



THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies: BSc Honours
Geography Research Project

OCTOBER 31, 2016
BY: ZANDILE NTULI- 724415
SUPERVISOR DR MELANIE SAMSON

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa

Enquiries: **GEOGRAPHY:** TEL: +27 11 717-6503 •
ARCHAEOLOGY: TEL: +27 11 717-6045 •
<http://www.wits.ac.za/geography/>



FULL NAME : Zandile Ntuli

STUDENT NUMBER : 724415

YEAR : 4 (Honours)

COURSE NAME : GEOG 4032-Final Honours Project

LECTURER : Dr. Melanie Samson

DATE OF SUBMISSION : 16 November 2016

TOPIC (in full) : Invisible Citizens and Wasted Potential

DECLARATION

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am a student registered for BSc (Hons) Geography **in the year** 2016

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Date 16/11/2016

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Dr Melanie Samson for her incredible and consistent support throughout this journey, this project is a reflection of her zealous nature and passion for the subject matter and it could not have happened without her guidance. Secondly, I would like to thank Christa Venter for connecting me with the necessary people for this project; Mr Jobe and Ben from Reashoma Buyback Centre for accommodating me while I did my interviews and all the informal recyclers, directors and the operations supervisor who took part in this research. Thirdly, I would like to thank every member of the Ntuli family as well as my friends for their motivation through this very challenging but defining year. Lastly I would like to thank CSIR-DST for funding this project.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates a municipal waste management integration process to explore what it reveals about the differential citizenship as experienced by marginalised individuals based on the social relations and power dynamics prevalent in Zondi- Soweto. The study investigates the impacts the Jozi@Work initiative as a possible integration strategy has on informal recyclers. It does this as a way to illuminate how experiences of citizenship are not only political, but encompass the extent to which individuals are able to access, attach meanings and belong to the socio-economic and cultural environment they are in. Jozi@Work is an initiative founded in 2014 by The City of Johannesburg. It is aimed at reversing the inequalities that were historically written into South Africa's socio-economic fabric by the apartheid system. It endeavours to give business and employment opportunities, in various aspects of the service provision sector, to previously disadvantaged individuals. However, as the findings reveal, the initiative is ironically understood by informal recyclers as being disempowering and exclusionary which has compromised the relationship between informal recyclers and the state and thus impacts greatly on their citizenship. The study draws insights from various identity-citizenship theories (Turner, 1994; Lister, 2007; Jamieson, 2002), integration models (Gutberlet, 2008; Velis *et al*, 2012; Dias and Ogando, 2015; Snyman, 2015) and informal recycler studies (Beall, 1997; Medina, 2007; Schenck and Bleeuw, 2011; Samson, 2009a, b; 2010, 2015; forthcoming) to critically engage with the aforementioned subjects. The study is comprised of qualitative methods which are based on interactions with 15 informal recyclers, 2 directors who have companies contracted under Jozi@Work and 1 operations supervisor of another company contracted under Jozi@Work.

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INVISIBLE CITIZENS AND WASTED POTENTIAL

1. INTRODUCTION

Citizenship is vastly known, across a multitude of academic work and policies, as a “right to belong”. However, this seemingly all-encompassing definition poses some ambiguities. Who decides who belongs? What is belonging and how is it quantified or conceptualised? This research project problematises the normative conceptualisations of citizenship which focus on viewing citizens as subjects of the state who are given the right to participate in various socio-political and economic activities. In essence, this research project draws on different types of citizenship theory and places them in the informal economy of Soweto to reveal how the lives of informal recyclers (who make a living by salvaging recyclable material from households, streets, landfills and bins) are often overlooked, undermined and thought of as “other” which results in an invisibility of their active citizenship and an overall waste of their potential.

The study critiques an initiative founded by the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) in September 2014 called Jozi@Work to understand how its attempt to integrate informal recyclers impacts on their citizenship. The programme aims to combat the unemployment crisis gleaned in the 2011 census (Jozi@Work: Developmental Service Delivery, 2015). It aims to do so by contracting 1750 community-level enterprises and cooperatives which are to provide various services in the city (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2014). The Jozi@Work initiative seems to be a brilliant community empowerment tool which is exactly what the city needs as it is designed to be a ‘hand up’ and not a ‘hand out’ programme that ensures that all these new enterprises, become self-sufficient in the near future (Jozi@Work: Developmental Service Delivery, 2015). Given that this initiative has been developed a form of state intervention, it forges a new relationship between previously disadvantaged South Africans and the state which has implications (beneficial or otherwise) on their citizenship. However, the prevailing question is whether or not this initiative incorporates informal recyclers into waste management systems and as a result, how this incorporation (or lack thereof) would impact on their experiences of citizenship.

RATIONALE

Recent scholarship on waste management has tried to engage with possible models of how best to integrate informal recyclers into waste management sectors. However, with advancements in these debates, it has become increasingly relevant to define what is meant by integration and secondly to acknowledge both the power dynamics and social complexities that underlie informal waste collection particularly because those spaces are also gendered, raced and classed which makes it exceptionally difficult to formulate a “one-fits-all” model of integration. This research takes note of the aforementioned and fills this academic gap by exploring the form these power dynamics and social complexities take, in a South African township context, to try and understand how processes of integration or the lack thereof affect the quality of citizenship as experienced by marginalised individuals in the waste sector.

Velis *et al.* (2012) presents an analytical framework of interventions to promote informal recyclers’ integration into solid waste management (SWM), proposed by Gutberlet (2008). In the article by Velis *et al.* (2012), Gutberlet (2008) identifies society’s acceptance of the central role informal recyclers play in waste management systems as well as their empowerment as some of the fundamental elements that are required to successfully integrate informal recyclers into more formalised spheres of waste management policies. However, the irony is that these aforementioned criteria required for the successful integration of informal recyclers into policy and waste management systems, are the ones that are lacking the most in their objective to integrate informal recycles (see Samson, 2009). The lack of sufficient knowledge, pertaining to successful models of informal recycler integration, is perpetuating processes of exclusion and has ramifications on informal recyclers’ identities and their sense of citizenship. This research project contributes to debates on informal recycler integration by moving beyond economic issues and focusing on issues related to identity and citizenship within a post-apartheid context. As seen in Samson (2010), there is a lack of literature contribution from an African perspective on these specific issues in international debates. It is problematic as waste picking forms a considerable part of the informal economy of many developing nations (Dias, 2011). Thus by sharing the experiences from a post-apartheid South African lens, a contribution towards narrowing the lacunae in informal recycler studies can be identified through an attempt to understand the degree of class, gender and racial transformation that has taken place to date by using this research project as a possible proxy.

This research project forms a part of the broader CSIR-DST funded project undertaken by Dr Melanie Samson.

BACKGROUND

The study was carried out in a location called Zondi, a small area within the broader Soweto region in Gauteng (seen in Figure 1). The Zondi area forms a part of the eighteen sub-areas found within Soweto. It seems when compiling demographic statistics as well as population information, Stats SA clusters all the sub-areas together and thus sees Soweto as a single entity. This is problematic because each of these eighteen sub-areas has its own socio-economic activities that differ from the next and compiling information in this manner overlooks the micro socio-political and economic processes that happen in each sub-area.

Furthermore, Zondi is home to one of Pikitup's twelve depots and services region D which is comprised of the inner sub-areas of Soweto. Pikitup is a private company founded in 2000 which has the City of Johannesburg as its sole client and is responsible for the city's waste management (Pikitup, 2011). As a way to create more employment, the City of Johannesburg has partnered with Pikitup to create programmes to instil better residential wasting practices through educational programmes and other services to reduce illegal dumping and litter in Johannesburg. Two programmes that are currently underway to fulfil these objectives are Separation at Source (S@S) (Pikitup, 2012) and Jozi@Work. (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2014)

Both of these programmes serve crucial roles, particularly in township contexts where waste accumulates rapidly in short periods of time, because of how densely populated it is (Pikitup, 2012). However, as a matter of great concern, the programmes are infringing on the availability of the work done by informal recyclers prior to the implementation of these programmes. Moreover, not only are these programmes reducing the work that is available for informal recyclers but they were not consulted about any of these programmes and they feel extremely alienated as a result.

For the purpose of this research project, with the assistance of senior employees within Pikitup and Dr Melanie Samson, the Zondi depot was selected as the most practical depot and area to conduct this research in because it has the most functional and organised implementation of the Jozi@Work initiative.

Given the abovementioned, this research project provides possible responses to the following question: How does incorporating informal recyclers into the Jozi@Work initiative, in Zondi (Soweto), impact on their citizenship and in turn, their identities?

