Community participation in housing development - the Boystown informal settlement project

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in any part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature: N. Kali Date: 16 Feb 2005

ABSTRACT

One of the problems with development planning is a lack of community participation. This is due to the top-down approach that dominates development planning. To improve chances of sustainable development there is a need to shift from a top-down approach towards a bottom-up approach. The bottom-up approach promotes people-centred development. People-centred development focuses on people and enhances their capacity to influence the direction and implementation of the development process. Communities can only influence the development process through their participation.

International bodies such as the United Nations and the World Bank support the concept of community participation in development planning. The South African policy framework also provides for community participation. The change agents should utilise this opportunity by sharing knowledge and by learning from the indigenous knowledge of the community. This knowledge exchange between the community and the change agents creates a platform for social learning, capacity building and empowerment. It is through this platform that sustainable development could be achieved. This kind of development process accommodates the building blocks of development.

This study examines the level of community participation in a housing development project at the Boystown informal settlement. It was found that there is a lack of community participation in this project and that the project could be a success if there is a higher level of participation by the beneficiaries.

OPSOMMING

Een van die grootste probleme met ontwikkelingsbeplanning is 'n tekort aan deelname deur die betrokke gemeenskap. Die rede hiervoor is die feit dat 'n bo-na-onder-benadering ("top-down approach") in ontwikkelingsbeplanning gevolg word. Dit is nodig om van 'n bo-na-onder- na 'n onder-na-bo-benadering te verskuif ten einde die kanse op volhoubare ontwikkeling te vergroot. Die onder-na-bo-benadering bevorder mensgesentreerde ontwikkeling. Mensgesentreerde ontwikkeling fokus op die mense en vergroot hulle kans om die implementering van die ontwikkelingsproses, asook die koers wat dit gaan inslaan, te beïnvloed. Gemeenskappe kan die ontwikkelingsproses slegs deur middel van deelname beïnvloed.

Internasionale liggame soos die Verenigde Nasies en die Wêreldbank ondersteun die konsep van gemeenskapsdeelname aan ontwikkelingsbeplanning. Ook die Suid-Afrikaanse beleidsraamwerk maak voorsiening vir gemeenskapsdeelname. Die veranderingsagente behoort hierdie geleentheid te gebruik deur kennis te deel en deur van die inheemse kennis van die gemeenskap te leer. Hierdie uitruiling van kennis tussen die gemeenskap en die veranderingsagente skep 'n basis vir sosiale leer, kapasiteitsbou en bemagtiging. Hierdie basis kan lei tot volhoubare ontwikkeling. Dié tipe ontwikkelingsproses is versoenbaar met die boustene van ontwikkeling.

Hierdie studie stel ondersoek in na die vlak van gemeenskapsdeelname in 'n behuisingsontwikkelingsprojek in die Boystown informele nedersetting. Daar is gevind dat daar 'n tekort aan gemeenskapsdeelname in hierdie projek is en dat die projek 'n sukses kan wees indien daar 'n verhoogde vlak van deelname deur die begunstigdes is.

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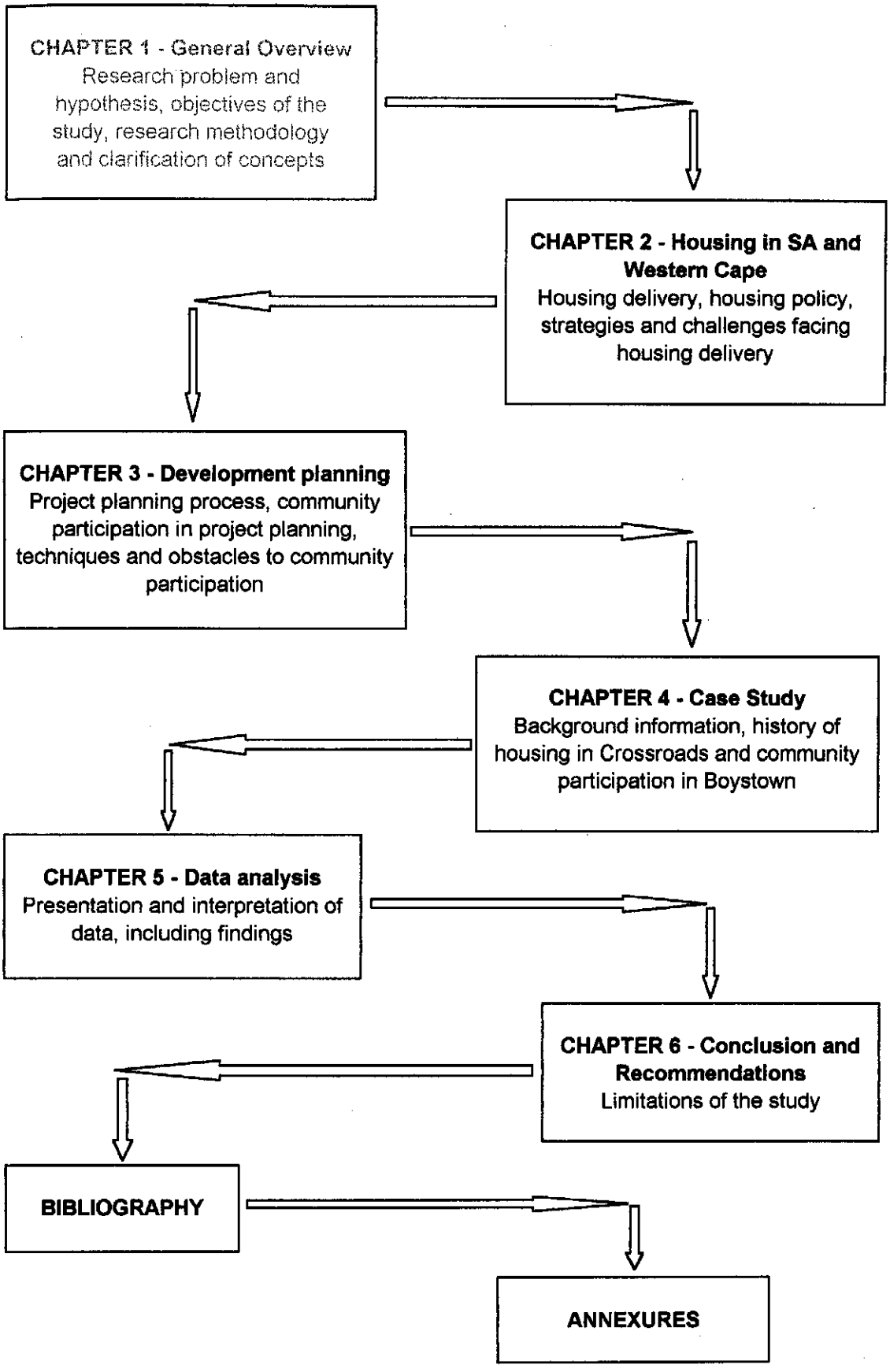
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CHAPTER 1: GENERAL OVERVIEW

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) guarantees a right for everyone to access adequate housing. Despite this constitutional provision, housing remains a challenge in South Africa. One of the reasons for this continuous challenge is the legacy of apartheid. The apartheid system did not only set up separate residential areas for different racial groups, but also excluded people from decision-making processes. Therefore, when addressing the question of housing it is vital to address the issue of participation by those in need of housing.

Although housing is a national and provincial government competence in terms of Schedule 4 of the Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996), the local government sphere has an important role to play in housing. The local government is closer to the communities and therefore serves as the service-delivery point. Section 9 of the Housing Act (Republic of South Africa, 1997a) requires that municipalities ensure that communities in their jurisdiction have access to adequate housing on a progressive basis. In addition, municipalities are required to set housing-delivery goals.

The issue of housing cannot be addressed in isolation by municipalities, hence the principle of Integrated Development Planning (IDP). In addressing challenges relating to the development of sustainable settlements, municipalities should develop a concrete vision and strategies for realising that vision in partnership with the beneficiaries (Republic of South Africa, 1998c). This exercise of vision development is a component of IDP. The White Paper on Local Government (Republic of South Africa, 1998c) defines IDP as a process through which a municipality can establish a development plan for the short,

medium and long term. This White Paper also states that IDP assists municipalities to fulfil their development mandate.

According to the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (Republic of South Africa, 2000), the community should participate in drafting IDP. This act requires municipalities to establish appropriate community participatory processes and procedures (Republic of South Africa, 2000). Chapter 7 of the Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996) also makes provision for community participation in the matters of local government. Based on the legal requirement of community participation, this study assesses whether there is community participation in the housing development project of the Boystown informal settlement.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESIS

Following the guidelines by Brynard and Hanekom (1997:15-22), the following research problem and hypothesis are formulated:

1.2.1 Research problem

What is the nature and level of community participation in the Boystown Housing Development Project (BHDP) and what impact does it have on the project?

There are various factors that could influence community participation in development projects. These include the particular community's level of awareness, information and knowledge of the project, and also what the community stands to gain from the project. This study intends to assess whether or not there is community participation in the BHDP and, if this is not the case, what the reasons are for non-participation.

1.2.2 Research hypothesis

The BHDP will be more successful if there is a high level of community participation by the beneficiaries.

The level of community participation could influence the success of a development project. IAP2 (DEAT, 2002:7) places the levels of community participation on a continuum through which the level of participation increases from a one-way information flow to information exchange. The levels of community participation and its objectives are indicated in Table 1 below. It is important to state that the empowerment level is the most desirable one, as this level places the final decision making in the hands of the community.

Table 1: Levels of community participation and objective of each level

Level of community participation	Objective
Inform	To provide balance and objective information to improve understanding of issues and alternatives.
Consult	To obtain feedback from the community on analysis, alternatives and/or decisions.
Involve	To work directly with the community throughout the process to ensure that issues and concerns are consistently understood and considered.
Collaborate	To partner with the community in each aspect of decision-making, including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution.
Empower	To place final decision-making in the hands of the community.

Adapted from DEAT (2002:8)

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- To conduct a comparative literature review with regards to the relationship between community participation and housing in South Africa;

- To determine the level of community participation in the BHDP;
- To evaluate relevant strategic, managerial and policy issues regarding development planning for housing from the perspective of the BHDP's beneficiaries;
- To determine the process involved in housing allocation in the BHDP; and
- To formulate recommendations regarding community participation in housing development projects with strategic policy outputs.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Two basic research methodologies can be distinguished, i.e. qualitative and quantitative research methodologies (Brynard & Hanekom, 1997:29). The researcher used the qualitative methodology, which produces descriptive data and focuses on the real-life experiences of the people. As suggested by Brynard and Hanekom (1997:30), the researcher employed a plurality of qualitative data-collection techniques, which include a comparative literature survey, semi-structured interviews and participatory observation.

1.4.1 Comparative literature survey

The researcher employed a comparative literature survey to obtain and study useful references on the research topic (Brynard & Hanekom, 1997:30). As indicated by Mouton (2001:87), this technique enabled the researcher to learn how other scholars have theorised and conceptualised issues relating to community participation. The researcher applied the mind-mapping approach to identify critical topics and relevant data to the research (Brynard & Hanekom, 1997:50). The literature review assisted the researcher to ascertain the most widely accepted definitions of key concepts in the field of development planning.

1.4.2 Semi-structured interviews

The researcher developed a questionnaire for the interviews with the assistance of Dr De Wet Schutte of Unisearch Consultancy (see Annexure 4). This

questionnaire was deduced from dendrograms, which the researcher developed based on the literature review.

The researcher opted for semi-structured interviews, as they allowed the researcher to explain questions to the respondents. As stated by Brynard and Hanekom (1997:32), the semi-structured interviews create an opportunity for the researcher to gain clarity as well as ask follow-up questions based on the answers received from the respondents. Some of the disadvantages of this technique are that it is costly as well as time consuming (Welman & Kruger, 2001:158).

1.4.3 Participatory observation

In addition to the literature review and semi-structured interviews, the researcher also employed the participatory observation technique. According to Welman and Kruger (2001:184), participant observation requires the researcher to take part in the daily experiences of the community involved in a process that is being studied. In addition, Welman and Kruger (2001:184) argue that the participant observer should assume the roles of the community under study in order to view the situation from their perspective and to understand the meaning the community attaches to its life-world. Unfortunately, the researcher could not be in Boystown each day, but was able to interact with the people during occasional visits and had informal conversations about the BHDP. The researcher was also able to attend and observe the proceedings of a community meeting addressed by the City Mayor.

1.5 CLARIFICATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

It is important to define key concepts that are used in the study. These concepts are used according to the definitions given below.

1.5.1 **People-centred development:** According to Kotze and Kellerman (1997:36), people-centred development focuses on people and the

enhancement of their capacity to participate in the development processes. People-centred development is a bottom-up approach, as it puts people first. It creates a sense of belonging for those participating in the development processes.

1.5.2 **Community (beneficiary community):** Community refers to a collection of people in a geographic area with a particular identifiable social structure, exhibiting some sense of belonging, community spirit or consciousness (Van Horen, 1995:9).

Although the researcher acknowledges that a community is not homogeneous, the people living in the area under study do resemble some characteristics of the above definition, hence the reference to the Boystown community. The people of the Boystown community live in shacks under unhealthy conditions, and the common interest among them is to have decent housing.

1.5.3 **Community participation:** Community participation "is a formally structured instrument which is deliberately used either to bring about, to accelerate, or in some instances, to slow down the process of change" (Cornwell, 1987:88). This description implies that the concept of community participation is associated with transformation, whereby people who were previously excluded in decision making are provided with an opportunity to partake in decision-making processes.

The United Nations, on the other hand, defines participation as a process which "requires the voluntary and democratic involvement of people in:

(a) contributing to the development effort

(b) sharing equitable in the benefits derived there from and

(c) decision making in respect of setting goals, forming policies and planning and implementing economic and social development

programmes" (Coetzee, 1989:260-261). According to the World Bank (World Bank Participation Sourcebook, 2003:3), participation is a process through which a community influences and shares control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources that affect them.

The attached media reports (Annexure 1) imply that the Boystown community wants to lead and shape the decisions around their housing project.

1.5.4 **Social learning:** Korten, in De Beer and Swanepoel (1998:6-7), argues that social learning is the process that aims to meet the need for a flexible, sustained, experimental, action-based capacity-building style of assistance. Furthermore, De Beer and Swanepoel (1998:7) argue that social learning is a bottom-up approach that avoids the restrictions of a blueprint approach. Social learning envisages development programmes whereby the people and programme developers have an equal partnership and within which their knowledge and resources are shared to establish a programme. This is in line with Kotze and Kellerman's (1997:43) view that the learning process brings together the development programme, the organisations involved in the implementation of the programme and the beneficiaries.

1.5.5 **Capacity building:** The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF, 2001:19) defines capacity building as an ongoing process aimed at increasing the ability of individuals, groups and organisations in order to control and manage all the important areas in their lives or operations. Capacity may be established by providing training, resources and access to information, and by providing a platform for the individuals and groups to interrogate that information in order to make informed decisions. Through the capacity-building process, people develop self-esteem and skills, and both change agents and beneficiaries are able to tap into the

indigenous knowledge systems (IKSs). As defined by Treurnicht (1997:95), IKSs are indigenous ways of doing things that are strongly embedded in culture. Capacity building is therefore necessary for effective participation in the BHDP.

