‘power with’ others. New initiatives to support participatory accountability to look for ways to capitalise on these shifts and build momentum.

Partnerships between citizens and the state for accountability

- Choosing the right entry point for interventions is crucial: when there is a lack of trust in the police and other local government institutions, interventions to address accountability must carefully consider how an intervention can exacerbate tensions by giving legitimacy to facts using violence and corruption to maintain power.
- The legitimacy (at the local level) of accountability initiatives is absolutely essential. Interventions need to reinforce accountable and legitimate leadership and representation from the local level by channelling the commitment and legitimacy established at the community level to addressing insecurity constructively with government. This is not about communities working on behalf of states, but ensuring that states are held to account for their commitments and that states work in partnership with people at the local level.
- Initiatives for participatory accountability should leave space for contestation and dissent and not assume neatly ordered participation.

The role for researchers and facilitators

- Building participatory accountability requires a high level of commitment from everyone involved, including facilitators. Beyond being highly skilled, facilitators also must be extremely aware and conscious of the participants’ vulnerability in engaging in such a process. Facilitators must be willing to offer support and accompaniment throughout the process and recognise the amount of time needed to develop relationships of trust and solidarity.
- The design of a participatory accountability process depends on flexibility and fluidity. Care needs to be taken regarding the implications of bringing together different stakeholders between whom there is a direct dependency relationship which prevents a free exchange due to the unequal power relationship, for example in this instance between local police and local residents. Other examples could include social workers and their clients or teachers and parents from the same school.

Risks of Speaking Out

One of the Delft Safety group members, who has devoted much of her personal time to dealing with victim trauma and fighting for the right to proper policing services in Delft, has recently come under fire and an immense amount of pressure when she spoke out against the brutality and corruption that currently exists within SAPS and the current Delft Community Policing Forum (CPF).

After reporting a serious assault incident, that involved a violent attack on five young people by a few SAPS members and the then CPF chairperson, the Delft Safety group member mobilized the local community and together they were able to raise enough attention around the incident to warrant the removal of that individual as chairperson of the Delft CPF.

Subsequent to this, however, the member of the Delft Safety Group has also been removed from office and asked to step down from all CPF related duties pending an investigation into a harassment charge, recently brought against her, and 22 other community members, by the same individual that they had removed from the CPF.
FINDINGS

Chapter 71

Report authors
Gill Black
Nava Derakhshani
Rory Liedeman
Joanna Wheeler
with the Delft Safety Group

Please cite this report as ‘Black, G., Derakhshani, N., Liedeman, R. and Wheeler, J. 2016. ‘What We Live With Everyday Isn’t Right: Partnerships for accountability and safer cities in South Africa,’ Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation: Cape Town

Credits
Edited by Kylie Thomas
Printed by Tandym Print
Photography by Nava Derakhshani and Joanna Wheeler

Partners
Participate: Knowledge from the Margins
Institute of Development Studies, United Kingdom
Delft Neighborhood Watch Forum

Acknowledgements
The SLF PMA research team would like to thank the members of the Delft Safety Group for their amazing commitment and for the truly inspirational efforts to bring about positive change in their communities. Your devotion and willingness to see the process through is inspiring and we thank you for your unique and valuable contributions. SLF would also like to acknowledge Jo Howard, Thea Shahrokh and Erika Lopez Franco of the Institute of Development Studies, and the Participate network, who not only helped to raise the project funds, along with UNICEF and the UNDP, but who also played an important advisory role, and provided precious support throughout the entire research process. Thanks to Radio Ada and the Songor Women’s Collective in Ghana and Community Development Services (CDS) in Egypt for finding the time to engage with our work. And thanks to Ala’a Saber (CDS) and Mari Davis (ATD 4th World) for your reviews, which gave us invaluable insights and constructive criticism. The team would also like to thank Kylie Thomas for the fantastic editing efforts. Finally, thanks to Chava Alheit for her support in getting this report finished!

Images
Most images in this report come from the Delft Safety Group, who reflect their experiences for the rest of the world to see, with facilitation by the Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation (SLF) team. Additional photography by the SLF team.
‘We as a community can't do anything without partnerships.’

Find us

To find out more about us and the stories from Delft, visit our website or connect with us on social media.

Website.
www.livelihoods.org.za

Social Media.
Twitter: @SLF_RSA
Facebook: sustainablelivelihoodsfoundation
Vimeo: vimeo.com/sustainablelivelihoods