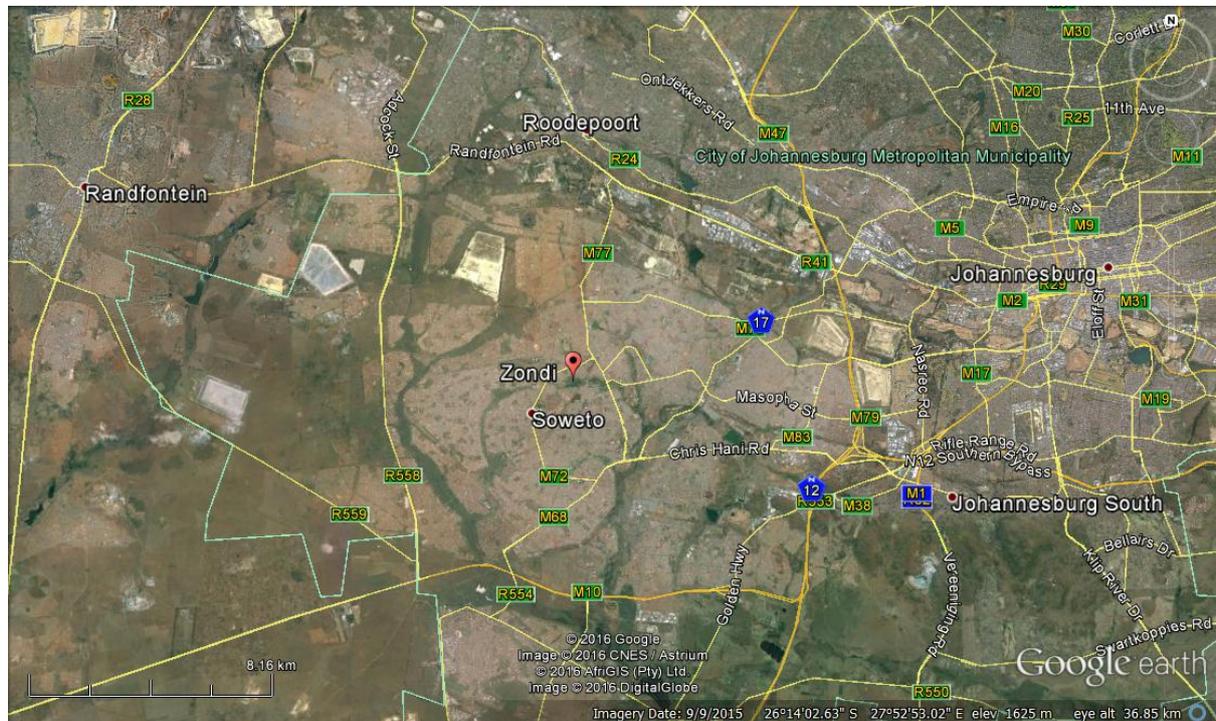


Figure 1: Study site of Zondi, Soweto within Johannesburg (Google Earth, 2016).

OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT STRUCTURE

The research project is structured according to the following chapters:

Chapter 1: **Overall introduction** to the project and the background

Chapter 2: the **literature review** which discusses the theory and the academic debates I have engaged with in order to position my research study within the broader literature provided by other scholars.

Chapter 3: the **methods and methodology**, which encompasses a methods table and stipulates all the methods used, who they were targeted to and why these particular methods were chosen. Along with that is a discussion on the limitations associated with the use of all the methods.

Chapter 4: the **results and discussion** will follow detailing and analysing the research findings.

Chapter 5: the **conclusion** ties the main arguments of the study and the key findings together
Finally, these chapters will be succeeded by the **references**.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review focuses on theoretically engaging with the academic debates that inform the major themes that this research projects explored. These themes include: The conceptualisation of waste, identification and theorisation of informal recyclers, integration of informal recyclers in more formalised spheres of waste management and identity construction within broader citizenship theories.

CONCEPTUALISING WASTE

Society is structured in a way that allows the articulation of social relations which influence our social milieus and thus, the manner in which we perceive and understand the world around us. For this very reason, it is crucial to conceptualise the idea of waste because it means different things to different people, particularly to informal recyclers themselves.

Moore (2012) develops a dynamic conceptualisation of waste particularly with reference to it as either a commodity and resource mine or as filth and abject. Waste can be considered a commodity because it is a good that can be bought and sold on the market which thus gives it its (monetary) value (Moore, 2012; Samson, forthcoming). Conversely, when shying away from the analysis of waste solely based on its physical properties one sees that waste -from ideological perspective- takes on a different face. Waste is conceptualised by most of society as filth, it is the aftermath of consumption that no one wants to be associated with and is viewed in a repulsive manner as that which needs to be discarded and forgotten about (Moore, 2012). Similarly, waste as abject is seen as that which needs to be separated from the self (Moore, 2012). Boundaries are created which expel the existence of waste from the conception of people's identities and in that way, waste is viewed as other. Interestingly, from these more ideological conceptualisations of waste, it is unsurprising that the majority of our society views people who make livelihoods by salvaging waste materials as the "detritus" of society (Chari, 2013). It becomes clear, as Drackner (2005) and Samson (forthcoming) explicate, that people in society are unable to separate the person working with the waste material from the waste itself. They are often viewed as one entity, which has possible ramifications on their experiences of citizenship and in turn, their sense of selves (identity) as my research project aims to explore. An interesting view of waste that Ackerman and Mirza (2001) elucidate is that the existence of waste produces a socio-spatial power gradient. Essentially, the further away one is from the waste the more social power one has. Waste is thus governable in the sense that where it is located reflects one's position in the

social class hierarchy (Moore, 2012). Waste is often expelled to the peripheries of cities where poor communities are likely to reside (Ackerman and Mirza, 2001; Gutberlet, 2008), which is arguably a direct reflection of the status of their citizenship

WHO ARE INFORMAL RECYCLERS?

Given the socio-economic inequalities that are prevalent in developing nations in particular, it is unsurprising that most of the population is unable to have a claim to the formal economy and have thus opted to make livelihoods from the environment around them (Beall, 1997; Medina, 1997). Informal recyclers, otherwise known as reclaimers, scavengers, garbage pickers and recyclers (Medina, 1997; Mitchell, 2008; Samson, 2010; Schenck and Bleeuw, 2011), are people who make a living by salvaging recyclable waste material from streets, dumpsites and even residential areas' garbage bins and from this they are able to reuse it or sell the recyclables to higher-level traders to generate an income (Samson, 2010; Schenck and Bleeuw, 2011). Informal recyclers often endure countless experiences of marginalisation and stigmatisation due the stereotypical views that follow that most of them are poor immigrants and as a result of the kind of work they do which is often perceived as filthy (Medina, 1997; Samson, 2010; Whitson, 2011). Contrary to popular belief, informal recyclers actually play a vital role in reducing costs to municipalities, estimated at R309.2 – R748.8 million in landfill airspace (Godfrey *et al*, 2016), by decreasing the amount of waste that needs to go to landfill sites and also contributing to sustainable and efficient recycling practices which have benefits for ecological footprints (Schenck and Bleeuw, 2011). More importantly, it provides a means by which people can make money and sustain livelihoods without depending on grants or handouts from government and this reflects positively on them as active citizens. While this literature focuses on how society sees informal recyclers, less attention has been paid to the crucially important issue of how they perceive their own roles in society. Thus, through conducting this research project, perceptions about the roles informal recyclers feel they play in society are illuminated.

UNDERSTANDING INTEGRATION

Much of the contemporary literatures on waste and the informal economy identify the unjust treatment of informal recyclers in the entire waste management system (Beall, 1997; Mitchell, 2008 and Samson 2009). Thus, efforts by scholars have been put into considering the ways, methods and models in which to include, on a more formal basis, informal recyclers into solid waste management systems. The term that is used to refer to this process

is ‘integration’ Integration in the context of waste, can be viewed as a process of inclusion and incorporation of the informal waste recycling sector into a more formal and sustainable waste management system (Scheinberg, 2012; Velis *et al.* 2012). Strategies of integration in multiple developing nations have included ways to organise labour that propagates the support of informal recyclers, by getting them acknowledged by stakeholders and society at large, as economic agents who are a crucial part of the waste management system (Scheinberg, 2012). These strategies have been implemented on a policy and even legislative level which follow a reversal of multi-national privatisation which will allow informal recyclers an opportunity to be a part of public-private partnerships within the waste management system (Scheinberg, 2012; Serronaet *al.* 2014). Snyman’s (2015) perspective of integration is radical in that it suggests that informal recyclers need to be provided with opportunities to establish Small, Medium, and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs). The SMMEs should ultimately develop their entrepreneurial skills and allow them to negotiate their own prices with more established recycling corporations. In doing so, they would be able to sell their recyclables at higher prices without being exploited by the “middle-man” between them and the more established recycling companies (similar views shared by Serronaet *al.* (2014)). Subsequently, it is important to draw on these insights because it seems from continuous failed attempts to integrate informal recyclers, conceptualisations of what integration is and how it can be achieved are unclear particularly for stakeholders in waste management. Thus, this research fills this gap because it consolidates the meanings of integration from different stakeholders and informal recyclers themselves as way to understand how a cohesive framework related to integration can be conceptualised.