1.5.6 **Empowerment:** Empowerment means gaining the ability to decide and steer one's own future actions, as well as being able to initiate actions on one's own and thus influencing the processes and outcomes of development (Brown, 2000:175). As it has been suggested by De Beer and Swanepoel (1998:25), "empowerment releases people from the poverty trap". Both statements imply that when people are empowered, they have the capacity to take control in shaping their future. The media reports in Annexure 1 indicate that the Boystown community has been denied the opportunity to influence the processes involved in their housing project implementation.

1.5.7 **Sustainable development:** The World Commission on Environment and Development defines sustainable development as an effort to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Kotze, 1997:10). Sustainability refers to the ability of the beneficiaries to take control and run any development initiative with very little or no assistance from outside. This also means that the knowledge and skills acquired through capacity-building processes should be applicable to other development initiatives.

1.5.8 **Housing:** De Carlo (1977:33) defines housing as a "programme of organisation of physical space – which implies a relevant use of land and the investment of considerable resources, usually public – with the principal aim of providing lodging to social groups that are unable to obtain it on the open market".

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According to UNCHS-Habitat, "[a] holistic definition of housing is one that not only refers to the structure that provides protection from the elements, has access to safe water and sanitation, and provides for secure tenure and personal safety, but also refers to one that is within easy reach of centres of employment, education and health care and is available at a cost which people and society can afford" (Adebayo, 2000:4). This holistic definition of housing is the most desirable one, and requires an integrated planning approach.

1.5.9 **Informal settlement:** Davidson and Payne (cited in Arrigone, 1995:24) define an informal settlement as a settlement developed outside the formal planning and building systems. This kind of settlement usually consists of shacks built from corrugated iron. The Boystown informal settlement meets these requirements.

1.5.10 **Planning:** Planning is defined as a continuous process that involves decisions, or choices, about alternative ways of using available resources, with the aim of achieving particular goals at some time in the future (Conyers & Hills, 1992:3). For an effective planning process an integrated and holistic approach that encompasses the various aspects of development (social, economic, political, environmental and spatial) should be adopted. In the case of the BHDP, planning could be used as a means to address problems surrounding the project. Furthermore, appropriate planning can ensure progress in terms of implementation of the project, and thereby improve the status of the project reflected in Annexure 1.

The linkage of the concepts discussed above is illustrated below in Figure 1. These concepts are interdependent, in the same way as the building blocks of development discussed in Section 3.1. People-centred development is a bottom-up approach, which promotes community participation. Ownership of the project by the community emanates from its participation. It is through participation that the social learning process is established. Social learning is also a bottom-up approach through which the capacity of the community is built. Capacity building is aimed at empowering the community, and once the community is empowered, this could result in sustainable development. Based on the information presented in Annexure 1, the researcher believes that the BHDP does not meet the principles of people-centred development. It is clear that the BHDP is not driven from within Boystown, as envisaged by the White Paper on Housing. This White Paper claims that the government is committed to a development process driven from within communities (Republic of South Africa, 1994).

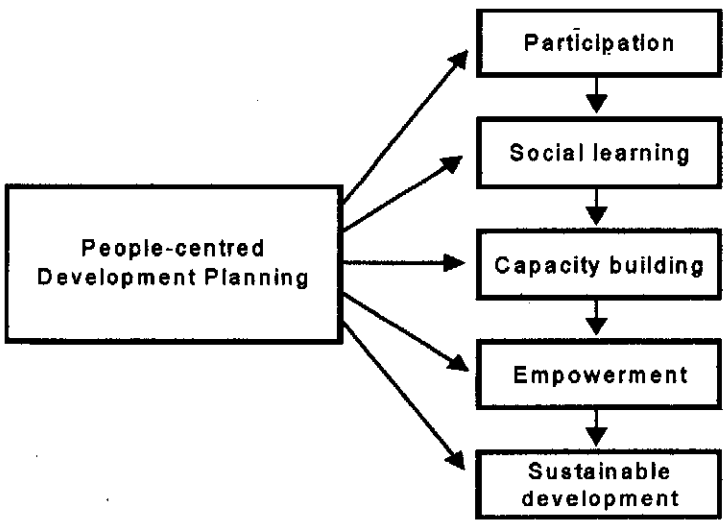


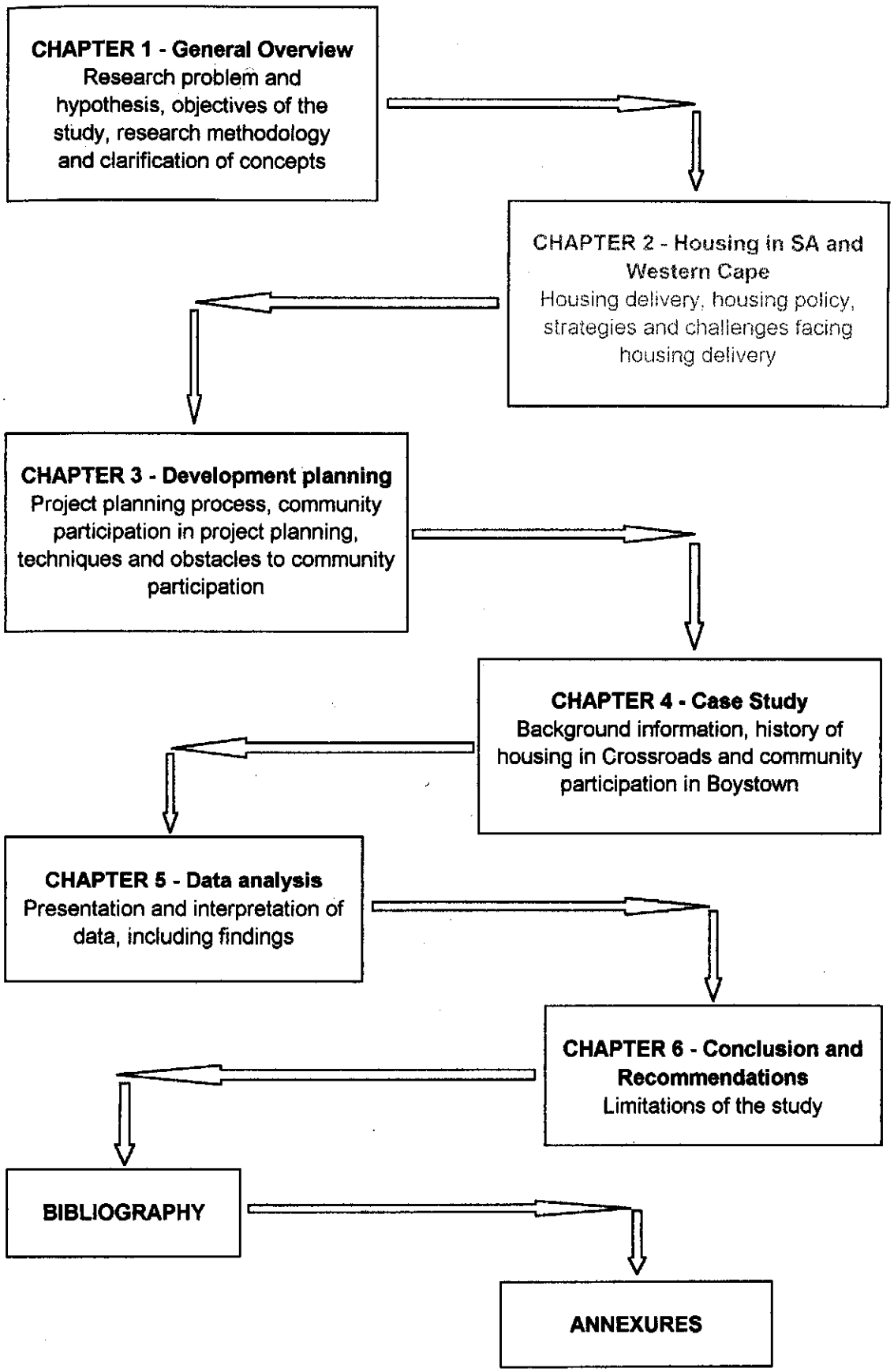
Figure 1: Linkage of concepts – creating the building blocks

1.6 SUMMARY

In addressing the imbalances of the apartheid legacy, various pieces of legislation have been passed. Regardless of the new legislation, provision of adequate housing continues to be a challenge. As required by legislation such as the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (Republic of South Africa, 2000), municipalities should encourage community participation in their efforts of housing delivery. Municipal-community partnerships can assist in fast-tracking housing delivery.

This opening chapter gave context to the housing problem in South Africa. The research problem and hypothesis of the study were highlighted. A description of research methodology was covered, as well as a discussion, with the aim of clarifying concepts used in the study.

The next chapter will focus on the housing question in South Africa, specifically in the Western Cape, on relevant legislation and policies, and on some issues relating to housing delivery.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CHAPTER 2: HOUSING IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WESTERN CAPE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The lack of adequate housing remains one of the major problems in South Africa. The housing problem can be traced back to apartheid. During apartheid, housing was used as an instrument of segregation (Kithakye, undated). The segregation policy aimed to separate people along racial and ethnic lines. Hendler (1991:202) states that the housing crisis stems from the land question and remains a political issue. In implementing the segregation policy, the apartheid government declared certain areas as 'white' areas only, and black people were forcefully removed and relocated. Furthermore, the 'homelands' were created as a perpetuation of the segregation policy. The apartheid government believed that the number of black people in the cities should be minimised, as they belong to the homelands (Lemon, 1991:17).

The segregation policy was applied nationwide and this resulted in overcrowding and inadequate housing for blacks. According to Cook (1991:28), Cape Town was the first city where homes of black residents were deliberately separated from other citizens. From 1909 until 1913 and under special circumstances until 1936, blacks could buy or rent land anywhere in Cape Town and after 1919 black people required exemption to live outside Ndabeni, which was their designated location (Cook, 1991:28). In 1925, the Cape Town City Council created advisory boards that introduced racially segregated residential areas. Langa, which also provided barrack accommodation for migrant workers, became the only location for blacks after Ndabeni was cleared for industrial development (Cook, 1991:30). After Langa, construction of houses in Gugulethu started.

Due to unequal provision and shortage of housing for blacks, informal settlements increased rapidly. The apartheid government cleared these informal settlements, one after the other, as they are often associated with land invasion.

Crossroads is one of the informal settlements that finally received official acknowledgement (Cook, 1991:30).

The apartheid government was responsible for inadequate provision of shelter in South Africa and it was viewed that a non-racial and democratic government would remedy the problem. Anti-apartheid organisations saw the inadequate provision of housing as an opportunity to mobilise people to take action against the apartheid government. As the majority of black communities lived in rented houses from local authorities, the mobilisation of communities centred around rent boycotts (Hendler, 1988:2). Hendler (1991:205) states that during the 1980s, housing was not seen as an issue that justified concrete development proposals, but was seen as a means to achieve the national political goals of anti-apartheid political movements.

The political reforms (which include the release of Mandela from prison and the unbanning of liberation movements) spearheaded by the Nationalist Party government in the 1990s, led to the first democratic elections in South Africa, which were won by the African National Congress (ANC). When the ANC came to power in 1994, its government inherited a huge housing backlog. The White Paper on Housing (Republic of South Africa, 1994) put the number of households who live in squatter housing in South Africa at 13,5%. South African Press Association (Sapa) gives a breakdown of the number of informal settlements and households per province (see Table 2).

Table 2 The number of informal settlements in South Africa

PROVINCE	**NO. OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS**	**NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS**
Eastern Cape	179	136 567
Free State	126	147 081
Gauteng	181	448 393
KwaZulu-Natal	162	177 212

Limpopo	57	56 930
Mpumalanga	90	92 877
Northern Cape	31	20 438
North West Province	121	155 501
Western Cape	119	142 706

(Sapa, 2003:6)

In addition, Blake (2000:2.3) indicates that the housing problem in South Africa entails that:

- approximately 720 000 serviced sites need upgrading;
- 450 000 people live in hostels in need of upgrading;
- there is a backlog of over 3 million houses, which increases each year;
- approximately 1,7 million households or 8 to 10 million people live in informal settlements on unserviced land; and
- there is an annual increase of 150 000 households in informal settlements.

In addressing this challenge, the ANC promised in 1994 to build one million houses over a period of five years. The Western Cape's allocated share of the national target was 114 000 houses (Thurman, 1999:16). In her budget speech of 2003, the former Minister of Housing, Ms Mabandla, put the housing backlog at 2,3 million households (Mabandla, 2003). She also pointed out that the government has moved beyond the issue of numbers in terms of housing delivery to the enhancement of quality of both the houses and the lives of the people. In a media briefing session, the new Minister of Housing, Dr Sisulu, stated that 1 614 million housing units have been completed since the inception of the housing subsidy scheme in 1995 (Sisulu, 2004b). She also stated that approximately 1 023 134 households remain in informal settlements across the nine biggest cities of South Africa.

The former Western Cape Premier, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, estimated in 2003 that the housing backlog of the Western Cape Province was in excess of

320 000, and was growing at a rate of about 20 000 a year due to population growth and migration to the province (Mesi, 2003). Weaver and Sapa (2004:1) report that 48 000 new people arrive in the Western Cape and that 12 000 new houses, over and above the current backlog, have to be built each year to accommodate the increasing numbers. Furthermore, they report that 73% of the backlog in the Western Cape is in the City of Cape Town. Smith (2003:1) put the housing backlog of the City of Cape Town at 220 000 units.

The acting head of housing in the Western Cape, Laurine Platzyk, concurs with former Minister Mabandla in terms of quality emphasis, but goes further to state that an ideal model for dealing with the backlog would be based on the upgrading of the Langa hostels (Weaver & Sapa, 2004:3). However, these hostels are currently in a very bad condition and the success of this effort can only be measured after the upgrading of the hostels has been completed.

The quality and size of the houses that have been delivered so far by the ANC government have been criticised. A study conducted by the Centre for Policy Studies to assess whether the housing situation of beneficiaries have improved found that the beneficiaries are not satisfied with the quality and size of their houses (Tomlinson, 1996:64-66). The houses are so small that the owners extend them by adding shacks. The implication of this is that South Africa will never be rid of shacks. Case studies by Thurman (1999:30) indicate that some people refer to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)[1] houses as starter houses, and not houses.

[1] RDP is an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework that seeked to mobilise the resources and the people of South Africa in the eradication of apartheid and building of a democratic society (African National Congress, 1994:1)

The RDP houses therefore do not meet the holistic definition of housing and that of adequate housing (see Section 1.5.8 and 2.2).

To understand the housing issue, it is important to examine the institutionalisation of housing policy and the vision and mission of the Department of National Housing, managerial aspects of housing delivery, challenges facing housing delivery and strategies and policy implications for housing delivery.

2.2 THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF HOUSING POLICY

There are various pieces of legislation and policies in South Africa that were developed since 1994 to address the question of housing. These include: The RDP (African National Congress, 1994), The White Paper on Housing (Republic of South Africa, 1994), The Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996), The Housing Act (Republic of South Africa, 1997a), The White Paper on Local Government (Republic of South Africa, 1998c), The Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act (Republic of South Africa, 1998b), and The Rental Housing Act (Republic of South Africa, 1999). There are also international conventions that cover the issue of housing, such as the 1949 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Habitat Agenda.