IDENTITY CONSTRUCTONS EMBEDDED IN CITIZENSHIP THEORY

Citizenship has been deemed quite a broad term and thus defining it and conceptualising it has brought about some contentious academic debates. Citizenship has been formerly seen in isolation as a concept that only refers to the rights and political freedom one has as a citizen of a particular nation. Turner (1997) explicitly states that citizenship underpins access and thus, differential access is as a result of the social hierarchy of citizenship. Essentially, one’s citizenship determines the extent to which one is able to access the “scarce resources in society” (Turner, 1997:6). Lister (2007) impressively conceptualises citizenship as a discourse that is comprised of debates which theorise both its inclusionary and exclusionary potential, thus, it needs to be constantly reviewed and reconceptualised as it is able to act as a tool for assessing ‘marginalised groups struggling for social justice’ (Lister, 2007:1). This

work by Lister (2007) provides necessary foundational knowledge for this research which delved into the experiences of marginalised persons who are fighting for their social justice (informal recyclers). Impressive as they are, unfortunately both the articles by Turner (1997) and Lister (2007) do not assess the articulations of race, gender and class in their conceptions of citizenship; they merely focus on issues of class, and at some juncture, nationality. For the purpose of this study insights were drawn from Dias and Ogando (2015) who understand the importance of recognising intersectionality particularly in the space of informal recycling. Dias and Ogando (2015) mention that scholarship on waste-picking has often engaged with the issue of class but scant attention has been given to how class issues overlap with race and gender. With that said, it is vital to note that the majority of the informal recyclers in South Africa are African, this is particularly important when considering the role apartheid played in the class inequalities that persist presently in South Africa.

Experiences of citizenship, whether they are inclusionary or exclusionary in nature, underpin constructions of the self, which is why investigating how informal recyclers construct their identities as a result of their experiences of citizenship is central to this research (Sasson-Levy, 2002). Jamieson (2002) states that citizenship is a political concept which is constituted by people's relationship with the state and it should not be confused with nationality which is said to be a cultural concept which brings people of a shared identity together. As such, it is vital to understand how people perceive their relationship with the state as an institution which dictates their access to resources (Turner, 1997). Given South Africa's long history of colonialism and apartheid, it can be assumed that there is an inequality in people's access to resources in South Africa and thus a difference in experiences of citizenship (Von Schnitzler, 2008). Given that Jozi@Work is a form of state intervention to empower previously disadvantaged South Africans, it is important to discern whether this forges a new relationship dynamic between informal recyclers, who are possibly incorporated into this initiative, and the state. It is thus crucial to this research to evaluate the impacts this new relationship (or lack thereof) with the state, could have on their constructions of self. This is essential because it reveals how informal recyclers perceive themselves as individuals in their personal capacities as opposed to the identity they collectively carry as informal recyclers or the 'detritus' of society as they are often referred to (Chari, 2013). As Jamieson (2002) clearly recognises, when given a label by society, it does not then follow that people will internalise those labels as an aspect of self-identity. Splitter (2012) mentions that more often than not, individual identities are lost to the collectivist concept that is citizenship because it

is a rigid classification ,in which individual identity constructions get consumed and individuals begin to see themselves as the state sees them. These aforementioned insights of the relationship between citizenship and identity constructions are ones which informed the approach of the research study, so as to reduce the blurred lines in informal recyclers' experiences of citizenship and their own identity constructions as related but separate phenomena.

GENDER AND CITIZENSHIP

The insights explored in the abovementioned recognise that citizenship experiences differ because of the social and class hierarchies that persist in society (Siedman, 1999). Dias and Ogando (2015) argue that women (of colour) are at the very bottom of these hierarchies and are thus the most vulnerable to societal inequalities. With that said, it is important to acknowledge that even within the informal recycling sector, women are the most vulnerable to the social injustices that occur given the gendered natures of these spaces (Dias and Ogando, 2015). Seidman (1999) mentions that in the democratization of South Africa, when considering citizenship, gender has not always been at the forefront of these conversations given the fact that rectifying racial injustices has been prioritised as a result of the Apartheid regime. However, what is becoming more apparent is that these issues of race, class and gender are intersectional (Dias and Ogando, 2015). Intersectionality arose in the 1960s and 1970s when women of colour felt that society needs to see women as multidimensional, in essence, their feminine identities must not be considered in isolation to their race, class and sexuality (Samuels and Sheriff, 2008). This is crucial for society to be aware of when deconstructing social injustices because a women is all of those things at once and thus she is not just a women in isolation but, for example, she is a black working class, heterosexual woman as well as a mother and experiences her citizenship as such. Understanding how complex the dynamics of citizenship experiences are, based on the position one holds in society, is central to this research project. This is because, as already emphasised, the opportunities one has in society are a direct reflection of one's social class and thus the status of one's citizenship, which should be understood as the right to access as opposed to the right to belong, can be unpacked from this angle. The argument that citizenship should rather be seen as the right to access as opposed to the right to belong is that as a citizen, one may belong to a particular nation, community or group because one was born into but, for example, if one is a lesbian working class black woman one may not have access to the resources a heterosexual middle class white woman has in the very same nation, community

or group one supposedly belongs to. With that said, central to this argument, women often have very limited access to resources in society when compared to men because capitalism and patriarchy go hand in hand (Gordon, 1996; Federici, 2012). Women have historically been confined to household spaces where their domestic responsibilities are naturalised and as a result, the work they do often goes unacknowledged and unpaid (Federici, 2012). Locating this argument in relation to waste-picking within a South African township context is the academic gap this research fills. Seideman (1999) has identified the importance of identifying the gendered nature of citizenship particularly in regards to the democratisation of South Africa on an institutional level. However, the same relationship between gender and citizenship has not been extensively explored in the informal economy of waste-picking particularly in a South African township context. It is vital that gendered citizenships are recognised even in waste-picking because women face different realities related to safety, motherhood and sexual harassment in these informal recycling spaces (Dias and Ogando, 2015). These are realities that men might not experience or ones men perpetuate even further because of how they have constructed feminine identities in this patriarchal post-apartheid country.

To conclude, this literature review has provided a means of consolidating the different theories related to citizenship, waste, waste-picking, integration, gender and identity in a way that allows them to speak to one another. This is beneficial because where one theory is insufficient in providing a nuanced understanding, another can add to what is missing. More importantly, the consolidation of these different perspectives allows this research project to fill an important academic gap in a South African township context where none of the abovementioned theories have been creatively brought together in this space to reveal the resulting unexplored but very crucial social issues.

3. METHODOLOGY

The methods (the way in which something is done) and methodology (how and why something is done including certain assumptions and values) of any research have a particular purpose to fulfil with regards to paving the way that allows one to access the necessary data one needs (Mouton, 1996). For this reason, it is vital to identify the methods that are unique to the research project I conducted as well as how the methods were applied or unable to be applied even though they were initially proposed and ultimately to justify why I have chose these methods for my particular study. Methods were selected based on their ability to answer the study’s sub-questions and to contribute to answering the overall research questions. These sub-questions and the methods allocated to them are presented in the table below (Table 1). Following the table, substantiation for the selection of these particular methods is provided.

METHODS AND METHODS TABLE

Table 1- Sub-questions and the methods allocated to them

Sub-Questions	Methods
How do waste-pickers and municipal officials conceptualise and understand integration?	Semi-structured interviews, focus groups and a review of the initiative aims and objectives
How does the Jozi@Work initiative impact on waste-pickers' ideas and experiences of citizenship?	Semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and timeline interviews
What role does Jozi@Work play in waste-pickers' ideas of self?	Semi-structure interviews, individual mind mapping and brain storming, focus group (collective ideas), timeline interviews (life before and after waste-picking).
Who are waste-pickers?	Mind-map, semi-structured interviews and focus groups.
What is waste and how is it conceptualised by different people?	Focus group, mind map and semi-structured interview

Methodological Research Approach:

Given the nature of the sub-questions related to my research question, my main methodological approach is qualitative. A qualitative approach can be described as that which stems from the interpretive paradigm and allows for a free and collaborative relationship between theory and research (Corbetta, 2003). The qualitative approach seeks to engage with the objects of the study on more affective and personal grounds than on empirical grounds. By using this qualitative approach I avoided constructing theories before fieldwork took place as a means of objectively understanding scenarios for what they are and not based on pre-conceived notions (Corbetta, 2003). It is noteworthy to add that I carried a research diary in order to note any observations made about the participants and their surroundings during the entire research process.

Mapping:

For the purpose of establishing my study site, it is vital to incorporate some element of mapping. Maps are used to represent and visualise certain aspects of space and place (Hanna, 2010). Mapping is important because as Lefebvre (1991) states, spaces are socially produced and how spaces are represented are thus a result of how they are experienced. Hanna (2010) states that maps represent dominant cultural values and power relations that are constituted within the society the maps are made and used by. The advantage of using maps is that it gives some insight on the extent the project covers and portrays the area the study is conducted in to people who may not know it. For the purpose of my study, I used Google Earth to show the location of the study.