The RDP acknowledges that housing is a basic need (African National Congress, 1994:16). Basic housing needs, as identified by Cilliers (1975:13), include "shelter; security, comfort and convenience; locale for socialisation and expression; and aesthetics". The RDP endorses the principle that housing is a human right (African National Congress, 1994:23). The RDP defines adequate housing as follows:

> As a minimum, all housing must provide protection from weather, a durable structure, and reasonable living space and privacy. A house must include sanitary facilities, storm-water drainage, a household energy supply (whether linked to grid electricity supply

> or derived from other sources, such as solar energy), and convenient access to clean water. Moreover, it must provide for secure tenure in a variety of forms (African National Congress, 1994:23).

The RDP houses that have been delivered by the current government up to date do not meet the requirements of this definition of adequate housing. The typical RDP house has just one room and there is no privacy. People cook, eat, sleep, relax and bath in this one room, and the electricity supply is not standard.

When addressing the basic needs, the RDP (African National Congress, 1994:8) prescribes that the people should be part of the decision making regarding the location of the infrastructure, by being employed in its construction and by being empowered to manage and administer the infrastructure development programmes. This prescription of participation, and the social learning that takes place through the employment, including empowerment, link up with the development-planning process proposed by Theron and Barnard (1997:38), which introduced the building blocks of development. Based on the contents of Annexure 1, the researcher believes that the change agents of the BHDP did not follow the RDP's proposed requirement of participation.

The White Paper on Housing (Republic of South Africa, 1994) emphasises that partnership between the various tiers of government, the private sector and the communities is a prerequisite for the sustained delivery of housing. This White Paper further acknowledges that a housing programme cannot be limited to housing, but needs to be promoted in a manner as to give meaning to the goal of creating viable communities (Republic of South Africa, 1994). This means that a holistic approach to housing delivery should be adopted. Housing delivery should encompass issues such as local economic development, health, education and recreation facilities. According to the researcher, this has not been achieved so far, as most of the RDP houses are isolated on the outskirts of the cities.

Section 26(1) of the Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996) states that "Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing". Section 26(3) of the Constitution (1996) states that no one may be evicted from their home or have their home demolished without a court order, and that no legislation may permit arbitrary evictions.

The Housing Act (Republic of South Africa, 1997a) states the functions of each government sphere in terms of housing delivery. The role of the national government is to establish and facilitate a sustainable national housing development process. The provincial government's role is to promote and facilitate the provision of adequate housing in its province within the framework of the national housing policy. The role of the local government is to ensure that people have access to adequate housing opportunities on a progressive basis. According to the Housing Act (Republic of South Africa, 1997a), the three spheres of government are required to give priority to the needs of the poor in respect of housing development, and to ensure community participation in the development initiatives. In the BHDP, this requirement of ensuring that there is community participation is still a challenge. This is evident from the fact that the Boystown community had to fight for their right to participation in the housing development of their area (see Annexure 1).

Other legislation relevant to housing is the Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act (Republic of South Africa, 1998b). This act provides for the prohibition of unlawful eviction and procedures for the eviction of unlawful occupiers. The Rental Housing Act (Republic of South Africa, 1999) aims to promote access to adequate housing by creating mechanisms to ensure the proper functioning of the rental housing market.

The South African policy on housing is in line with the provisions stipulated by international conventions. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1949 states that "everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health

and . . . housing" (Khanya College, 2001:3). The International Convention on Economic Social and Cultural Rights also includes the right to adequate housing (Blake 2000:2.3). According to Blake (2000:2.4), the definition of adequate housing by the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights includes the following elements:

- security of tenure;
- availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure;
- affordability;
- habitability;
- accessibility;
- good location; and
- cultural adequateness.

The RDP listed the provision of housing for the homeless as one of its priorities (African National Congress, 1994:23). The United Nations declared 1987 as International Year of Shelter for the Homeless (Mitchell & Bevan, 1992:56). The Housing Act (Republic of South Africa, 1997a) echoes the calls of paragraph 61 of the Habitat Agenda, which states that housing policy and programmes should ensure:

- non-discriminatory access;
- security of tenure and equal access to all;
- that housing is made accessible through a series of interventions to improve the supply of affordable housing; and
- monitoring and evaluation of homelessness and inadequate housing (Thematic Committee, 2001).

The fact that a policy is in place to deal with the housing question is an indication that the government is taking the housing problem seriously. The fact that South African government policy is in line with international conventions, as highlighted above, means that the government does not work in isolation. However, having policy in place is not enough. The government should be vigorous in

implementing and meeting the requirements of both domestic and international laws. In conducting their oversight function, the South African legislative institutions should continuously monitor policy implementation. The civil society also has a role to play in monitoring policy implementation and mobilising communities should there be a lack of implementation by government.

2.3 VISION AND MISSION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL HOUSING

In its strategic plan, the Department of National Housing states that its vision is "a nation housed in sustainable human settlement with access to socio-economic infrastructure" (Department of National Housing, 2002-2003:13). Furthermore, the plan states that it strives "to establish and facilitate a sustainable process that provides equitable access to adequate housing for all within the context of affordability of housing and services and access to social amenities and economic opportunities". This statement confirms the facilitative role of the national government in respect of the provision of adequate housing. It also implies that local government should play a major role in the implementation of housing delivery. This is due to the fact that the local government sphere serves as the service-delivery point because it is closer to the people, and can therefore facilitate community participation (see Theron 2005a/b; Meyer & Theron 2000).

The strategic plan (Department of National Housing, 2002-2003:11) outlines the principles guiding and governing the housing policy and implementation as follows:

- people-centred development and partnership;
- skills transfer and economic empowerment;
- fairness and equity;
- choice;
- quality and affordability;
- innovation;
- transparency, accountability and monitoring; and

- sustainability and fiscal affordability.

According to the researcher, all these principles have equal significance. However, it is important to highlight the principle of people-centred development and partnership, as it can be argued that the other principles are components of people-centred development. A people-centred development approach puts more emphasis on people and the enhancement of their capacity to participate in the development process (Kotze & Kellerman, 1997:36). Dewar and Ellis (1979:213) state that housing is an ongoing developmental issue, which must be guided by the aims of fostering human development and improving quality of life. The quality of people's lives could be improved through their participation. Participation gives power to the people to influence decision-making processes. This implies that a people-centred development approach accommodates Theron and Barnard's (1997:38) building blocks of development: participation, social learning, self-reliance, empowerment and sustainability.

The guiding principles for housing delivery outlined above are in line with the eight service delivery principles of Batho Pele – meaning people first – as stated in The White Paper on Public Service Transformation (1997b). The Batho Pele principles are:

i. **Consultation:** Citizens should be consulted about the level and quality of the public services they receive and, wherever possible, should be given a choice about the services they are offered;
ii. **Service standards:** Citizens should be told what level and quality of public services they will receive so that they are aware of what to expect;
iii. **Access:** All citizens should have equal access to the services to which they are entitled;
iv. **Courtesy:** Citizens should be treated with courtesy and consideration;
v. **Information:** Citizens should be given full, accurate information about the public services they are entitled to receive;

vi. **Openness and transparency:** Citizens should be told how national and provincial departments are managed, how much this costs, and who is in charge;

vii. **Redress:** If the promised standard of service is not delivered, citizens should be offered an apology, a full explanation and a speedy and effective remedy, and when complaints are made, citizens should receive a sympathetic, positive response; and

viii. **Value for money:** Public services should be provided economically and efficiently in order to give citizens the best possible value for money.

Both the guiding principles developed by the Department of National Housing for housing delivery and the Batho Pele principles follow in the footsteps of development champions such as Burkey and Chambers. Judging by the titles of their books, *People first: a guide to self-reliant, participatory rural development* (Burkey, 1993) and *Whose reality counts? Putting the first last* (Chambers, 1997), it is clear that these authors emphasise the human side of development. People must be put first in any kind of development. People know what they want, therefore change agents such as the Department of National Housing, municipalities and the NGO sector should base their targets on the priorities of the people when initiating development programmes and setting targets, as suggested by Burkey's trainee (Burkey, 1993:xiii). It is understandable that the availability of financial resources will also influence the targets. The government's monetary information should be accessible to the people, so that their participation in the process of setting targets can be meaningful and can enable them to set realistic targets. Information is therefore useful ammunition for participation.

2.4 MANAGERIAL ASPECTS OF HOUSING DELIVERY

It is alleged that in some areas in the Western Cape people apply for double housing subsidies – some people who live in council houses are apparently applying for government housing subsidies (Mesi, 2003). The former Western

Cape Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for housing, Ms Nomatyala Hangana, instructed her department to investigate these allegations. It is important for the Department of Provincial Housing to conduct the investigation in cooperation with the City Council. This will be in line with the principles of cooperative government as stipulated in amongst others subsection 41(h) of the Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996):

- informing one another of, and consulting one another on, matters of common interest; and
- coordinating their actions and legislation with one another.

Moyle (1975:196) refers to the delivery of housing as a learning process. He states that the process must be educative for the planners and the recipients of the housing delivery. The learning-process approach is an element of people-centred development, and also one of the building blocks of development proposed by Theron and Barnard (1997:38). As suggested by Kotze and Kellerman (1997:37), the learning-process approach facilitates the development of capacities and resources at the local level and also builds partnership between development agents and the local community. This partnership is built through the participation of the community in the development-planning process. Because municipalities are closer to the people, and as such serve as service delivery points, Khan and Cranko (2002:262) propose that municipal-community partnerships (MCPs) be considered as a service-delivery strategy. They argue that MCPs will help local government to respond creatively to development-related challenges.

The City of Cape Town has heeded this call. In its undated publication entitled *Partnership in Delivery,* the City advertised its "Listening Campaign", inviting people to forward their ideas and inputs regarding challenges faced by the communities. This publication further indicates that the ten people with the best ideas will be invited to discuss them with the City Mayor. The "Listening Campaign" initiative needs to be applauded, as it is through this campaign that

the Mayor has held meetings with various communities to ascertain their needs. This campaign is a strategy of giving communities an opportunity to participate in the planning of the City. Yet it must be acknowledged that the campaign does have its limitations, for example the fact that some ideas would be eliminated in the process of identifying the ten 'best' ideas. It would be advisable for the City to be open about the criteria used in identifying and deciding on what constitutes a 'best idea'. In fact, the communities themselves should participate in the process of developing the criteria for identifying best ideas. Communities might feel disempowered if they work hard in generating ideas and if these are not regarded as the best.

In a learning environment it is the norm to evaluate continuously with the aim of assessing the knowledge that has been acquired. It is therefore important that the housing-delivery projects are constantly monitored and evaluated. As Brown (2000:172) has stated, a societal system, consisting of the project itself, institutional interests, community interests, overhead political power struggle, local power struggle and societal dynamics brought about by the project, always exists in the different communities for which projects are considered. As part of this system, beneficiaries should participate in the initial discussion of a project proposal through to the approval, implementation and monitoring of the project (Brown, 2000:177). The monitoring and evaluation will assist in detecting problems and weaknesses and taking corrective action promptly. The monitoring process would also be one way of keeping development agents accountable. Also, the monitoring process can result in best practices of service delivery and thereby the achievement of sustainable housing.

Communication is a crucial factor in the management of the housing-delivery process, as different stakeholders have different interests. It is important, therefore, to have a communication strategy in place for housing delivery. This strategy should indicate in what way the exchanging of information with the community would be managed. The communication strategy should also reflect

how feedback from and to the community would be facilitated, as this is an important aspect of community participation. Based on the contents of Annexure 1, it can be concluded that if there is indeed a communication strategy for the BHDP, this strategy is not effective and has not been appropriately shared with the community.

2.5 STRATEGIES EMPLOYED IN HOUSING DELIVERY

In achieving the constitutional provision of the right to adequate housing, the three spheres of government, i.e. national, provincial and local, should adhere to the principles of cooperative government and intergovernmental relations, as stipulated in Section 41(1) of the Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996). This means that the spheres of government should work together by sharing information and by coordinating their activities. In an attempt to fulfil this obligation, the new Minister of Housing, Dr Sisulu, together with Housing MECs, agreed to put together a strategy whereby senior officials can be deployed to a province over a period of time, so that officials of the three spheres can have effective face-to-face interactions (Sisulu, 2004a).

According to the former Minister of Housing, Ms Mabandla (2003), the government will continue to emphasise people-centred housing development that focuses on promoting the people's housing process, whereby communities participate in the provision of their own houses. In Mitchell and Bevan (1992:55), Burgess disagrees with the notion of people's housing processes. He argues that people are encouraged to house themselves so that the government can avoid its responsibility for housing the population. But, according to the researcher, active participation by communities in housing processes is essential in order for them to own the housing process. As Sowman and Gawith (1994:569) have noted, active participation will only be achieved if affected communities participate from the inception of the housing development plan formulation. The success of housing development might depend on the level of community participation – the higher the level of community participation, the

greater the chances of success in housing delivery, and the greater the possibility to accommodate the building blocks of development. The active participation referred to by Sowman and Gawith could be equated to the last two typologies of Pretty *et al.* (cited in Theron, 2005a), namely interactive participation (whereby people participate in the development of action plans and capacity-building programmes) and self-mobilisation (whereby people take initiative on their own).

Provision of housing is a developmental issue. Development is a people-driven process that creates a sense of belonging. Turner (1988:14) motivates this by saying: "Neither bureaucratic mass housing nor the uncontrolled market can build communities and eliminate homelessness. But people can, when they have access to essential resources and when they are free to use their own capabilities in local-appropriate ways". In the housing process, it is therefore important for the government or any implementing agency to adopt the saying: "Start with what the people have, build on what they know", as suggested by Burkey (1993:xviii). In this way the implementing agency will be utilising the IKSs and expertise of local residents, and at the same time develop their building skills (Cook, 1991:40). Turner (1988:14) quotes an Argentinean squatter-builder: "There is nothing worse than being prevented from doing what one is able to do for oneself". This statement shows that people are willing to do things for themselves. It also confirms the relevance of Burkey's (1993:211) golden rule: "Don't do anything for people that they can do for themselves".

The government on its own cannot solve the housing backlog reflected in the statistics presented in Table 2. The concept of Developmental Local Government (DLG), as stated in The White Paper on Local Government (Republic of South Africa, 1998c), should therefore be adopted for housing delivery. The White Paper defines DLG as "local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic, and material needs and improve the quality of

their lives". As a means to put this definition in practice, the government should form partnerships with the community and private sector for the development and implementation of local economic development programmes. As Khan and Cranko (2002:273) have argued, partnerships are not only vehicles for community participation, but also vehicles for service delivery and governance, and are capable of building developmental relationships between community and government. Partnerships are also a mechanism to promote economic development. For the partnerships to be effective and efficient, capacity-building strategies should be put in place to develop skills within the community. Through partnerships, communities can be empowered, and once they are empowered, housing development initiatives would be sustainable.

In facilitating housing development, the government should create and foster an enabling environment. The enabling strategy requires the government to concentrate less on direct implementation, and more on the creation of incentives. The establishment of partnerships (as discussed above) and the encouragement of community participation, including creating an environment conducive to community participation, would form part of these incentives. The enabling strategy also requires the government to facilitate measures to enable development to be provided by the people themselves (Khan & Cranko, 2002:266). Furthermore, Adebayo (2000:2) states that the enabling approach reduces government's role in housing to that of an enabler rather than provider of housing.

2.6 POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR HOUSING DELIVERY

It is evident from the statistics presented in Section 2.1 that the need for housing keeps on increasing, especially in the urban areas. This is a result of people flocking into the cities in pursuit of better employment opportunities. The movement of people from rural to urban areas will always have an implication for the fight to eradicate informal settlements and provision of "a better life for all". If the local government can reach the status of DLG, as well as fast-track the

implementation of local economic development initiatives, it is more likely that this movement would be limited, as these initiatives would create job opportunities in the rural areas and small towns.

As indicated in Section 1.5.8, housing requires an integrated planning approach, as it involves not only a physical structure but also provision of health care, transportation, education and recreation facilities, and job opportunities within reach. The government should therefore take this holistic approach into consideration during the planning and budgeting exercise. Planning and budget allocation should reflect the priorities of the communities. This implies that the government should work hand-in-hand with the communities when identifying priority areas. The government should put mechanisms in place for participation by beneficiaries in the planning and implementation of housing programmes. This will assist in curbing the housing backlog and, most importantly, will also promote community participation. As part of the plan to fast-track housing delivery, Sisulu (2004a) states that they are going to build the capacity of municipalities, the officials of the Department, contractors and councillors. It is important to also allocate resources for capacity building at the community level so that the community can play a meaningful role in housing delivery and in other community development efforts. Once community participation is achieved, other building blocks of development, namely social learning, self-reliance, empowerment and sustainability would be easily accommodated in the endeavours for effective and efficient housing-delivery processes.

As argued in Section 2.2, having policies in place is not enough. Policies need to be implemented if they are to be meaningful. Court rulings become policy as they set precedence for future and similar cases. In the 2000 Constitutional Court case of the Government of RSA v Grootboom, the residents contested their eviction from a site in Wallacedene. The court ruled in favour of the residents, arguing that it is the responsibility of the state to devise and implement a housing-delivery programme to meet the constitutional right of access to

adequate housing. In spite of this ruling, no housing has as yet been provided for this community. Schoonakker (2004) states that there is no one to blame for the non-compliance because the Constitutional Court did not specify which sphere of government should be responsible for executing the court order. However, Schedule 4 of the Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996) states that housing is the responsibility of both national and provincial spheres. The Grootboom ruling was seen as a victory when it was passed, but has become meaningless due to the lack of implementation.

2.7 CHALLENGES IN HOUSING DELIVERY

The last focus point in discussing housing delivery in South Africa and the Western Cape is the challenges facing the delivery process.

Although the government is trying to fight corruption, rumours of corruption in government are ongoing. In her budget speech, former Minister of Housing, Ms Mabandla (2003), pointed out some of the corrupt elements that have been reported regarding the allocation of RDP houses. The Minister mentioned that there are government officials who demand bribes in return for speedy processing of housing subsidies and councillors who are selling the RDP houses. There are also business people who are using RDP houses as storerooms. In addition, it can be said that some community members are part of these corrupt elements, as they cooperate with the undisciplined officials and councillors. In some cases it could be the community members themselves who initiate the bribing. According to the new Minister of Housing, Dr Sisulu (2004b), fraud and corruption by councillors, government officials, developers and contractors remain a challenge. In addition, she points out the following as some of the critical challenges they are faced with:

- the issue of the size of houses in relation to the size of the families to occupy the houses;
- the issue of the R2 479 contribution required from each household before house allocation;

- the selling of government subsidised houses by debt collectors and municipalities to settle service and other petty debts;
- the failure of government to spend money allocated to build houses; and
- illegal occupation and the fraudulent selling of houses.

Some of these challenges could have been avoided if the beneficiaries participated in the planning process and decision-making regarding housing delivery. For legitimacy reasons as well as sustainability, it is important that the beneficiaries own the process of housing delivery. This can be achieved through their participation in the processes. Community participation can also address the challenge of nepotism, whereby houses are allocated to relatives and friends who sometimes are not even on the official waiting list. Through participation, beneficiaries will learn and understand that one of the aims of the housing delivery drive is not only about providing housing, but also about eradicating informal settlements. Therefore, once the beneficiaries receive their houses they will not be tempted to sell them with the option of returning to an informal settlement. Community participation will empower the beneficiaries to be responsible. Also, the resolution by Sisulu and MECs (Sisulu, 2004a) to devise a strategy to educate communities about their rights, obligations and responsibilities is welcome, as it will facilitate community participation.

Adequate participation by beneficiaries remains a challenge. This is evident in the media reports in Annexure 1 about the conflict surrounding the BHDP. Another challenge is to ensure that local contractors and the community at large understand the government tender processes and, where possible, that local contractors get preference. Giving local contractors an opportunity to showcase their skills and abilities will be one way of strengthening the building blocks of development, i.e. participation, social learning, capacity building, empowerment and sustainability. For the purposes of maintaining the infrastructure, local contractors would be easily accessible to the community. The training programme targeting black economic empowerment contractors highlighted by

Sisulu (2004a) in her budget speech would enhance the skills of these contractors.

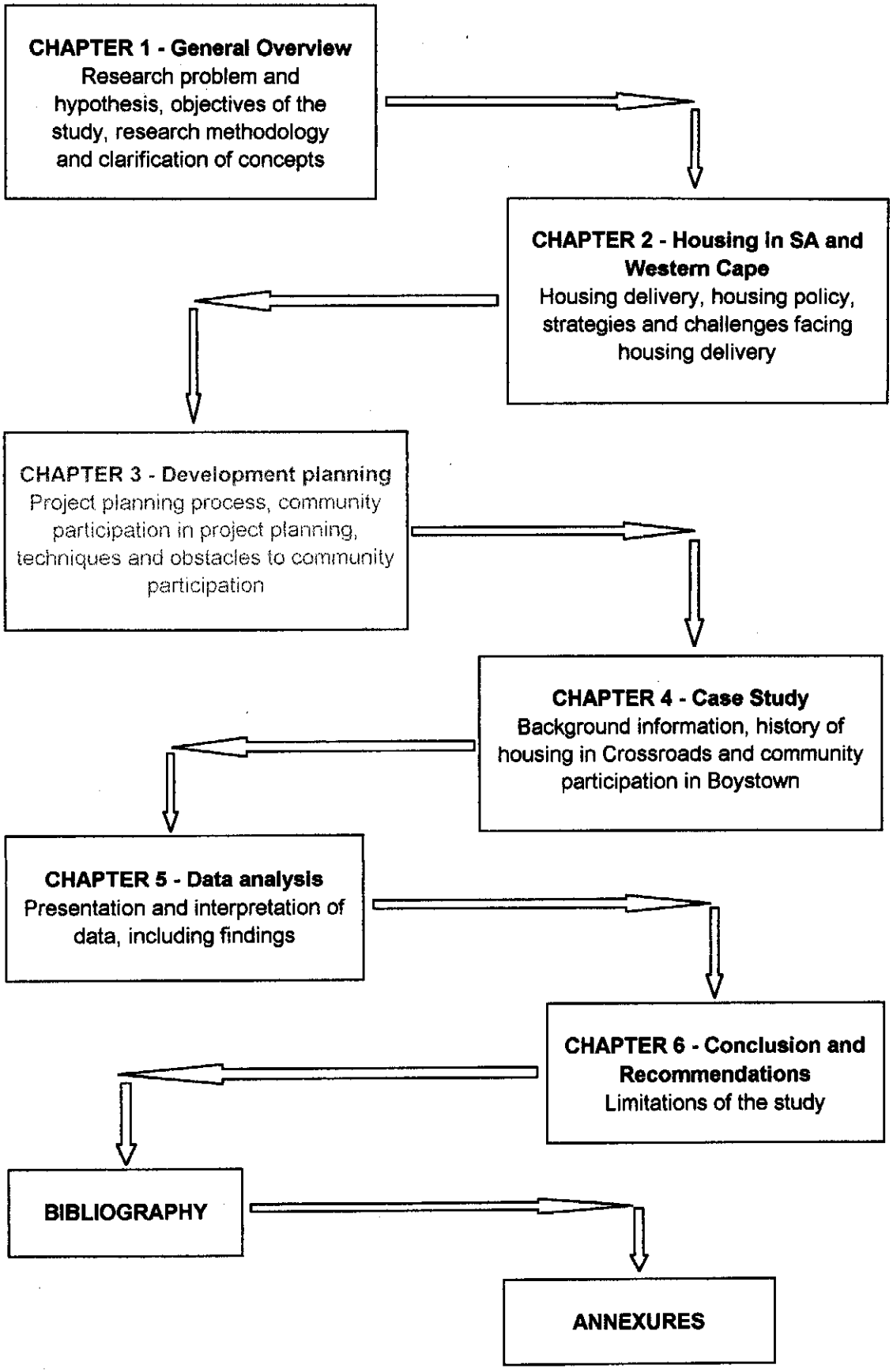
2.8 SUMMARY

During apartheid, housing was used as an instrument of segregation in South Africa. The implementation of segregation policy by the apartheid government resulted in inadequate housing for blacks. The anti-apartheid organisations used the inadequate provision of housing as a platform for mobilising people to fight against apartheid governments.

Housing remains a challenge in South Africa even after a decade of having a democratically elected government in power. In an attempt to address the housing problem, the current government has put in place legislation. The legislation requires community participation for sustainable provision of housing and development initiatives in general. The South African legislation is in line with the provisions stipulated in international conventions. However, the housing that has been provided within the ten years of democracy does not meet the requirements of adequate housing.

Other issues that have been discussed in this chapter include the roles of the three spheres of government, the managerial aspects of housing delivery, strategies that could be utilised in housing delivery, and the challenges facing the housing-delivery process.

The next chapter will focus on development planning. Some of the issues that will be discussed include the planning process, community participation in the planning process, techniques and obstacles to community participation.


CHAPTER 1 - General Overview
Research problem and hypothesis, objectives of the study, research methodology and clarification of concepts
CHAPTER 2 - Housing in SA and Western Cape
Housing delivery, housing policy, strategies and challenges facing housing delivery
CHAPTER 3 - Development planning
Project planning process, community participation in project planning, techniques and obstacles to community participation
CHAPTER 4 - Case Study
Background information, history of housing in Crossroads and community participation in Boystown
CHAPTER 5 - Data analysis
Presentation and interpretation of data, including findings
CHAPTER 6 - Conclusion and Recommendations
Limitations of the study
BIBLIOGRAPHY
ANNEXURES

CHAPTER 3: DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

3.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Hope (1996:12), planning refers to the formulation and execution of a consistent set of interrelated measures designed to achieve certain specific economic and social goals. This formulation and execution process involves conducting needs assessment, prioritising of the identified needs, implementing proposed solutions to the identified needs, plus monitoring and evaluation. The community that is intended to benefit from a particular development initiative should participate in the planning process, as they have indigenous knowledge that outsiders do not have (Swanepoel, 1997:4). The local communities have indigenous knowledge systems (IKSs) in place that have been passed from generation to generation. As suggested by Treurnicht (1997:96), the local communities possess IKSs in terms of various aspects, such as decision-making and negotiation skills. Participation by beneficiaries in development is an important factor, as Burkey (1993:57) has stated:

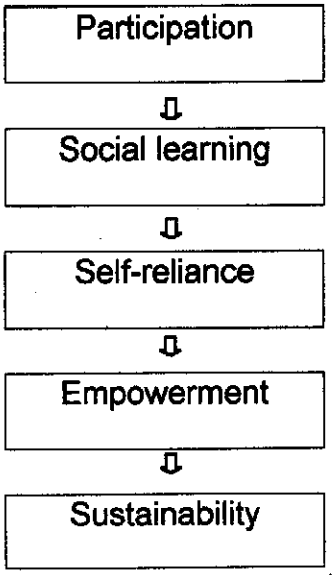
> It is becoming more and more apparent that the first step in achieving genuine participation is a process in which the (rural) poor themselves become more aware of their own situation, of the socio-economic reality around them, of their real problems, the causes of these problems, and what measures they themselves can take to begin changing their situation.

One of the problems in a typical top-down process of development planning is that it does not provide for community participation. "The poor have not participated in sharing in the benefits from the massive development efforts of the past three decades, neither in proportion to their numbers nor their needs" (Burkey, 1993:56). The researcher believes that the benefits of development encompass a variety of issues. These include impacting skills to the local community, transferring knowledge, community participation, transparent decision-making processes, long-term visible results of the development initiatives and recognition of IKSs.

Other problems that relate to development planning, as identified by Conyers and Hills (1992:47), include too much emphasis on the plan rather than its implementation, and also inadequate communication between role players. For meaningful participation, Kellerman (1997:53) suggests that the community needs to be fully informed and able to communicate its views, wishes and interests. A two-way communication process is essential for planning and implementation of development projects and this means that there must be a communication strategy in place (Kellerman, 1997:53).

To correct the problems of the past, Theron and Barnard's (1997:38) development-planning process (see Figure 2) could be adopted as a mechanism to address problems associated with development planning. This process encompasses what Theron and Barnard refer to as the building blocks of development. These blocks include participation, social learning, self-reliance, empowerment and sustainability. These concepts have been discussed in Section 1.5, where it was indicated that they are interrelated.

Figure 2: Development-planning process: introducing the building blocks of development



(Theron & Barnard, 1997:38)

Development planning brings about development projects. As noted by Cusworth and Franks (1993:2), projects are a mechanism to implement policies. The BHDP is an attempt to realise the RDP policy. Oakley (1991:166) defines a project as an instrument of development that acts as the framework within which development activities occur.

Development planning will therefore be discussed further in the context of development projects, by looking at the project-planning process, the project-management principles, community participation in project planning, the policy context of community participation, methods of community participation and obstacles to community participation.

3.2 THE PROJECT-PLANNING PROCESS

There are many versions of the project-planning process. All of them are based on the idea that projects go through a cycle of clearly defined stages (Cusworth & Franks, 1993:5). This is evident in the project cycles as proposed by Conyers and Hills (1992:74), Kellerman (1997:54), Croll (1994:6) and Hindson and Swilling (1994:13). The World Bank proposes that the timeframe required for a project to go through its entire cycle is about ten years (Rondinelli, 1993:93). The researcher believes that the timeframe of the project cycle depends on the scale of the project. Medium- to large-scale projects can take up to ten years, whereas small-scale projects can take far less than ten years to go through the entire cycle.