Sampling Techniques:

Sampling plays a crucial role in the credibility of the data collected from fieldwork. Bearing in mind that my project is a qualitative study, the sampling methods that are pertinent according to Marshall (1996) are judgement and snowball sampling. Judgement sampling is the primary sampling method used to select the most conducive sample to participate in the study (Marshall, 1996). The selection was based on suggestions offered by my supervisor, and evidence from the study itself which suggests the need for specific groups of people i.e. Informal recyclers in Soweto, the cooperatives of the Jozi@Work initiative and representatives from Pikitup (Marshall, 1996). An advantageous aspect of this sample is that it leads one to the snowball sampling technique. Snowball sampling was used to gain access to more

participants suggested by the already selected participants found the people they recommended as useful contributors to the study (Marshall, 1996).³ sample groups were chosen (Informal recyclers, cooperatives from Jozi@Work and 2 Pikitup representatives). Informal recyclers (15) were interviewed until saturation point was reached and 2 cooperative directors were engaged with as well as 1 operations supervisor from Jozi@Work. In addition, information was attained from 2 Pikitup representatives during 2 meetings (one at the Zondi depot and the other at the Pikitup offices).

Mind-mapping/Brain-storming:

Mind-mapping and Brain-storming were used to grasp where informal recyclers position themselves within the broader themes of the research question as well as their roles in society. Mind mapping, although casual and unstructured, serves as a useful tool when attempting to brainstorm through broad ideas and topics in a non-linear and visual manner (Davies, 2011). As Davies (2011) further explicates, mind maps are comprised of a connection of ideas which are heavily reliant on spontaneous and creative thinking, this allows for free-flowing diagrams and annotations. The use of this method was proposed as a way to establish some interesting perspectives on the broad themes of the project with the participants, before going into the more structured research methods. This method would have been beneficial because it would have provided an outlet to assess the participants' initial thoughts on the broad themes of the research question without external influence or probing. It was planned to do these mind maps in a focus group setting but unfortunately focus groups were unable to be conducted for reasons explored in the focus group section.

Semi-structured Interviews:

The semi-structured interviews were conducted in isiZulu, SesSotho, SeTswana and English but also varied in content and complexity depending on whether they were targeted at either informal recyclers or Jozi@Work cooperatives. A semi-structured interview is an open-ended interview which follows a general script and covers a list of topics selected by the interviewer and freely explored by the interviewee (Bernard, 2006). This method proved to be highly advantageous under the time constraints that were encountered, where there was only one opportunity to interview a particular person. Semi-structured interviews follow the general feel of an unstructured interview with an interview guide being the only crucial difference between the two (Bernard, 2006). An interview guide is a list of all the topics that need to be covered in a particular, it was used in conjunction with an interview schedule and it dictated the order and structure of the interview process (Bernard, 2006). The advantage of semi-

structured interviews along with an interview guide and schedule is that it showcased competence and preparedness during an interview while allowing room for free flow discussions with the participants.

Focus Groups:

A focus group is a conversation between 4-10 people (roughly) where the interviewer facilitates the discussion between the participants (Secor, 2010). Focus groups are incredibly useful when wanting to engage with how matters are talked about or debated about between certain groups of people, from such conversations one is able to pick up on certain aspects of the matter they may have not identified initially (Secor, 2010). For this study, focus groups were meant to be conducted with the informal recyclers; however, it was not possible to do so. This is because at the Reashoma Buyback centre, the informal recyclers that were being interviewed came in one at a time which made it difficult to form a group of informal recyclers to carry out a decent focus group.

Timeline Interview:

A timeline interview, elucidated by Adriansen (2012), is a qualitative method used in life history research that allows the interviewer to see into the life of the interviewee particularly related to certain life events between set periods of time. When using this method (particularly targeted at the informal recyclers) I choose a starting point (e.g. Year of birth) and an end point (e.g. year of interview), following this, I asked the participants to fill in various life events from the time they were born until the year of the interview (Adriansen, 2012). The recognisable advantage of this method is that it gives a detailed and personal account of the participants' life while constructing a clear view of the various circumstances that may have led to the participant's current life experience (Adriansen, 2012). From this perspective, issues that the participant identified as significant in his/her life chronologically were revealed. This assisted in bringing some of the issues that were initially overlooked, prior to the fieldwork, to the forefront. This method was used to try and listen to the story of several informal recyclers from where they were born and what circumstances led them to being recyclers, particularly in South Africa for the one recycler who is a foreigner. This contributed greatly to the understanding of some of the underlying issues behind their individual constructions of their identities and experiences citizenship.

Positioning:

Acker (2000) states that positioning is the ability to recognise the extent of one's "insiderness" or "outsiderness" and to be mindful of it while conducting the research. This involves some critical engagement with one's self in relation to one's work but more importantly, one's relationship with the participants of the research. A researcher's "insiderness" can be advantageous in that it allows the researcher some access into the participant's life that may assist in strengthening the research (Acker, 2000). However, researchers tend to bank on their commonalities with the participants to access information but neglect the fact that the differences between themselves and the participants as well as the prevalent power dynamics may be important to recognise (Acker, 2000). For this study, an assumed "insiderness" based on racial, lingual and location commonalities was identified which I presumed would make it simple for me to gain information from the informal recyclers. However, upon conducting interviews with the majority of the participants being male, issues of gender differences emerged as the male participants were either too reluctant to respond to a younger female or saw it as an opportunity to be flirtatious. Furthermore, the participants assumed that this was an opportunity for them to be lifted out of their difficulties related to the work they do. This is because they related to me because we share the same race and we are from the same area, however, I am more educated and have been afforded an opportunity to go to an institution such as the University of the Witwatersrand. The informal recyclers assumed this puts me at a better position to be listened to by stakeholders and help them alter their working conditions. At that point an epiphany occurred and it became clear that one has to be aware of one's positioning when one conducts qualitative research because it affects the quality of the research as any other method would.

POLICY DOCUMENT CONSULTED

The main policy consulted for the purpose of this study is published in 2015 by the City of Johannesburg and is titled "Jozi@Work Developmental Service Model". The policy outlines the budget allocated for the initiative; the major stakeholders involved in overseeing the initiative; the objectives of the initiative; its importance and what problem it aims to solve; the requirements to be a part of the programme; the places the programme will be based in and the duration the programme will go on for. It served as a useful document to refer to given that the study is based on this programme it provided some context on background on the aims of the initiative which were then contested or attested to based on the findings.

DATA ANALYSIS METHOD

Grounded Theory

This method of data analysis, developed by sociologists (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990) consists of a series of techniques applied to identify themes and concepts which can be linked to formal theories (Bernard, 2006). Secondly, it assists a data analyst to immerse and “ground” him or herself within the data so as to identify some patterns within the transcripts of the data (Bernard, 2006). This method was used to analyse the raw data as it could serve as an effective tool to use to unpack the information in the transcripts for all the interviews that were conducted. The first step that was taken was to highlight and note down anything that seemed alarming as a way to start identifying some themes that relate to the major topics this study engages with. Following that process, folders were created for each theme that was identified, to which relevant quotes were then allocated. Once that process was complete, the data analysis table provided by the supervisor was used to start seeing how the data fits together with the main arguments, key findings as well as the theory that was engaged with and any other relevant theory identified. This method proved to be effective because it even provided a structure for the results and discussion section which, as can be noted in that section, contains the themes that were identified and all the quotes and literature associated with a particular key finding.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

When carrying out my fieldwork, interviewing minors was avoided (<18 years) and the objectives of the research were explained, anonymity was ensured where possible and written or recorded consent was obtained from every participant prior to conducting the interviews.

Following these ethical procedures is vital for the credibility and reliability of this research because as (Smith, 2010) states, research is political and it may be done exceptionally from a technical point of view but if ethical procedures are compromised it decreases the research’s viability. As scholars who aim to either produce or contribute to new knowledge it is our responsibility to ensure transparency, accountability and sufficient moral standing when conducting research because it influences the lives of those who participate in the research (particularly vulnerable participants) and those who learn from the research conducted in ways unimaginable. Ethical matters are highly contextual and unique to every research conducted, thus, Smith (2010) states that much of the contradictory aspects of research in

regard to ethics, need to be dealt with accordingly ensuring that the data is not tampered with or altered in the process. Finally Smith (2010) identifies a crucial matter that speaks to my own research moral compass and that is the fact that credit and acknowledgement need to be given where they are due because it is unethical to use other people's ideas as your own. In an attempt to comply with the abovementioned, necessary acknowledgement was given through citing and referencing the sources used throughout the research project.

LIMITATIONS

During the semi-structured interview process, some of the questions posed to informal recyclers had to be simplified so they were able to give information related to their citizenship and identity. However, this simplification of the concepts may have been a limitation because it causes a slight deviation from the actual concept. In addition, vernacular languages do not have comprehensible words for concepts such as citizenship, identity and integration which made it difficult to explain to interviewees. Furthermore, I was unable to conduct focus groups as I had initially intended, which may have been excellent sources of collective opinions from informal recyclers on the themes discussed in the research project. Subsequently, when attempting to conduct thorough timeline interviews, the informal recyclers were giving very brief responses as they were in a hurry to continue working which then became a disadvantage because I did not manage to get the detailed life stories I had initially aimed to get. With regards to using grounded-theory as a method of data analysis, one can argue that categorising data and fitting the data into themes inhibits out-of-the-box thinking as one becomes fixated with making the data fit those themes and this may have been a limitation for how I analysed the data.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

DESCRIPTION OF INTERVIEW PROCESS AND PARTICIPANTS

I decided to split my interview process into two phases. The first phase consisted of my interviews with the two directors of the companies contracted under Jozi@Work and the one operations supervisor working for another company contracted under Jozi@Work. These interviews took place on the following days:

Director 1- 24 June 2016 in his office in Naledi, Soweto

Operations Supervisor- 27 June 2016 at her workplace in Protea South, Soweto

Director 2- 28 June 2016 at her office in Protea Glen Ext 26, Soweto

I only interviewed these companies contracted under Jozi@Work because I was advised that these were the only companies under the Zondi region who have or previously had interactions, on a professional basis, with informal recyclers. This then made the interviewing process much simpler as they knew who I was referring to when I spoke about informal recyclers and their insights on the matter would be from experience.

The second phase of my interview process took place much later, as the first recycling buyback centre I was meant to go to was non-operational, because Pikitup is said to have terminated its contract with that buyback centre. I then found another buyback centre called Reashoma located in Naledi where I was able to then conduct my interviews with the informal recyclers.

I did not have a set number of informal recyclers that I expected to interview, I had planned to interview as many informal recyclers as I could until I started getting the same responses repeatedly. I did exactly that and ended up stopping after the 15th informal recycler. The interviews were conducted in three vernacular languages (SeTswana, isiZulu and SeSotho) and took place on the following days:

The first 6 informal recyclers- 18 August 2016

The remaining 9 informal recyclers- 19 August 2016

It was wise to interview informal recyclers because their inputs make up the bulk of my project as I needed to understand how they constructed their identities and how Jozi@Work made them feel about their citizenship.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

IDENTITY

I am a Recycler

A range of terms are used by academics to refer to individuals who salvage recyclable waste material and sell it for a living in South Africa (Samson, 2010; Schenck and Bleeuw, 2011). Director #2 (29 June 2016) also used the term “*boMagereza*” (which she explained that in township slang, literally refers to “those who scavenge”). It is pertinent to ask the individuals themselves what they call themselves and the how they describe the job they do.

“I am a recycler. I tell people this is a job, I am not just hustling, I am at work. I clean the surroundings and separate things that are right from those that are wrong”

- (Informal Recycler #5, 18 August 2016).

All the interviewees were asked the same question and the response was one, they all refer to themselves as recyclers; not waste-pickers, scavengers or reclaimers they call themselves recyclers. When asked why, they mentioned that they feel like it the least derogatory term and refers directly to the work they do. For the purpose of this study, they should be referred to as such because words carry connotations and thus when one is referred to as someone they feel they are not; it may tend to be insensitive and disrespectful to one’s identity (Samson, 2015). Notably, the way people name themselves is locally specific and shaped by a number of factors, even though the workers from Naledi, Soweto refer to themselves as informal recyclers, it is to be acknowledged that there are a range of terms that are used by people who do the same work in different parts of the city.

Community constructions of informal recyclers’ identities

Informal recyclers do not only salvage recyclables from open spaces, garbage bins and dumpsites (Samson, 2010; Schenck and Bleeuw, 2011); they also access recyclables directly from households. The relationship that the informal recyclers that were interviewed have with their communities is crucial for the efficient collection of recyclables because it saves them time and protects them from having to compete for recyclables in open spaces not only with other informal recyclers but with the Jozi@Work employees. Upon being questioned about how the community feels about the job they do, all the informal recyclers reported that there are two takes on the perspectives community members have of them. The first is that the community members tend to be very supportive and they encourage the informal recyclers to

this job. In addition, the community members are willing to allow these informal recyclers into their yards to sort through their belongings and find recyclables where they are available.

“They think it is good because we pick up recyclables and sort them and when we do that they are able to learn from us about how recyclables are sorted. They really commend the job we do. I have a few households who keep recyclables for me because they know me and the job I do”

- (Informal Recycler #2, 18 August 2016).

Another recycler’s perspective of the matter is centred around the issue of competition with Jozi@Work that was discussed above and is as follows:

“I have this friend of mine, who keeps some recyclables for me but there aren’t as many people doing that for me as I would like because there is Jozi@Work. The people in the community will ask you what you can do for them in return if they keep recyclables for you. I mean, I earn R2.50 for 1kg of bottles yet I’ll have someone asking me to buy them coke for the bottles they kept for me. They don’t understand that I don’t earn a lot of money; they see me collecting a lot of bottles and don’t understand that we are paid per kilo not per bottle. Workers under Jozi@Work have it easier because people freely and willingly keep bottles for them only because they give them plastics and they wear uniform which makes them presentable”

- (Informal Recycler #3, 18 August 2016).

On the contrary, other community members are said to be condescending towards the job informal recyclers do. They tend to be very reluctant to help the informal recyclers because they associate them with theft and mischievous behaviour and as such, one of the recyclers said the following:

“Some honestly look down upon us and are very patronizing others are honestly appreciative about what we do and try and give us bottles here and there. We face many challenges when we do this job and the community perceptions play a part in this. They are very apprehensive about helping us because some people disguise themselves as recyclers but they are really entering households to make observations so they know what to do when they break into that particular person’s home. So now people are really hesitant when it comes to interacting with us because they don’t trust us”

- (Informal Recycler #8, 19 August 2016).

As Lefebvre (1991) argues, spaces are forged through a myriad of power-laden social structures and relations. These are able to constitute how one not only conceptualizes what space is, but how it is experienced. Drawing from this argument, one sees that how people have constructed their household spaces, in relation to how they construct themselves and others (such as informal recyclers), determines who has access to it. In this case, the power gradient is quite clear, a household owner has the power to allow an informal recycler into their household but perhaps the owner sees his/her household as a space that does not permit the type of a person he has constructed an informal recycler to be and thus that limits their access into this particular household. This is important because the same household owners tend to permit Jozi@Work employees who do the very same job into their households, as the recycler quoted above mentions. This implicitly means that because of how recyclers look and the fact that they represent themselves and not a formal organization, they are criminalized or shone upon. This criminalization and lack of acknowledgment from some of the community members has had implications on their sense of selves because they mention that they choose to recycle even under these difficult conditions because at least they do not have to resort to criminal activities to make ends meet. A recycler was asked what he would like to inform community members about the job he does and he stated:

“I would tell them that what I do is good because it keeps me away from doing mischievous things, when I wake up in the morning I think about recycling not crime.”

- (Informal Recycler #5, 18 August 2016).

In addition, the informal recyclers also feel that this distrust from the community members affects their ability to do their job effectively and efficiently because they do not have the access to households that they wish they had. The argument here is that if waste management stakeholders could formalize the job done by the informal recyclers through effective integration strategies, they will have better access to households which will in turn improve not only their self-constructed identities but also their sense of belonging (citizenship) in their respective communities. This can be justified by the following quote:

“If we could get protective wear that formally identifies us and acknowledges us as recyclers that would be helpful because we get easily undermined for the job that we do”

- (Informal Recycler #5, 18 August 2016).

Gender and Informal Recycling

Slack (1996) quotes Hall (1980:174) in saying: "...what 'matters' in Laclau's formulation of articulation is 'the particular ways in which these [ideological] elements are organized together within the logic of different discourses.'" From this quote one starts to understand why considering the articulation of different discourses, in this case considering the role gender plays in informal recyclers' experiences of citizenship through waste integration strategies, is significant. In other words, to understand the narrative holistically one has to explore the different perspectives of this story from all those telling it. When the only female informal recycler was questioned about the challenges she faces as a woman who is a recycler she said the following:

"There are challenges, after I sell my recyclables and get some money I have to make sure no one notices that I came to sell because they will rob me of my money. Also a person will approach me and ask me stupid questions while his eyes wonder into what I have collected so that he can see what he can take from me and run away particularly when it comes to aluminium cans because they know how much they are worth"

- (Informal Recycler #6, 18 August 2016).

Spaces, regardless of the context, are gendered, racialised and classed (Scruton and Watson, 1998). It is important to acknowledge that all the informal recyclers who participated in this study are poor and African, which already marginalises them from a South African capitalist system that is predominantly owned by wealthy white men (see figure 3).