Figure 3 below represents the project cycle proposed by the researcher and is adapted from the various authors named above. The proposed project cycle consists of six stages, namely:

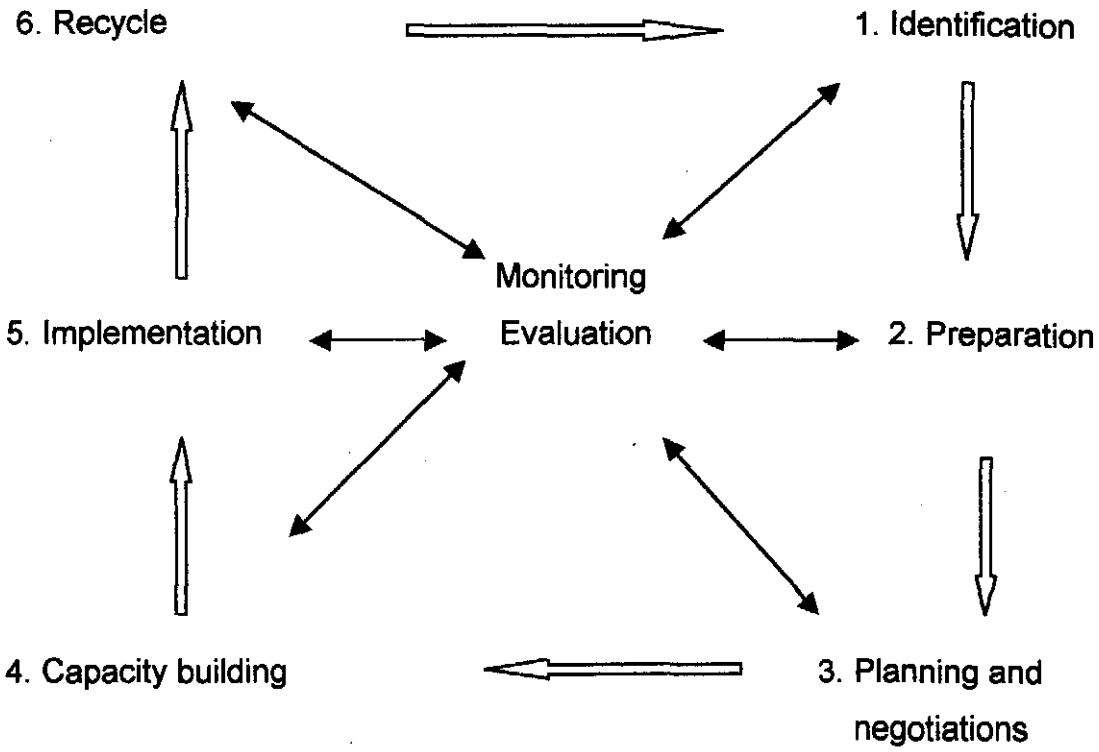
i. identification
ii. preparation
iii. planning and negotiations
iv. capacity building

v. implementation

vi. recycle.

As indicated in Figure 3, monitoring and evaluation take place in all the stages.

Figure 3: The project cycle



The project cycle is discussed below:

i. **Identification:** The researcher believes that projects are rarely initiated by local communities. According to the researcher, projects are mostly initiated by change agents, which include civic-based organisations, non-governmental organisations, faith-based organisations, governments and sponsors. This in itself is a perpetuation of the top-down approach. According to Cusworth and Franks (1993:5), the identification stage involves the conceptualisation of the project. Kellerman (1997:54) suggests that change agents may assist the community in gathering information for the project formulation. Kellerman further states that it is at

the identification stage that community participation and empowerment principles of development take root, including the acknowledgement and accommodation for IKSs. However, from the World Bank experience, (World Bank Participation Sourcebook, 2003:122), community participation always start a bit late and/or is always preceded by prior opinions, attitudes and judgements of the project initiators or sponsors. This again is an indication of a top-down approach dominance in development planning. In spite of this, change agents should ensure that the beneficiaries of the project already participate from this initial stage. Participation of beneficiaries in needs identification will control the top-down approach. The change agents should assist the beneficiaries in articulating their needs and sharing their IKSs.

With regards to the BHDP, it is clear from the fieldwork done by the researcher in Boystown that this project is a government initiative. The government's main objective for this project is to provide "housing for all" and eradicate informal settlements. This indicates that the change agent (which is the government in this case) has already formulated ideas and opinions regarding the project prior to contacting the community concerned. The BHDP is the continuation of upgrading development in Crossroads under the auspices of the RDP. Although "consultation" processes were followed when developing the RDP documents, including the RDP White Paper, participation of beneficiaries should be facilitated prior to the housing development planning of their areas. The identification stage is the opportune time for such participation. This first stage of the project cycle accommodates the first building block of development, namely participation. It is important for the change agent to monitor and evaluate the participation of the beneficiaries closely at this stage to ensure that there is a smooth transition to the preparation stage.

ii. **Preparation:** Once the conceptualisation process is completed, the identified project should be confirmed with the community. The preparation stage should therefore be used to obtain community acceptance of the project. Also, at this stage there should be clarity on who will participate in the project (Kellerman, 1997:55). Kellerman (1997:55) suggests that there should be wide community participation in decision- making at the project's preparation stage to ensure legitimacy and commitment of the community to the proposed project. Yet it is important to highlight that participation in decision-making processes does not guarantee continued commitment of the community. Stakeholders who will make either positive or negative contributions to the identified project should be encouraged to participate. The community should elect a project committee at this stage. The researcher suggests that the project committee should consist of representatives of the beneficiaries and representatives of the relevant stakeholders. Again, the preparation stage accommodates participation, which is an element of the building blocks of development planning.

With regards to the BHDP, the researcher believes that the project has already moved pass this stage. The community has accepted the project, but there are some challenges facing the project. As indicated in the media reports (Annexure 1), the project committee was imposed on the community, and during the fieldwork, the researcher gathered that all the members of this committee do not even live in Boystown. This makes the committee illegitimate. For legitimacy reasons, therefore, it is important that the BHDP go through the preparation stage again and that the beneficiaries be allowed to participate in the election of the project committee.

iii. **Planning and negotiations:** At this stage, the project committee is established and the community should steer the planning process through

this committee. The beneficiaries, through their representatives in the project committee, should engage with the change agent in the planning process as equal partners. Community participation in the planning process is an important factor as planning involves making decisions. As Brown (2000:173-175) has stated, community participation is a process that gives an opportunity to the community to influence the direction and implementation of the project and is also an instrument for empowerment. This statement proves the inter-relatedness of the building blocks of development planning – in this case participation and empowerment.

A schedule outlining activities to be undertaken should be produced at this stage, which includes timeframes. As suggested by Kellerman (1997:55), there should be a formal agreement between the change agent and the project beneficiaries regarding project implementation. This agreement will have to be negotiated, as project participants might have different interests. Roles and responsibilities of all the stakeholders in the project should be clarified and negotiated. Also, stakeholders should indicate what they are or are not willing to do (World Bank Participation Sourcebook, 2003:30).

The researcher believes that the BHDP is currently stuck at this stage of planning and negotiations, even though the change agent attempted an aborted implementation stage. From Annexure 1 it can be concluded that the implementation failed because of the unhappiness of the community caused by a lack of community participation in the election of the project committee and in the project planning itself. One of the respondents interviewed during the fieldwork pointed out that the beneficiaries want to drive the housing project so that they can hold themselves responsible if the project fails, and then re-strategise accordingly. According to the researcher, this is an indication that the people do have an understanding

that the BHDP might face difficulties, and that they are prepared to face the consequences.

The land where the BHDP is to be implemented is the last piece of land available in Crossroads. The beneficiaries of the BHDP are currently occupying the land. It is therefore important that the issue of relocating the community is discussed and agreed upon during the planning and negotiations stage. Through fieldwork the researcher gathered that people have already been encouraged by the ward councillor to move to open spaces in the other parts of Crossroads. This caused a split in the community, and indicates why negotiations with the beneficiaries regarding relocation are so important. Discussions about allocation of houses should be held and the final list of beneficiaries agreed upon at this stage. This will assist in avoiding the conflict situations referred to in Section 4.1 that usually arise when it is time for the people to move into their houses. Constant monitoring and evaluation of the negotiations and the planning processes, including the results of such processes, should take place.

iv. **Capacity building:** As Brown (2000:175) has suggested, an element of training must be built into the project. During the capacity-building stage, attempts are made to increase the ability of the project committee and the community at large to control and manage all the important aspects of the project. The change agents should play an important role during this stage by transferring knowledge and skills to the community to enable them to make informed decisions. Burkey (1993:156) argues that change agents should help the people to learn and gain knowledge of the planning process. He suggests that the knowledge of the planning process should be transferred by using a checklist of five planning questions, namely Why? What? Which? How? With what? Once the people are capacitated, they will be able to drive the project. As Shams (De Beer & Swanepoel,

1998:94) has indicated, training assists in assessing the collective self-reliance potential locked up in deprived communities. The capacity-building stage accommodates self-reliance, which is one of the building blocks of development.

During the capacity-building stage, the change agents should also be willing to learn from the community. As stated before, the community has IKSs that could be relevant in the successful implementation of the project. During this stage, therefore, a mutual learning and empowerment process takes place. Again, the elements of the building blocks of development are evident in this stage of the project cycle, namely participation, social learning process and empowerment.

As indicated in the previous discussion, the BHDP is deadlocked in the planning and negotiations stage. The researcher gathered during the fieldwork that the Integrated Serviced Land Project (ISLP) is facilitating discussions between the City of Cape Town and the community. The ISLP has also delivered a letter from the Mayor stating that the community should elect the project committee. Once the project committee is elected, capacity-building programmes should be set up to enable the committee to perform a meaningful role. The project committee should keep regular contact with the beneficiaries to share and exchange information and facilitate debate amongst the community. Such facilitation will give the beneficiaries an opportunity to evaluate and monitor the progress of the project.

v. **Implementation:** At this stage, both the community and change agents are empowered. The community has gained skills and knowledge from the change agents. Through the process of impacting skills to the community, the change agents have also gained knowledge and insight into the local situation, resources and capacity available in the community.

At the implementation stage, the project which was identified, prepared and agreed upon by the beneficiaries becomes a reality (Kellerman, 1997:55). This stage involves the actual delivery of the project and the implementation of activities as reflected in the schedule of activities. Stakeholders take on their agreed roles to ensure the successful delivery of the project. Beneficiaries, together with the relevant stakeholders, should constantly monitor and evaluate the progress of implementation. Regular feedback from the project committee is crucial for the beneficiaries to be up to date with the progress of the project ensuring that they play a meaningful monitoring role.

The BHDP has not reached the implementation stage. As explained in Section 4.1, there are controversies surrounding the project. For this stage to come into effect there are issues that need to be finalised, such as the following:

- A project committee should be set up, and its role should be clarified, including the role of the change agents involved in the project;
- The issue of relocating people should be discussed, including the place of temporary residence;
- It is important to also clarify the size of the house so that the beneficiaries know in advance what to expect; and
- A beneficiary list should be compiled.

vi. **Recycle:** The project will be completed after the implementation stage. Houses will be handed over to the beneficiaries according to the list. In his project cycle, Brown (2000:183) proposes that another stage follows once the project is completed, namely the stage that he refers to as empowerment. By the time the project comes to an end the community is equipped with capacities that could be applicable beyond project implementation (Kellerman, 1997:53). Initiatives that empower the people are more likely to result to sustainable development. In the event of new

needs arising from the project-implementation stage, the community will have the capacity to go through the project cycle again, hence the recycle stage.

Figure 3 shows that the project cycle encompasses monitoring and evaluation processes. This indicates that whenever there are difficulties and problems experienced during the different stages, these would be detected early enough to take corrective actions before the end of the cycle. As indicated in the above discussions, monitoring and evaluation processes are part of each stage. It is important to emphasise that community participation also takes place throughout the stages of the project cycle, and that the building blocks of development, i.e. social learning, self-reliance, empowerment and sustainability, are also accommodated during the project cycle. Participation of beneficiaries is essential in all the stages of the project cycle if they are to own the project.

3.3 THE PROJECT MANAGEMENT PRINCIPLES

Projects are an important mechanism for policy implementation, and they also provide a means of assessing the impact of development initiatives on people (Cusworth & Franks, 1993:2). For projects to fulfil these roles, appropriate planning is required. It is further important to adhere to project-management principles. The components of this logical framework, as suggested by Cusworth and Franks (1993:16-17), constitute the principles of project management. These principles include the following:

- **Goals:** Clearly defined development project objectives.
- **Purposes:** A description of factors that will contribute to the achievement of objectives.
- **Outputs:** The tangible physical and institutional structures established through the project.
- **Inputs:** The resources required to establish and produce the project outputs.

- **Assumptions:** Made regarding the conditions necessary for the successful transformation of inputs into outputs, the contribution of outputs to purposes and purposes to goals.
- **Indicators and means of verification:** Indicators give a clear set of targets and they make it easy to measure the progress. Means of verification involve a process of verifying that project purposes and goals are being achieved.

All the above components should be clearly stipulated for any project initiative. Tasks and timeframes should be allocated to people or relevant structures. This will assist in monitoring the progress of the project. Regarding the BHDP, tasks could be allocated to the project committee, community-based organisations, community leadership, municipality officials, the ward councillor and selected contractors. Time management is another important factor. Time is a valuable resource and therefore it is important to perform the tasks within the allocated timeframe. However, Davies (1997:123) argues that it is not necessarily a bad thing when a project does not proceed according to plans, because it is part of a learning process. In addition, corrective action can be taken through project monitoring and evaluation processes that are facilitated at each stage of the project cycle.

For any project initiative it is important to adhere to the principles of project management. For a project to be managed effectively and efficiently, it should have clear objectives, and a plan of action to meet these objectives. It is important that the beneficiaries of the project participate in the development of the plan of action. As Burkey (1993:56) has indicated, "Participation is an essential part of human growth, that is the development of self-confidence, pride, initiative, creativity, responsibility, co-operation". Furthermore, Burkey (1993:56) points out that "... (the) process whereby people learn to take charge of their own lives and solve their own problems, is the essence of development". These arguments are in line with Theron and Barnard's (1997:38) development planning

process, which constitutes the building blocks of development, namely participation, social learning, self-reliance, empowerment and sustainability.

Further discussion on participation by the beneficiaries in project planning follows.

3.4 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN PROJECT PLANNING

As indicated in the researcher's proposed cycle in Section 3.2, the project-planning process goes through stages. At this juncture it is important to discuss community participation in project planning, as participation, one of the building blocks of development, is essential in each stage of the planning process.

One of the underlying principles of the RDP and the IDP is community participation in all decision-making and implementation of projects (RDP White Paper, 1994; Local Government Municipal Systems Act, 2000). Both the RDP and IDP are based on a people-centred development approach. The people-centred development approach places value on local initiative and diversity (Korten & Klauss, 1984:300). As indicated by Roodt (2001:469), participation by the community is seen as one of the ingredients necessary to promote sustainability, the last building block of development planning. Dudley (1993:7) states that participation used to be a rallying cry for radicals, but now it is a requirement by law. This is evident in various South African laws. Section 2(l) of the Housing Act (Republic of South Africa, 1997a), for example, states that the government should facilitate active participation of all relevant stakeholders. Chapter 4 of the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (Republic of South Africa, 2000) requires that municipalities develop a culture of community participation (see Theron 2005a/b).

Participation by the community in development is important since the community knows its situation best, as Chambers (1997:179) points out: "What local people, especially the poor, want and need is often not what they are thought by

professionals to want and need, or what professionals themselves want". Furthermore, Korten and Alfonso (1983:209) state that "[t]he people must have some voice in making the final choices that will bear most directly on their lives . . . not only because their involvement is essential to gaining their commitment, but also because they have relevant information . . . ". Therefore, in order to achieve meaningful participation by the beneficiaries, change agents should adopt a culture of tapping from the local knowledge. Gilbert, Van Vlaenderen and Nkwinti define local knowledge as "[t]he integrative framework that people use to make sense of their lives, and this knowledge, constantly changes in the face of changing reality" (cited in Bosman & Marais, 1998:20). This definition is in line with the concept of social learning, which is one of the building blocks of development planning.