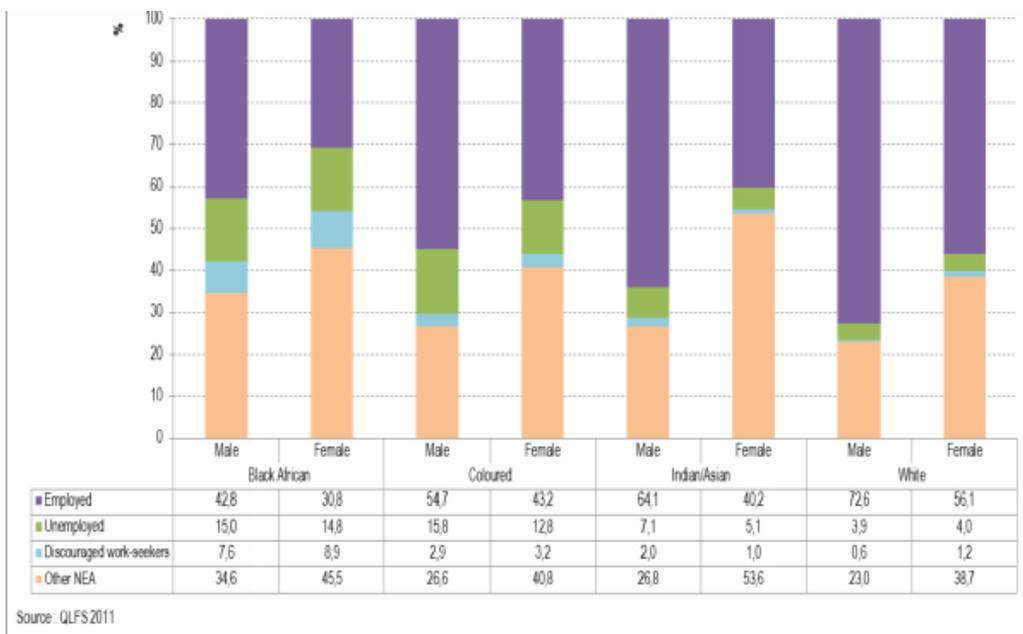


Figure 2- Percentage Distribution of Women and Men Aged 15-64 in Each Population Group by Work Status (Stats SA, 2011).

In light of the above mentioned, the informal recycler in question finds herself poor and African in a world where prosperity is experienced in the form of whiteness, maleness and wealth and manifests itself in material realities that she is unable to identify with. On a more local scale, even amongst other poor and African recyclers, she is still at a disadvantage because she is a woman. Both her femaleness and how her male counterparts have constructed their ideas of femininity dictate how she navigates through the informal recycling spaces on a daily basis.

When asked what she would appreciate help with as a recycler she said the following:

“Related to the distance I have to travel from where I stay to here where I sell my recyclables, people who transport cost too much and it affects us a lot. So perhaps if we were given free transport to bring our recyclables here or to collect-a-can it would be helpful. An alternative would be to open a buyback facility closer to where I stay I think that would benefit me and my community a lot. My kids still attend school where we previously stayed so I have to give them transport money every day and at times they have extra lessons on a Saturday which they have to attend but I hadn’t particularly budgeted for so if there was a buyback centre near me I could quickly collect some recyclables and go and sell them so that I can raise some transport money for that Saturday but I can’t do that from where I stay”

- (Informal Recycler #6, 18 August 2016).

Instead of requesting assistance with the acquisition of protective gear and trolleys like the other informal recyclers (who happen to be male), she focuses on the need for transport so as to ensure that she is safe when she travels these long distances to recycling buyback centres. This response further reinforces the aforementioned statements as it attests to idea that spaces

are gendered; one can even say that the experiences of one's citizenship are gendered (Orloff, 1993; Seidman, 1999; Dias and Ogando, 2015) particularly because the extent to which one is free to navigate one's surroundings in one's body as well as how one accesses the scarce resources in society as theorized by Turner (1997) can be greatly impacted by one's gender. This can be noted from the research conducted because the motivation behind the female informal recycler acquiring financial stability is deeply rooted in her motherhood and how she comports herself in recycling spaces, while doing her job, is governed by her feminine body. Essentially, drawing from Lefebvre (1991) one starts to understand that not only are spaces gendered but how they are perceived and, as a result, how people comport themselves in these spaces is fundamentally gendered.

Often scholarship on the disempowerment of informal recyclers assesses the extent of industry exclusion and the possible models that could act as solutions at a very basic level. Scant attention has been given to unpacking how women perceive their citizenship (in a South African context) as a result of their job as informal recyclers (Dias and Orgando, 2015). The ideology constituting integration strategies is still primarily being thought of as a race and class issue and the gender aspect is more often than not neglected or, at the very least, considered as secondary to race and class (Seidman, 1999). It is thus crucial to consider the social ontology of such conceptualizations because one may attribute this inclined focus on race and class alone as a by product of the economic inequalities experienced based on racial segregation during Apartheid. It can be argued that most informal recyclers, regardless of their gender, experience poverty but undoubtedly, women and men experience this differently, and women experience additional layers of disadvantage, discrimination and exclusion. It is thus important to understand their experiences of citizenship in this process because this could prove to be useful for an improved and more practical conceptualization of future integration strategies in the waste management and recycling industry.

CONCEPTUALISING WASTE

Value:

Pertinent to this research is how different stakeholders within the recycling industry view waste. The question to be answered here is; what does waste signify to different people? This question lies at the core of this research project given the fact that arguably, waste is perceived differently by different people, some see it as a resource where others see it as filth

and abject, these perspectives both directly and indirectly influence the manner in which waste may be valued by different people in society (Drackner, 2005; Moore, 20012). When asked what he defines as “waste” the director of a cooperative responded by saying the following: d

“Waste is not waste up until you have nothing to do with it... so basically waste doesn’t exist because your waste is my treasure.”

- (Director #1, 24 June 2016)

In agreement, the same sentiments were shared by an informal recycler upon being asked the same question, he said:

“Waste is a treasure; one would think it is useless but it is not useless.”

- (Informal Recycler #5, 18 August 2016)

The above findings reflect the opinions of people on two very different ends of the recycling spectrum. However, waste is collectively thought of as a resource by the director and the informal recycler which affirms what is theorised by Moore (2012), as she states that waste can be viewed as a commodity because it is a good that can be bought or sold on the market in return for monetary value.

Competition and Hostility

In retrospect to the above mentioned, the findings reflect a common perception about the meaning of waste between people who deal with waste on an informal basis and those who deal with it more on a formal basis. Ultimately both parties sustain either a business or a livelihood through the salvaging of recyclable materials and this has resulted in inevitable competitiveness. When questioned about the nature of competition between them as a cooperative and the informal recyclers, the response from one of the directors was as follows:

“Whether I like it or not they are my competition but you cannot literally kill someone else because the person is your competition, you have to try and find ways to work with that person.... right now they are harvesting the recyclables and taking them elsewhere and I am also harvesting them in the very same area and taking them elsewhere. The encounter hasn’t been a bad vibe, it has just been okay. There are times where they would cross the line and take my recyclables that’s when we begin to have quarrels.”

- (Director #1, 24 June 2016)

Conversely, the informal recyclers seem to have different experiences regarding their encounters with the Jozi@Work employees, drawing from Samson's (2015) theorization of 'epistemic dispossession', it is clear that the informal recyclers feel dispossessed of their intellectual property. As they claim to be the pioneers of these recycling practices, they feel alienated from an economic opportunity they founded. An informal recycler who mentioned that he had been recycling for 10 years said the following:

“At first, before Jozi@Work existed, it was so simple, I was able to fill up my sac without any problems and make R100 and something in one trip and know that I am fine for the day and it became optional to go and collect again for the second time but now that is not the case, we need to be met halfway because we are suffering, we are really suffering.”

- (Informal Recycler #8, 18 August 2016)

Contributing to this shared affliction another recycler added:

“I mean, they found us here doing this job then the government comes and takes our jobs, people in households don't look out for us anymore they look out for them. Basically we can't work anymore; we are not being given a chance to eat anymore.”

- (Informal Recycler #11, 19 August 2016)

From these perspectives given by the informal recyclers, not only is one being exposed to issues of what Samson (2015) refers to as “epistemic dispossession” but one is also made aware that informal recyclers have increasing distrust in their government. This distrust is a direct reflection of their relationship with the state, seen through the lack of access to both economic and cultural resources which speaks to the status of their citizenship as theorized by Turner (1997). Turner (1997:6) argues that citizenship both controls and determines the extent to which certain groups and individuals have access to the scarce resources, including economic opportunities and cultural capital, in society.

In addition to a difficulty in procuring recyclables to meet basic daily needs due to competition, some of the informal recyclers mentioned that disputes with Jozi@Work employees have become extremely hostile and extremely violent. This is as a result of them having to resort to stealing from the Jozi@Work employees just to be able to make a few rands to eat, one of the recyclers mentioned:

“We don’t get anything anymore so now when they put their plastics filled with recyclables in the street corner, where the truck comes to pick them up, we have to wait for them to leave then steal the plastics before the truck comes. Honestly speaking that is not right and I do not want to be a thief, I want to find my own recyclables in peace. When they catch you stealing their plastics they beat you up, look at my eye right now they beat me up.”

- (Informal Recycler #8, 18 August 2016)

Hart (1973) identifies that in the urban economy of developing countries, illegitimate means of securing an income are inevitable particularly within the informal economy. This is exemplified by the informal recycler quoted above because when he and other interviewees who attested to this, have run out of options they resort to stealing from the Jozi@Work employees as a means of survival. The theft not only has implications on their constructions of self, as many of them do not want to be criminalized, but it impacts on how community members perceive them which is detrimental to their work because they depend on community interactions and mutual trust as a means to obtain recyclables.

Furthermore, when asked what solutions she has come up with to mitigate these violent disputes one of the directors of a cooperative said:

“...now what we have done is that these people (informal recyclers) wake up very early so, we came up with a strategy that we will start on different ends of the area and meet in the middle so that we are not collecting waste in the same spaces which makes it fair for both parties.”

- (Director #2, 28 June 2016)

When informal recyclers were asked the same question one of them stated that:

“...if an agreement could be established that states the terms about where we are allowed to collect recyclables and which areas they are allowed to collect that would be better. At the moment they are really killing us truly speaking”

- (Informal Recycler #12, 19 August 2016)

It seems from both ends of the spectrum a working solution would be to sit down and communicate on how this matter can be addressed so that all those who are involved can benefit from this job. Issues of communication between various stakeholders have been the downfall of many attempts to work cohesively, such issues can be seen expressed by the

difficulty faced by many policy makers in trying to create policies which speak to all stakeholders' needs (Hooper *et al.*, 1999).

INTEGRATION

Outsourcing of Labour and Responsibility for Social Inclusion

The programme manager for Jozi@Work mentioned during a briefing that as a way to integrate informal recyclers, the cooperatives which are signed under Jozi@Work (particularly within the waste division) are encouraged to work hand-in-hand with informal recyclers so as to ensure that they still have jobs, however, Jozi@Work is unable to hire non-citizens so cooperatives are advised to buy recyclables from them only (Programme Manager of Jozi@Work, 29 June 2016). This statement was seconded by the director of a cooperative by saying:

“The initial part of Jozi@Work is to uplift SMMEs, with reclaimers what they did is ask of us as the small businesses to incorporate these people by having them sell their recyclables to us so that they can avoid going to bigger recycling buybacks so that we can also grow. However, Jozi@Work doesn't incorporate the reclaimers, it was to uplift the SMMEs because you know how broad Jozi@Work is.”

- (Director #2, 28 June 2016)

As clear as the roles of the cooperatives seem from the above quotes, assisting Jozi@Work to promote itself as an all encompassing empowerment and integration strategy, it seems that not only has Jozi@Work outsourced the responsibility to integrate informal recyclers to cooperatives but it has been more focused on uplifting companies to reach profitability, as opposed to empowering previously disadvantaged people through community development cooperatives.

This can firstly be discerned by the fact that the so-called “cooperatives” contracted under Jozi@Work, which participated in this study, do not identify themselves as cooperatives but rather as companies (SMMEs) and they are in fact registered as such. The Jozi@Work policy (The City of Johannesburg, 2015) states that the programme does permit the involvement of private companies, however, giving opportunities to private companies defeats the purpose of tackling community development issues where communities are collectively involved in the decision making process as opposed to the two directors at the very top of the company structure calling all the shots (James, 1999). Having observed the dynamic first hand, one

sees the CEO of these companies in their fancy clothes, sitting in their offices while the employed community youth members are the ones working outside (see figure 2)



Figure 3- Jozi@Work Youth Employees Sorting Recyclables in Protea South, Soweto

Knowledge, Access and Em (power)ment

The informal recyclers who participated in this study raised some interesting arguments to substantiate their claim that the Jozi@Work programme is discriminatory. The recyclers feel that they fit the necessary criteria required to be incorporated into the initiative, as a part of the previously disadvantaged African youth within these communities, who are South African in nationality and are well equipped with the expertise on this particular job. However, they stated that no one ever approaches them to hire them, let alone assist them to start their own cooperatives or SMMEs which Snyman (2015) suggests is a useful tool for informal recyclers' integration purposes. This can be substantiated by the following quote:

“I think projects like Jozi@Work are very important. The only problem is that when such programmes are implemented, we don't get considered, they only think of other unemployed community members who have been relaxing doing nothing to begin with. Some of these Jozi@Work people come here to sell their recyclables and they don't even have the knowledge to sort the recyclables properly because they are so inexperienced with this job and instead of hiring us with the expertise they hire them.”

- (Informal Recycler #4, 18 August 2016)

Another recycler contributes to this statement by saying:

“Ultimately it is all about connections and building relationships which allow you to access vital information, but we don’t have those connections and so we can’t get the information about certain employment opportunities. I mean programmes such as Jozi@Work started right in front of us and we were told nothing about it. We don’t know of any opportunities within the waste sector, you just see things happening in front of you and you are excluded from it all. When you go to them looking for a job they tell you all the negativities related to you. People are just playing around with us and I have lost interest in most things now”

- (Informal recycler #3, 18 August 2016).

The directors of the cooperatives were asked how they found out about Jozi@Work so as to decipher how they managed to access such information that the informal recyclers were not able to, particularly given that all persons in question are based in Soweto. The responses given were as follows:

“Through marketing, you market for work then you find information, then you make that information useful towards you”

- (Director #1, 24 June 2016).

“Jozi@Work was published in newspapers and was informed to everyone, when I say everyone I mean when councilors are having meetings they would tell people and they would also advise those who don’t have companies to register so that they can be able to apply for Jozi@Work. Jozi@Work is broader, now we are talking about waste it has different streams whereby people can apply. We chose waste because I have been working with waste. We were told in meetings; we attended their gatherings and heard what they were talking about when they explained the procedure of doing things. At the end of the day you submit everything, they are the ones (which is the city) who determines who gets what, not everybody is going to get it all depends on how the proposal was so, is it understandable and are you able to do what is required but experience also helps so I guess it helped in my case”

- (Director #2, 28 June 2016).

The directors’ responses shed light on this matter. Director #1 states that he marketed himself for this opportunity and made it work favourably for him, this implicitly means that people have opportunities but they do not take full advantage of the opportunities they are given as he did. Moreover, both the directors were previously employed prior to acquiring the Jozi@Work contracts. Director #1 (28 June 2016) mentioned that he used to work in the private sector for the likes of Vodacom, MTN, Virgin Mobile, Liberty life and Prime Media.

He also mentioned that he started his first company years prior to MusaTelecoms (his company contracted under Jozi@Work) but it did not manage to do well. Director #2 says she worked for a company called Zondi buyback, in Zondi Soweto. They were doing similar tasks to what they do now minus the street cleaning; they were primarily focused on educational awareness and recycling and that is where her waste journey began. Essentially, the people who managed to access the information about this programme were people who were already employed and one of the directors was already in affiliation with Pikitup through working at the Zondi buyback center. As such, rather than addressing poverty and providing opportunities for the unemployed, Jozi@Work seems to be facilitating to the creation of an emergent black bourgeoisie, which as Iheduru (2004) argues, is contributing to increasing inequality within the black population.

It should be noted, however, that not all of the informal recyclers are critical of the Jozi@Work initiative. Some of the recyclers commend the initiative for the work it has been able to do in their communities. For example, one of the interviewees says:

“I think it is good because they are cleaning our city, they are making our environment presentable because there are some careless people who always feel the need to litter”

- (Informal Recycler #9, 19 August 2016).

However, given their aim to empower their communities' youth, they have managed to disempower informal recyclers from a waste management system that continuously disregards them (Miratfab, 2004; Samson, 2009; 2015). This affirms the insights drawn from Mascull (1996) in James (1999) where the author states that the empowerment of one group usually leads to the disempowerment of another. James (1999) theorises empowerment as a tool often used by the individuals from the center who outsource their responsibilities in order to cut costs, but pitch this 'empowerment' as a type of community politics which seeks to demand a local share of resources.

Integration or a façade?

It seems that the idea of integrating informal recyclers is still not fully realised for what it should be; stakeholders continue to assume informal recyclers are integrated when they are formally hired to do the job they already do independently. This can be seen from a director's perspective when asked how he plans to integrate informal recyclers:

“...one of the strategies that we thought of is yes we want to integrate them and having them work with us as MusaTelecoms through Jozi@Work was that we are going to help them to look decent. In terms of us providing them with PPE (correct protective clothing) such as your overalls, your boots, your dust masks and your hat. Also giving them the benefit that they are not travelling long distances to sell the recyclables they can just bring them to us. That was going to be our contribution on how we let the society view them and the work that they do”

- (Director #1, 24 June 2016).