As stated above, participation is an important ingredient in reaching sustainable development, the last building block of development. However, Dudley (1993:7) argues that the success of community participation is less evident, and the reasons for this are partly political. He says authentic participation is a political threat to powerful vested interests. This can be related to the case of the BHDP. The attached media reports (Annexure 1) suggest that there is a poor working relationship between the Boystown community and their ward councillor. It also appears that the city council and the ward councillor are threatened by the Boystown community's participation in the project. The reports reflect that the Boystown community is opposed to the current project committee, which they claim was imposed on them. The crisis in the BHDP is thus centred on the demand for an election of a project committee by its community, amongst other things. The fear of the ward councillor could be that he would not be able to control and influence the actions of the democratically elected committee. If the housing project is to be successful, it is important to encourage cooperation between the community and the ward councillor. In addition, if the project committee is recognised by the beneficiaries, there could be progress in terms of project implementation. It is generally argued that community participation

improves the chances of success and sustainability of any project initiative (DWAF, 2001:59).

Progress made with regard to the BHDP since the media reports, is indicated in Chapter 4. It can be concluded that the crisis in the BHDP stems from the demand of the community to participate in the project. The demand to participate is within the right of the community. South African legislation is clear in terms of community participation, an issue discussed further below.

3.5 THE POLICY CONTEXT OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

The South African legislative and policy context provide an opportunity for community participation. This means that community participation in South Africa is a legal requirement, as previously argued.

To achieve Section 152 of the Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996), which clarifies the objectives of local government, and to give effect to Section 153 of the Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996), which covers developmental duties of municipalities, the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000) states that municipal planning should be developmentally orientated. This prescription is based on the concept of developmental local government (DLG), highlighted in The White Paper on Local Government (Republic of South Africa, 1998c). This White Paper defines DLG as a local government committed to working with communities and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives. From this definition, local government can be regarded as a change agent. Parnell and Pieterse (2002:82-83) confirm this in their argument:

> [The] municipality becomes the primary *development champion*, the major *conduit* for poverty alleviation, the *guarantor* of social and economic rights, the *enabler* of economic growth, the *principal agent* of spatial or physical planning and the *watchdog* of environmental justice. (The italics emphasise the characteristics of a change agent.)

A change agent should ensure that people participate in development initiatives. Through participation, a social learning process can be established, and this can result in self-reliance, empowerment and sustainable development – the building blocks of development as argued throughout the project cycle.

The DLG in South Africa came about as an attempt to transform the apartheid segregated local government by redefining the goals and operational procedures of local government (Parnell & Pieterse, 2002:79). DLG is viewed as a mechanism for overcoming the inadequacies of the past and repositioning local government within its new developmental mode (Pycroft, 1998:155). The concept of DLG is also in line with the Development Facilitation Act (Republic of South Africa, 1995), which requires development initiatives to promote integrated development and contribute to the correction of the historically distorted spatial patterns of South African cities and towns.

According to section B of The White Paper on Local Government (Republic of South Africa, 1998c), DLG has four inter-related characteristics, namely:

i. Maximising social development and economic growth;
ii. Integrating and coordinating;
iii. Democratising development, empowering and redistributing; and
iv. Leading and learning.

These DLG characteristics are in line with the RDP. The RDP (African National Congress, 1994:129-131) states that local government should assist in the integration and coordination of urban economies and that a developmental culture in local government should be encouraged. The RDP goes further to say local government should be structured in such a way that there is maximum participation of civil society and communities in decision-making and developmental initiatives of municipalities.

Other legislation that promote participation include the Housing Act (Republic of South Africa, 1997a) and the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (Republic of South Africa, 2000). Section 2(l) of the Housing Act states that the government should facilitate active participation of all relevant stakeholders. Chapter 4 of the Local Government Municipal Systems Act requires municipalities to develop a culture of community participation. This chapter also advances mechanisms, processes and procedures for community participation.

Section B of The White Paper on Local Government (Republic of South Africa, 1998c) identifies developmental outcomes of local government and suggests tools and approaches for DLG. The tools and approaches include:

- IDP and budgeting;
- Performance management; and
- Working together with communities and partners.

The researcher believes that the core approach for DLG is the IDP, and that the other two approaches are components of the IDP. The Local Government Municipal Systems Act (Republic of South Africa, 2000) defines IDP as a principal strategic-planning instrument that guides and informs all planning and development and all decisions regarding planning, management and development in the municipality (see Theron 2005b).

When drafting the IDP, the Local Government Municipal Systems Act stipulates that communities should be part of the process of identifying local development needs and priorities. Furthermore, the Act stipulates that the community should participate in the drafting of the IDP. As stated by Sowman and Urquhart (1998:14), community participation is a requirement for sustainable development. They also argue that community participation is most successful when started at the outset of the planning process and maintained throughout the process. This argument supports the discussion highlighting the significance of community participation during the identification stage of the project cycle.

Sowman and Urquhart (1998:51) caution change agents that planning that does not seek to address the needs and concerns of all the people living in the community results in conflict situations and unsustainable development. This is evident in the BHDP, as highlighted in the attached media reports (Annexure 1). The outcomes of the planning process should be continuously reviewed, as explained under the project cycle discussions, which referred specifically to monitoring and evaluation that takes place throughout the cycle. This would be in line with the requirements set out by the Local Government Municipal Structures Act (Republic of South Africa, 1998c). The Act requires municipalities to review the needs of the community, processes for community participation, organisational and delivery mechanisms for meeting community needs and their overall performance on an annual basis to meet Section 152 of the Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996).

It is the responsibility of the municipality, as a change agent, to empower the community about the IDP process. This is supported by Burkey's (1993:156) argument that change agents should help the people to learn and gain knowledge of the planning process. As stated in Section 3.2, Burkey (1993:156) suggests that change agents should transfer the knowledge of the planning process by using a checklist of planning questions.

From the above discussions it can be concluded that DLG promotes partnership between the municipalities and the local communities. It is through this partnership that communities are empowered. Once local communities are empowered, the building blocks of development are accommodated and sustainable development can be achieved. However, it is important to state that the partnership might result in conflict. Also, the participatory framework of DLG might cause delays in terms of implementation. It is therefore important that municipalities employ the relevant participatory processes.

3.6 METHODS OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Having discussed the policy context of community participation, it is important to analyse the methods of community participation.

The RCRA Public Participation Manual (undated) states that participation is a dialogue. It involves getting information out to the beneficiaries and getting feedback in the form of ideas, issues and concerns. DWAF (2001:46) categorises participation methods into those that are useful for disseminating information and those useful for gathering and exchanging information. Methods suggested by DEAT (2002:15) are similar to those of DWAF and they represent different levels of community participation. All the methods have advantages and disadvantages, depending on the context in which they are employed. The community-participation methods that will be discussed are those that are relevant to the BHDP. These are not in any order, and are adapted from DWAF (2001) and DEAT (2002) methods (see Theron 2005a).

3.6.1 Background information materials: These include newsletters, brochures or pamphlets, which could be distributed door-to-door, placed at spaza shops, or distributed inside newspapers. The advantage of this method is that it can reach a large number of people and would allow people to absorb information at their own convenience. The disadvantage is that there could be misinterpretation of the information. Also, it does not inform the illiterate directly, as they will have to rely on family or community members who can read. This might result in the distortion of information. Unfortunately, this method is used quite often by local authorities to "inform" or "communicate" with its beneficiaries.

3.6.2 Advertisements: Advertisements could be brief notices informing the community about particular events or detailed advertisements that address a particular issue. Advertisements could be placed in local community newspapers and broadcast via local radio stations. Although

this method could also reach a large number of community members, it can only provide a limited amount of information, and, as with the previous method, reaches only the more sophisticated and literate people.

3.6.3 **Community meetings:** Community meetings are open gatherings whereby information is presented on a particular issue. Community meetings also create an opportunity for beneficiaries to raise issues of concern and to exchange ideas. The researcher believes that meetings are generally viewed by the community as a legitimate form of communication. Community meetings are usually advertised by putting up big notices in public places, distributing pamphlets door-to-door and at taxi/bus ranks. A loudhailer is also used to announce the meetings, and meetings are also advertised through local radio stations. Some of the limitations of community meetings are as follows:

- poor planning and poor advertisement of the meeting;
- the time scheduled for the meeting might not be convenient for all beneficiaries;
- projected outcomes of the meeting might not be realised due to community dynamics; and
- a minority can dominate during the proceedings.

3.6.4 **Interviews:** These are meetings with beneficiaries meant to gain information on concerns and perspectives and/or for refining the community-participation process. Interviews provide valuable information and produce qualitative information. One of the disadvantages of this method is that it is time-consuming. Also, skilled people are needed to conduct the interviews, and there might be a lack of trust between the interviewer and the respondents.

3.6.5 **Focus groups:** Focus groups consist of small groups of participants and thus produce qualitative data. Although participation is limited in this

method, it is possible to obtain in-depth information. Sowman and Gawith (1994:565) state that focus groups are useful "[i]n exploring ideas and assessing people's perceptions and the level of understanding of the issues". Information gathered through this method may not always reflect the opinion of the community at large, but, in addition to interviews, can add value to gathering information and assessing community needs.

3.6.6 Community liaison groups: Community liaison groups are formed to advise on a particular initiative and should represent all beneficiaries. This method creates opportunities for group members to gain knowledge on the initiative and to build capacity. One of the limitations of this method is that, as members acquire knowledge, they may no longer represent the interests of the stakeholders who initially appointed them. Also, this group might act as gatekeepers and not communicate information to the broader community.

3.6.7 Workshops: Workshops are structured meetings aimed at defining and clarifying issues, and in the process exploring solutions to identified problems. Although workshops can be time-consuming, they often produce good results. Another problem associated with this method is the lack of implementation of recommendations made during the workshops.

3.6.8 Imbizo: This promotes interaction, which is aimed at building an active partnership between government and the communities in the implementation of government initiatives. This method also creates opportunities for community participation regarding the implementation of such initiatives.

3.6.9 Indaba: This is a forum for open and frequent dialogue between stakeholders to identify and address critical issues of common concern and interest.

3.6.10 Participatory learning and action: This involves a process that builds capacity for communities to conduct their own analysis and also to plan and take action. This method also emphasises local knowledge and uses group animation and exercises to facilitate information sharing.

From the above discussions, it can be concluded that, depending on the local context, a combination of methods could be used in engaging communities in development projects. The researcher believes that change agents should be careful when applying some of the methods, such as focus groups, as the community might be suspicious of their activities. The suspicions might have a negative impact, thereby becoming an obstacle to community participation. Further obstacles to community participation are discussed below.

3.7 OBSTACLES TO COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

> "Development introduces scarce resources into resource-starved communities and focuses the power struggles in these communities, because individuals or organisations controlling resources command political allegiance" (Hindson & Swilling, 1994:12).

The above statement by Hindson and Swilling indicates that there are often obstacles to participation. These obstacles can result in misunderstanding, mistrust, intolerance and conflict. Korten and Alfonso (1983:183) state that obstacles are found within the implementing agency (that is, a local authority), within the community itself and within the broader society. Obstacles that could be found within the implementing agency include mismanagement of resources, top-down decision-making processes and poor communication with the community. The South African media (newspapers and television) often report on corruption in government, which entails mismanagement of public funds. Another obstacle is the paternalistic attitude of the implementing agency (Boaden, 1993:110). Boaden argues that agencies seldom hand over control to

the people. This can demoralise the community and, as a result, the community might become uncooperative and decide to distance itself from the implementing agency. It is therefore important for the implementing agency to engage in good governance practices, encourage community participation in decision-making processes and to have an appropriate communication strategy.

Obstacles within the community also vary. Community leaders who act as gatekeepers could be an obstacle to participation (Le Roux, 1998:121). Relying on views presented by community leaders might lead to problems if these leaders have not acted in the wider interests of their community (DEAT, 2000:18). In the name of representing people, some community leaders keep control of information and pursue their own interests, and in so doing become stumbling blocks to community participation. When leadership is undemocratic it can create tension, which can lead to divisions and factions. As Burkey (1993:161) has stated, factions can lead to the disintegration of the community.

Disillusionment amongst beneficiaries is also an obstacle to participation. Disillusionment could be due to corrupt and self-centred leadership, inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the community leadership and the implementing agency. Political infighting is another obstacle to participation that could be found within a community. The RDP Forum of Crossroads, where BHDP is situated, was disbanded due to political tensions (Le Roux, 1998:119).

As mentioned by Korten and Alfonso (1983:196), organisations are sources of power and because of this, conflict is inevitable. Once these organisations adopt political traits a backlash is likely. To deal with this problem, Korten and Alfonso (1983:196) suggest two strategies:

- to gain the protection of a strong political party by working directly with it; and
- to avoid political identity as much as possible.

These strategies are not likely to solve problems in every situation. For example, the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) is ANC-aligned and the ANC is regarded as the mass movement, but in the case of Boystown this alignment is to their disadvantage. Instead, it is the recently formed civic organisation, *Intatho Nxaxheba Kawonke-wonke (Intatho),* that is the most powerful, and it is not aligned to any political party. Although *Intatho* does not identify itself with any political party, there are perceptions that it is aligned to a particular political party. Perceptions cannot be ignored because they are powerful. Therefore both strategies suggested by Korten and Alfonso have limitations.

Obstacles to participation in the broader society include a clash between representative democracy and participatory democracy (Le Roux, 1998:124). At a local government level, a representative democracy system gives political power to the council and the councillors, while participatory democracy lies within the constituencies of the councillors, including NGOs and CBOs. In the BHDP, there is a clash between the ward councillor and the community. Kotze and Kellerman (1997:38) have correctly stated that "[t]he local people can either be your allies, or else they can use their collective strength to offer resistance". The councillor of Boystown disregards the views of the community and as a result the community of Boystown is resistant towards him. Hence the community has started raising its grievances directly with the City of Cape Town Mayor, as they do not have confidence in their ward councillor.

According to DEAT (2000:16-18), some of the obstacles to community participation include the following:

- Community participation is often undertaken after many of the planning and strategic level decisions have already been taken. This leads to accusations of token community participation, which does not have a real influence on decision-making. This argument supports the observation that the researcher highlighted in the identification stage of

the project cycle – that projects are mostly initiated by change agents and when they reach the community the ideas surrounding the project have already been shaped;

- Inability to identify an appropriate approach to community participation and its possible outcomes;
- Lack of capacity in some communities to participate effectively, efficiently and equitably because of low levels of literacy;
- Lack of appropriate skilled and experienced change agents in facilitating effective, efficient and equitable community participation;
- Inadequate allocation of resources to the process of community participation; and
- Participants in community-participation processes sometimes do not fully understand the purpose and objectives of community participation, including their own responsibilities in the process – hence the importance of the planning and negotiations stage of the project cycle whereby the roles and responsibilities of all stakeholders in the project are clarified.

Obstacles to participation can have negative effects. They can result in violence, instability and delays in implementation and delivery. This is evident in the attached media reports (Annexure 1) on shootings, which resulted in the death of an old man, and protests that involved the blockade of roads with burning tyres in an attempt to keep the contractors away from the development site.