Integration should serve as a constructive strategy (Gutberlet, 2008; Dias and Ogando, 2015). One that not only aims to include informal recyclers at a very inconsequential and basic level, but one that also significantly develops their entrepreneurial and negotiation skills and assists in an overall improvement of their livelihoods and in turn, their citizenship (Turner, 1994; Seidman, 1999; Jamieson, 2002; Lister, 2007). At the moment one could say that informal recyclers are merely being coaxed into a capitalist system that now aims to provide them with protective gear, a better trolley, an acknowledgment of their existence and a name in a system that offers to compensate their labour-power on a monthly basis. If key stakeholders within this recycling industry continue to have these particular notions of what integration represents, it will not solve the problem it will be a case of invisible citizens, wasted potential and a bandage on an infected wound hoping that it miraculously heals somehow. A quote by a recycler that articulates this view on this matter is as follows:

“...I used to see people from Jozi@Work but by the time I had access to the information about what they were doing I couldn't understand how they would want to pay me the same amount I make here in the township on a daily, in a month, besides how can you hire me to do something for you that I do for myself already. I mean who is fooling who? The only difference is that they don't go to buyback centres to sell their recyclables, they go straight to the major recycling companies which is what we want to be able to do for ourselves”

- (Informal Recycler #3, 18 August 2016).

CITIZENSHIP

State-informal recycler disconnect

Understanding people's experiences of citizenship can take many forms depending on the question one seeks to answer. However, no matter the case, it seems significant to initially understand what people think their relationship with the state is (Jamieson, 2002). Doing this

not only allows one to test one's sense of belongingness in a particular space but also provides some insight about the availability and access to effective state services. This is because in the poor regions of developing contexts it has been said that there is a tendency towards dependent citizens who rely heavily on state welfare and do not feel the need to work anymore which is reducing self-reliance and active citizenship (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994). However, the authors go on to argue this and mention that individuals cannot be expected to be self-reliant when the opportunities are simply not present, people would appreciate not being dependant on the state for their livelihoods, more often than not, the opportunities for them to do so are not present (Kymlicka and Norma, 1994). The findings from this research study affirm what the authors argue because the state is continuously promoting self-sufficiency, one can even see this in the Jozi@Work policy which states that the programme is designed to decrease state-dependency of the micro-enterprises contracted under the programme (City of Johannesburg, 2015:10). However, these opportunities to be self-reliant do not extend themselves to informal recyclers, which is ironic given the fact that they are extremely active citizens who are not expecting any hand outs but seek mere employment opportunities (Samson, 2009). When asked if he knows of someone in his municipality or Pikitup who he can engage with about matters related to the work he does one of the informal recyclers said:

“There is nowhere that I go. I mean who would I even be complaining to? To be quite honest no one is willing to listen, I mean we can suggest and say something to someone now but it ends there and no one ever does anything”

- (Informal Recycler #3, 18 August 2016).

When another recycler was asked what she would do if she were given the opportunity to work elsewhere or do something else other than recycling she said:

“Due to my age, a lot of jobs look into age as a factor, I am unable to easily access a job but I feel like recycling allows me to make money despite such factors including qualifications. I would want to start a business and seeing as I have immersed myself in recycling and I have identified many challenges I would start a business in recycling and open up my own buyback center where I live in Lefereng so that people who are there can sell to me”

- (Informal Recycler #6, 18 August 2016).

The quotes above speak to two matters, the first is that informal recyclers are so excluded from the waste management and recycling system that they do not even know who to contact or speak to when they have issues or suggestions pertaining to the work they do. Municipalities mostly recognise those contracted under Jozi@Work who, as discussed before, were previously unemployed youth members who were doing absolutely nothing related to recycling before. The informal recyclers who have dedicated their lives to this work have simply been disregarded and have no access to the information which could better their livelihoods despite the fact that they were the active citizens in this case. Even when they are approached they are made empty promises which do not materialize to anything and so, one has to question state priorities. Why overlook citizens who are so willing to participate and be agents of change within their communities? Samson (2009), having noted similar processes in her work, suggests that it is as a result of the capitalist system that seeks to find new spheres of accumulation in the work pioneered by informal recyclers. Thus incorporating informal recyclers into the municipal waste management system will decrease the ability to solidify the commodification of this recycling process. This injustice has ramifications on how informal recyclers feel about the state as some of them even mentioned that they do not bother voting in any of the elections because of its futility. For example, an informal recycler said the following:

“No, I have never voted. This voting thing is honestly just a game, we have been a democratic country for 22 years but change is nowhere to be seen by majority of South Africans, they keep saying and promising the same things. The poverty is still high and that has led to even more people starting to recycle compared to when I first started because of the lack of job creation. Now there are just too many of us and it is problematic, the government is not considering our needs they are concentrated on others”

- (Informal Recycler #14, 19 August 2016).

Another informal recycler added:

“...South Africa is said to be a democratic country but it’s only really democratic for those who are in parliament and the rest of us at the bottom are not considered. They are the ones who enjoy this freedom; they say ‘a better life for all’ not for us, but for those who are in the cabinet”

- (Informal Recycler #15, 19 August 2016).

The second matter addressed by the quote by informal recycler 6, reiterates that informal recyclers do not expect hand outs from the state, they are merely asking to be met half way. These are individuals who have aspirations, who wish to be entrepreneurs and use the skills they have garnered from their journeys as recyclers to start their own enterprises and help other community members to earn a livelihood through recycling without travelling long distances. These very opportunities are surpassing them and being handed to people who were previously formally employed or who were unemployed and non-active citizens. This is a matter that needs to be re-evaluated; the state would be better off awarding these opportunities to people who are not only more experienced with this work but those who are truly passionate about it. When asked what he would do if he were given the opportunity to do anything a recycler said:

“I have been recycling for so long I would want to start my own recycling business to ensure that those who are far are also able to recycle”

- (Informal Recycler #14, 19 August 2016).

If the above does not serve as reason enough to start considering informal recyclers as the true agents of change within the waste management and recycling system at community level then nothing will. It is simply discriminatory to do nothing while informal recyclers beg to be acknowledged and recognised as a part of a recycling polity they pioneered.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Citizenship theory has proven to be highly multifaceted in nature; however, many meanings of citizenship have often alluded to mainly issues of politics or nationality. This study served as a way to unconventionally place theories of citizenship in a South African township context as a way to assess the effects of social, cultural and economic exclusion on a group of often marginalised individuals known as informal recyclers.

Having studied an integration process to explore what it reveals about citizenship provided some interesting insights with regards to understanding how scattered conceptualisations of what integration represents to different stakeholders are. This, in turn, has been detrimental for the implementation of many proposed integration models in South Africa, particularly within the waste management and recycling system explored lengthily in this study. From this point of view, I recommend that future studies explore ways in which open dialogues can happen on platforms that allow the participation of all stakeholders (including informal recyclers) to express what they think integration is and should represent. This would ensure that all voices are heard and perhaps some consensus can be reached and as a result, progress can be made regarding how these models can be better suited for the people they are often designed for.

Informal recyclers have aspects of their identities shaped by this constant exclusion in a way that is making them lose hope in their aspirations. During the interview stage of this study, each informal recycler was questioned about their aspirations and many of them mentioned all kinds of inspiring ideas but most of them added that they knew they would never be able to make these aspirations their realities because as informal recyclers, it just is not possible. One has to wonder what in their lives has caused their sense of selves to be so disregarded even by them. The answer was quite clear, they mentioned that they have tried countless times to improve their circumstances however, no one listens and they are just not being met halfway by anyone. One of the informal recyclers even admitted that he resorted to drug use as a result. It may seem far reaching; however, this is the reality that many informal recyclers face as a result of being completely overlooked and belittled for the work they do by some of their community members, the municipality and the key players in waste management and recycling industries. With that said, I recommend that future studies not only look at methods to integrate informal recyclers into waste management and recycling systems through providing trolleys and PPE, but methods of integration should assist informal recyclers to

reach their full potential. If their dreams are not realised, it will result in more cases of invisible citizens and wasted potential and this does nothing for the transformation and progressiveness this country is aiming to reach.

In conclusion, it is clear that there is still a considerable amount of room for socio-economic, institutional and cultural change that is present. All it requires, as Dias (2011) illuminates, is that people, particularly stake holders, have the right conversations with informal recyclers so as to see an improvement with the manner in which integration programmes are structured. Perhaps then this narrative will be one comprised of tales of empowerment and not one of disempowerment and discrimination that it has been for far too long. It is time to consider that citizenship goes past an identity document and the right to vote; it encompasses the realities that many marginalised individuals face as a result of their exclusion from the basic resources in society and this study has elucidated on this quite broadly. This study could thus serve as way to shed some necessary light on how to create a nation of more visible citizens with realised potential who contribute to a progressive polity.

6. REFERENCES

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7. APPENDICES