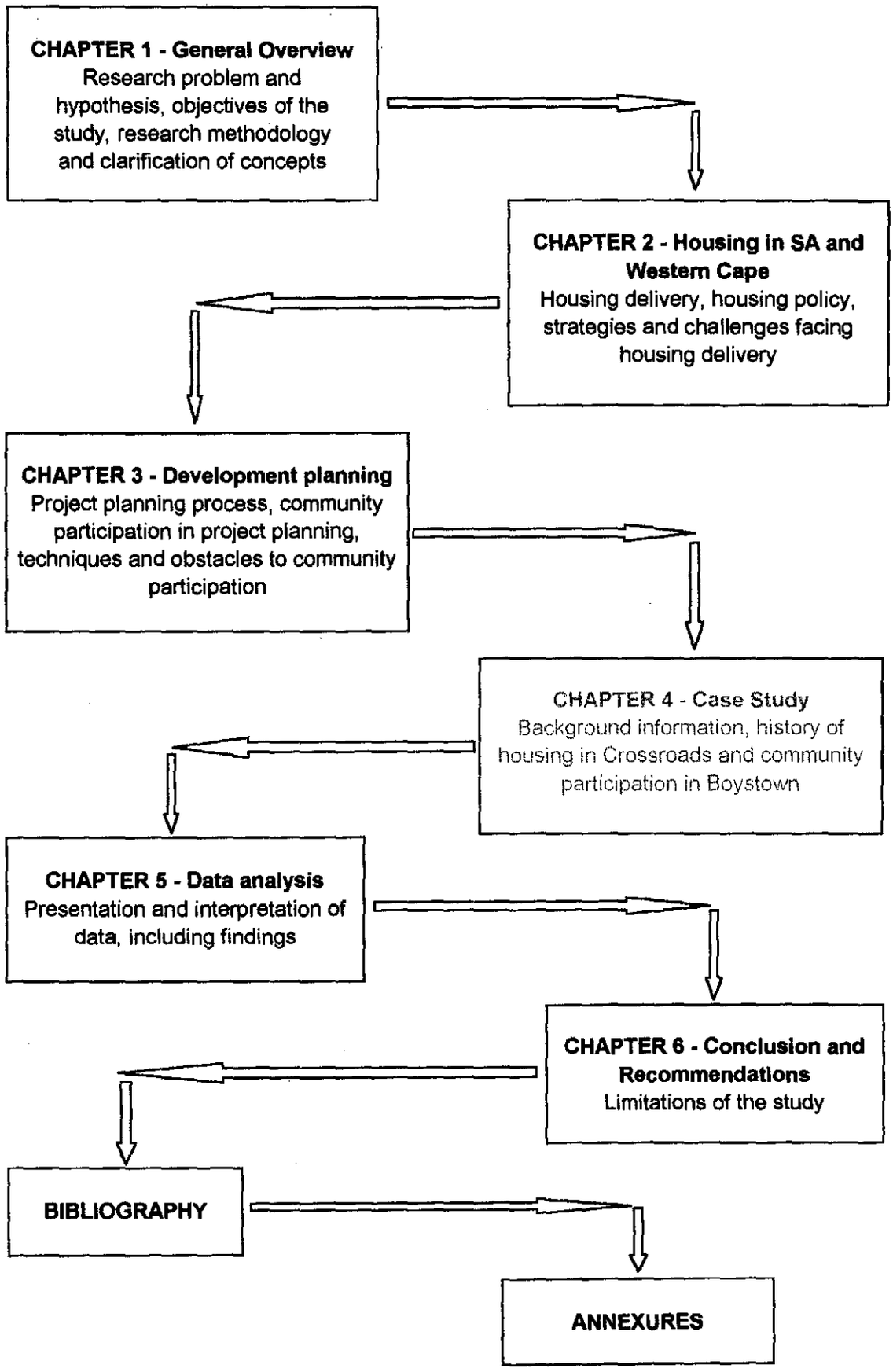
The above discussion indicates that community participation is not an easy process. Change agents should therefore be patient as communities progress through the levels of participation suggested by DWAF (2001) and DEAT (2001). Yet it is important to point out that community participation might not necessarily follow the sequence of these levels, as argued by Theron (2005). Change agents should also be flexible and take into account the local situation during the community-participation process.

3.8 SUMMARY

Background information on development planning has been given in this chapter. This information covered the problems associated with development planning and included proposed solutions to the problems. Development planning has been discussed in the context of development projects. It has been stated that projects go through a cycle, and a project cycle with six stages has been proposed.

Further discussions regarding development planning focused on community participation in project planning, the policy context of community participation and methods of community participation, which include obstacles and challenges to community participation. Discussions showed that community participation in project planning is essential, as it is through participation that a social learning process can be established, which can result in self-reliance, empowerment and sustainability – the building blocks of development.

The discussion in the next chapter will focus on the case study. Background information about Boystown will be given. The history of housing in Crossroads, where Boystown is situated, will also be discussed.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CHAPTER 4: THE BHDP CASE STUDY

4.1 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This chapter gives background information on the Boystown informal settlement where the research was conducted. It includes a brief history of the surrounding area where Boystown is situated as well as of development that has taken place in the area.

Boystown is situated approximately 15 kilometres from the city of Cape Town, and is located on the right side of the N2 when driving towards Somerset West. It lies adjacent to the Cape Town International Airport. Boystown is part of the Crossroads Township (see map in Annexure 2).

Crossroads emerged in the mid-1970s as a squatter camp. Squatting was a strategy to restructure African settlement in the Cape Peninsula (Cole, 1987:157). Crossroads consists of different areas, some of which have already been developed. In the developed areas, houses and schools have been built and roads have been constructed. A public library and a clinic have also been built. Crossroads is divided into three main areas, namely New Crossroads, Lower Crossroads and Old Crossroads. According to the study by The Human Science Research Council (HSRC, 2003:30), the implementation of housing development in New Crossroads was largely completed by 1981. In Lower Crossroads housing delivery started in 1993.

The development in Old Crossroads is ongoing. Boystown is the last section of Old Crossroads that still needs to be developed. The recently developed area of Old Crossroads where RDP houses are located has been named *ko-Vezinyawo* by the community, *ko-Veza* for short. This term means that these houses are so small that when people are sleeping inside, one can actually see their feet from the doorway.

Some of the people who are presently residing at *ko-Veza* originally came from the Boystown informal settlement. During the fieldwork the researcher gathered that some of the residents left behind in Boystown were supposed to get houses from the previous developments including the *Veza* area. The rightful owners did not get houses due to corruption. The allocation of houses in Crossroads continues to result in conflict situations that lead to violence and the burning of houses. This is evident in the media reports in Annexure 1. The community also resorts to activities such as stoning the houses. In the past the researcher has come across houses in Crossroads that were damaged as a result of violence.

A housing project has been launched to develop the Boystown informal settlement. Controversy regarding the project has resulted in serious problems. This is evident in the media reports (see Annexure 1). The reports in Annexure 1 indicate that there is a lack of community participation by the Boystown community in the BDHP. According to Kellerman (1997:52), participation in development projects should be promoted to enhance project efficiency and effectiveness. Kellerman (1997:52) argues that participation contributes to building the capacity of beneficiaries to manage and control development activities on a sustained basis. The beneficiaries of the project are therefore supposed to play a role in driving the project.

Development in Crossroads has always been surrounded with controversy. This is evident in the discussion below, which focuses on the history of housing in Crossroads.

4.2 THE HISTORY OF HOUSING IN CROSSROADS

In 1986 the Urban Foundation development agency tried to implement its major housing pilot upgrading project in Crossroads, but the project failed. With the upgrading of projects, some people are supposed to move to create space for the erection of structures such as roads and buildings. The government wanted to move Crossroads residents to Khayelitsha, but the Urban Foundation was

opposed to the way the government planned to do this (The Urban Foundation, 1987:45). The Urban Foundation acknowledges that upgrading schemes cannot work unless some people are moved, but they point out that "[t]here is a big difference between moving people for political grounds and moving them because the community agrees that they must move for the good of the community" (The Urban Foundation, 1987:45).

While the Urban Foundation was negotiating with the government and the Crossroads community about the implementation of the pilot project, violence erupted in Crossroads – resulting in many deaths and the destruction of hundreds of shacks. As a result of the violence, some Crossroads residents fled. The Urban Foundation decided to discontinue the project after the government announced that those who fled during the fighting would not be allowed to return to Crossroads, and would have to settle in Khayelitsha (Urban Foundation, 1987:46). The Urban Foundation therefore did not discontinue its involvement only because of violence, but because of the stance of the government against those who fled. The point is that these people did not choose to settle in Khayelitsha – circumstances forced them to flee from Crossroads.

All the areas that fall under Crossroads have since been developed, except for Boystown. The property tenure varies in these areas. There are RDP houses, municipality houses and houses that are for sale. The Boystown area will be developed under the auspices of the ISLP. As indicated in Section 4.1, the BHDP is surrounded by controversies. The residents of Boystown have embarked on marches to the City of Cape Town Mayor demanding community participation in the BHDP (Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign, 2002). The City Mayor has since met with the committee that was delegated by the Boystown community, and on 20 October 2003 the Mayor addressed and listened to the community. Details about the Mayor's meeting are given in Section 4.3. The researcher has learned through her fieldwork that there has been ongoing communication with the office of the Mayor since the meeting

regarding concerns around the BHDP. Furthermore, an ISLP Project Officer has been facilitating communication between the Mayor's office and the Boystown community, and has since delivered a letter from the Mayor to the community, which states that the community should elect a project committee.

4.3 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE BHDP

From Annexure 1 it can be concluded that there has been a lack of appropriate community participation in the BHDP. These media reports indicate that the community did not participate in the election of the project committee, i.e. the authorities imposed the project committee. The community's attempts to fight this imposition (for example barricading roads by burning tyres, as reflected in Annexure 1) have delayed project implementation. However, the Boystown community cannot be held responsible for the delay. The blame should be directed at the change agent (in this case, the City of Cape Town Municipality) as it is the responsibility of the change agent to facilitate community participation.

As indicated in Section 3.6.3, a community meeting is one of the methods of community participation. The researcher had an opportunity to attend a BHDP community meeting that was called by the City Mayor, Ms NomaIndia Mfeketho, on 20 October 2003. The meeting was widely publicised. Big banners advertising the meeting were hung around the informal settlement and pamphlets were distributed. As part of the mayor's listening campaign mentioned in Section 2.4, pamphlets which invited people to ask questions on any issue of concern were also distributed prior to and during the meeting. Both pamphlets are attached as Annexure 3.

The meeting on 20 October 2003 was a result of pressure by the local community organisation called *Intatho.* Several letters on the BHDP have been written to the City Council by *Intatho* (undated, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2002d, 2003). Some of the correspondence is addressed to the City Council chairperson of the housing portfolio committee, and some to the City Mayor. In

all of this correspondence, *Intatho* raises concerns regarding the way the housing development is carried out, and the lack of community participation in the project. On 7 November 2002, *Intatho* had also marched to the offices of the Mayor to submit a petition concerning the BHDP.

The *Intatho* correspondence also highlight a concern that some people from the informal settlement were encouraged to move to the open spaces in the nearby developed areas of Old Crossroads. *Intatho* claims that the issue of relocating these people was never discussed with the community. This has resulted in two conflicting groupings: those who have moved and those who remained in the informal settlement. Another problem that affects the BHDP is the interdict that the Cape of Good Hope Division of the High Court of South Africa issued on 15 February 2002. This court interdict, applied for by the City of Cape Town, restrains the members of *Intatho* from interfering with or obstructing construction activities on the Boystown site. All the lobbying by *Intatho* shows their understanding of the principles of community participation and also the commitment to ensuring community participation in the project. Yet it has been approximately three years since the problems around the BHDP started. According to the interdict, the infrastructure in the Boystown site was supposed to have been completed in June 2002.

The Boystown community meeting of 20 October 2003 was an attempt to find a solution to the problems identified above. The office of the Mayor chose the date of the meeting to suit the schedule of the Mayor and also communicated this date to the committee of *Intatho,* which in turn conveyed it to the community through a loudhailer. As indicated previously, the meeting was also advertised through big banners and the distribution of pamphlets. The meeting was well attended. The community hall was filled to capacity. The Mayor started her address by outlining the recommendations made at the meeting she had with the executive committee of *Intatho* that was delegated to liaise with her on the housing project. She then called upon the committee members who participated in the meeting to indicate

whether the recommendations she outlined reflect the proceedings of their meeting. The recommendations outlined included the following issues:

- To establish an inclusive project committee and bring *Intatho* representatives on board;
- To approach the Centre for Conflict Resolution at the University of Cape Town to mediate between the parties concerned;
- To request the Development Action Group to evaluate the credibility of the methods used in compiling the list of beneficiaries and to present a proposal;
- To appoint the City Council in charge of the development process, under the leadership of the Mayor's Office; and
- To approach the Provincial Police Commissioner to discuss the court order and security in the area.

The October meeting created a platform for the Boystown residents to raise their concerns directly with the Mayor. Some of the residents highlighted the unhealthy conditions under which they live, and the fact that they have been living in shacks for most of their adult lives. They also raised the lack of cooperation between the community and the ward councillor. The participants at the meeting refused to acknowledge the people who moved to the open spaces. The Mayor indicated that she would also be meeting with those people to evaluate their side of the story. She indicated that she would afterwards organise a joint meeting for both parties – a meeting which has not yet materialised at the time of writing the thesis. She urged the community to work together and cooperate with other partners involved in the project so that the Boystown development can continue smoothly. She also warned the residents that if the planned development does not take place within the specified period, the budget of the project would be reallocated to meet other needs. It would be a great pity if the BHDP cannot be carried through, as the people in Boystown live under unhealthy conditions.

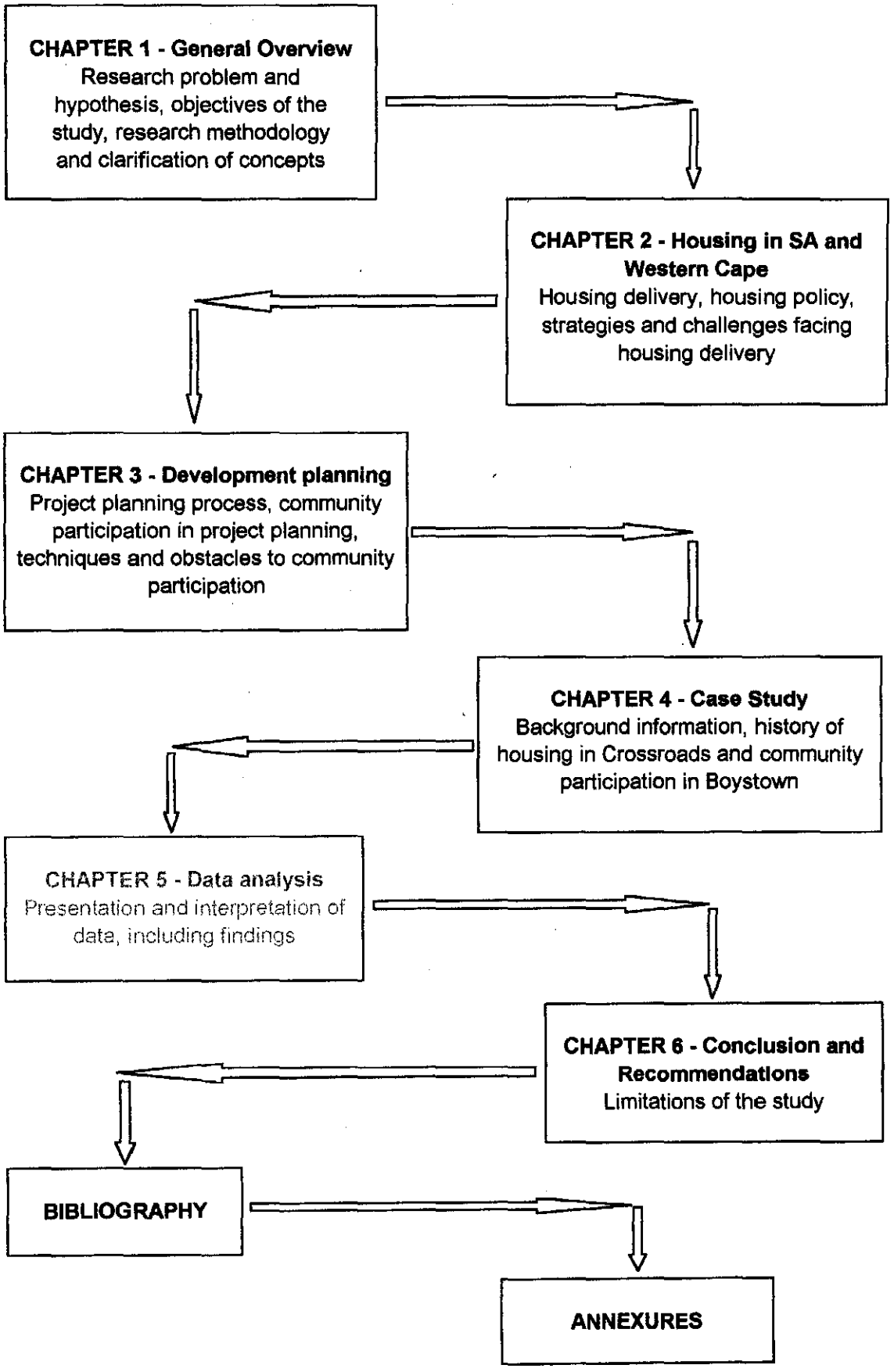
4.4 SUMMARY

This chapter gave background information on the Crossroads Township where the Boystown informal settlement is situated. The discussion focused on the history of housing provision in Crossroads. The upgrading in Crossroads has always been faced with violence. People have died, and houses in the developed areas have been stoned to demonstrate the residents' anger.

There is a lack of appropriate community participation in the BHDP. The City of Cape Town strategy of enforcing the implementation through the High Court has failed. The lobbying by the local community organisation resulted in a meeting with the City Mayor. The Boystown residents used this meeting to raise their concerns about the project. The community has since received a letter from the Mayor saying that they should elect a project committee.

The shift to give the community an opportunity to elect the project committee is a result of the pressure exerted by the local community organisation. Credit should also be given to the City Mayor for listening to the community. It can be concluded that the controversy surrounding the BHDP stems from a lack of communication strategy and a lack of appropriate community participation. The City of Cape Town should therefore develop an effective communication strategy. Also, they should employ appropriate community participation strategies. As it has been shown in the discussion throughout this study, lack of community participation results in corruption, violence, lack of trust and resistance. It can be argued therefore that community participation is a cornerstone of development.

The next chapter analyses the data that was gathered to determine the nature of community participation in the BHDP. Research findings are also presented.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CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to analyse the data that was gathered by the researcher to ascertain the nature and level of community participation in the BHDP. A description of the method in which the data was gathered, including the method used in selecting respondents, will be given. This will be followed by the analysis of the data and the presentation of research findings, and a brief summary of this chapter.

5.2 SAMPLING

The 2004/05 IDP Revision of the City of Cape Town (2004:96) puts the number of households in Boystown at 1 546. According to this revised IDP, the households that were relocated to open spaces as discussed in Chapter 4 amount to 506. The population for this research included only households situated in the Boystown informal settlement. The households that relocated to open spaces were not part of the population. A sample of 50 households was drawn from the population. A simple random sampling was used to select the objects of analysis, as it allows each member of the population a chance to be included in the sample (Welman & Kruger, 2001:53-54).

Through informal discussions with some residents, the researcher ascertained where the Boystown settlement begins and ends. The researcher physically counted the length and width of the settlement by way of footsteps. The length is about 1 244 footsteps and the width is about 404 footsteps. Annexure 7 depicts these measurements. The researcher used a table of random digits to choose the first 50 digits that fall below 1 244 and those that fall below 404 (see Annexure 5 for the selected digits). In selecting households, the researcher walked footsteps equal to the digits along the side and into the settlement. For example, the first digits selected for the sideways and into the settlement were 0994 and 267 respectively. The researcher walked 994 footsteps along the side,

and 267 footsteps into the settlement, and the same pattern was followed with all the other digits. It is important to point out that it was not always possible to select households based on exact footsteps, because of the skew landscape and also the empty spaces within Boystown. In the case where measurements led the researcher to an empty space, the first household after the empty space was selected. In cases where the selected households declined to cooperate, the researcher proceeded to a household behind and sometimes a household opposite those particular households.

The study targeted heads of households. On arrival in each household, the researcher requested to interview a person that is regarded as the head of the household. Some households regarded men/husbands as the heads of the household. Others regarded women/wives as the heads of the household in the absence of the men/husbands. Some households regarded women as the heads of the household irrespective of the presence or absence of men/husbands. In circumstances where a young person owns the household and is living with the parent, the parent is regarded as the head of the household.

5.3 DATA GATHERING

The data was gathered by means of a questionnaire (see Annexure 4), which the researcher developed with the assistance of Dr De Wet Schutte of Unisearch Consultancy. The questionnaire was deduced from the dendrograms[2] developed by the researcher (see Annexure 6). The dendrogram maps out a pattern of arguments regarding the nature and impact of community participation. The questionnaire contains details regarding the respondents, such as gender, age, period of residence, employment and education qualifications (questions 1 to 4). Questions 5 to 17 relate to awareness of the respondents regarding the BHDP and community participation in the project. Questions 18 and 19 relate to the impact of participation on human, financial and technical resources, including the

[2] The dendrogram technique is a theoretical structure that presents an argument as well as an aid to develop questionnaires (Schutte, undated)

influence of community participation on decision-making, service delivery, credibility and accountability.

5.4 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

This section presents an analysis of the data that was obtained from the questionnaires.

Questions 1-4

Out of the sample of 50 respondents, 58% (29) were females, and 42% (21) were males. The questionnaire (see Annexure 4) gives a breakdown of the age categories. The age range of the respondents is illustrated in Figure 4 below. Sixteen percent of the respondents were between 35 and 39 years old, 14% fall under category 50-54, 6% of the respondents fall under category 25-29, and another 6% is 65 years or older.

Figure 4: Respondents' age categories

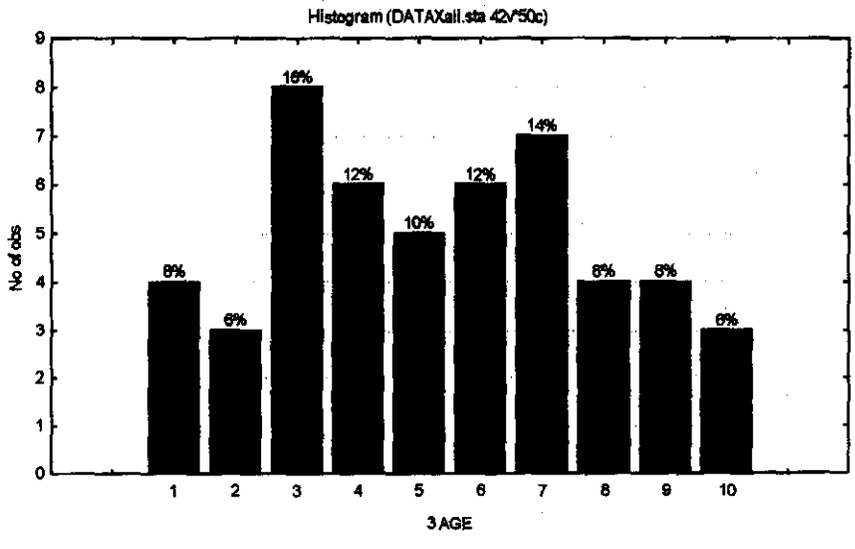


Figure 5: Period of residence in Boystown

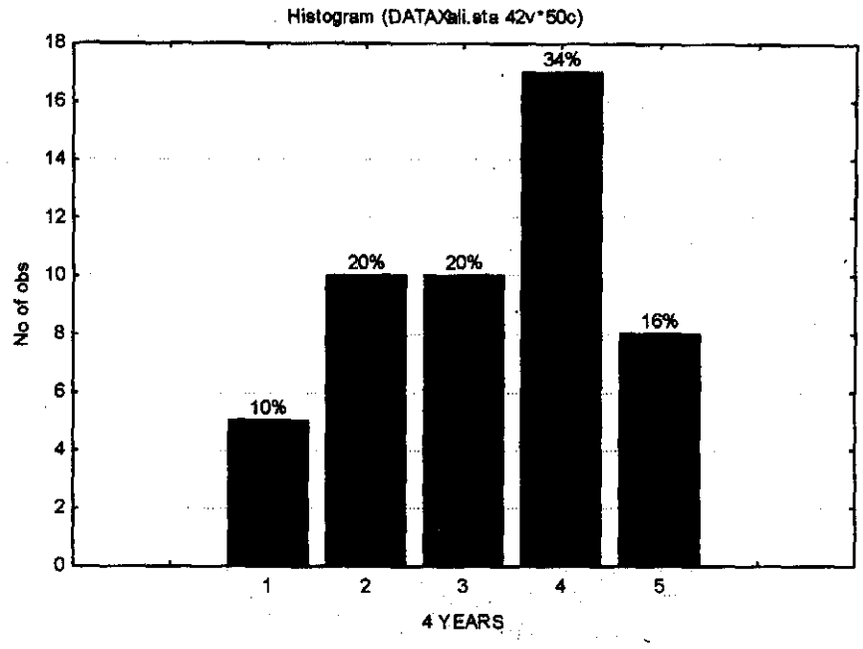
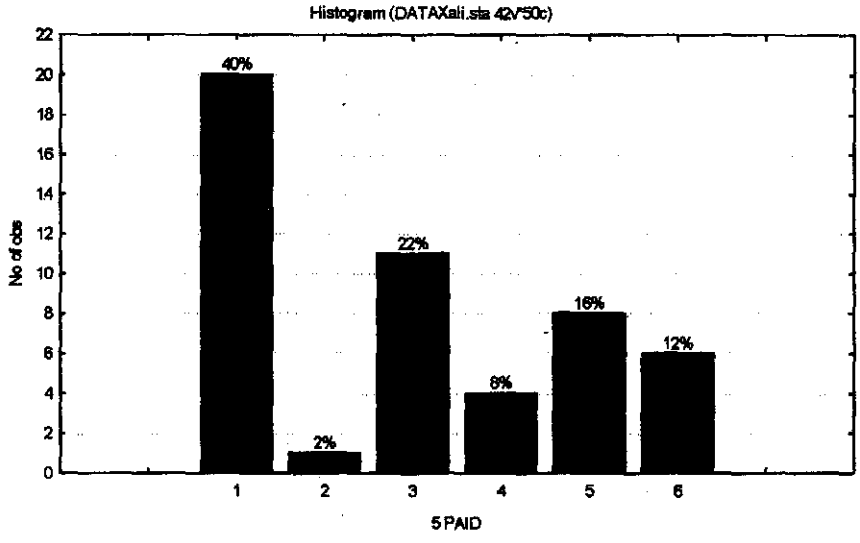


Figure 5 above indicates the number of years that the respondents have been living in Boystown. Thirty-four percent of the respondents have been living in Boystown for a period of 15-19 years, 20% have lived there for a period of 10-14 years, and another 20% have lived in Boystown for 5-9 years. Only 10% of the respondents have been living in Boystown for less than five years. Sixteen percent of the respondents have lived in Boystown for over 20 years but less than 25 years. The majority of the respondents are unemployed (40%), as depicted in Figure 6. Of those who are employed, 2% are paid daily, 22% weekly, 8% fortnightly, and 16% are paid monthly. Those who are jobless and those paid daily indicated that they are looking for jobs. The jobs of some of the respondents that get paid weekly are not secured. Twelve percent of the respondents claimed to be self-employed. Commercial activities of the self-employed respondents include selling paraffin, raw meat, clothes, working in a spaza shop and running a shebeen. In terms of formal education, 16% has secondary education, 34% junior secondary, 30% primary and 14% lower primary education. Six percent has no schooling at all, and 74% of the respondents do not have any informal education. The informal education that the

other 26% possess includes sewing, childcare, hairdressing, bricklaying and first aid.

Figure 6: Indication of employment



Questions 5-19

In terms of project awareness, 84% of the respondents indicated that they are aware of the BHDP, whereas 16% are not aware of the project. The majority (76%) of those who are aware of the project became aware through community meetings. Seven percent became aware of the project through family members and 17% through neighbours.

In terms of information accessibility, 71% of the respondents said information about the project is easily accessible, whereas 29% said information is not easily accessible. When respondents were asked whether the information accessed was understandable, 69% said yes, whereas 31% said it was not understandable. The following problems were stated as obstacles to understanding the information on the project:

- tension and division within the community;

- poor relations with the ward councillor; and
- the commencement date for construction was not clear.

Community meetings are the most popular source of information. This indicates that community participation should be facilitated mostly through community meetings. Eighty-four percent of the respondents indicated that they get information about the BHDP at community meetings, 38% indicated that they get information from street committees whereas 44% and 37% indicated that they also get information from local community organisations and the ward councillor respectively. Although 11% claimed to get information from the project committee, 89% of the respondents indicated that the project committee is still to be elected. All the respondents believe that BHDP was initiated as part of government objectives.

In terms of the vision of the project, 76% of the respondents said that they are aware of the vision of the BHDP, whereas 24% claimed not to be aware of the vision of the project. A follow-up question about the vision was asked to those who are aware of it. Ninety-five percent said the vision is to upgrade the living environment, whereas 3% said it is to fight corruption. Two percent said the vision of the project is part of the government's drive to eradicate informal settlements. Although 37% of the respondents claimed to be aware of the members of the project committee, they did not know how many there are. Sixty-three percent indicated that the project committee is still to be elected.

Respondents indicated that feedback is given about the project to the Boystown community by way of reports that are given at community meetings. When asked how often this feedback is given, 42% said often, 38% said seldom and 8% said feedback is never given. On the other hand, 13% indicated that they do not know how often the feedback is given. When asked how successful the project will be if the project leader leaves Boystown, 26% said it will be very

successful, 4% said it will be successful, whereas 58% said the project will not be successful. Twelve percent of the respondents were uncertain.

Figure 7: Community cooperation towards the project

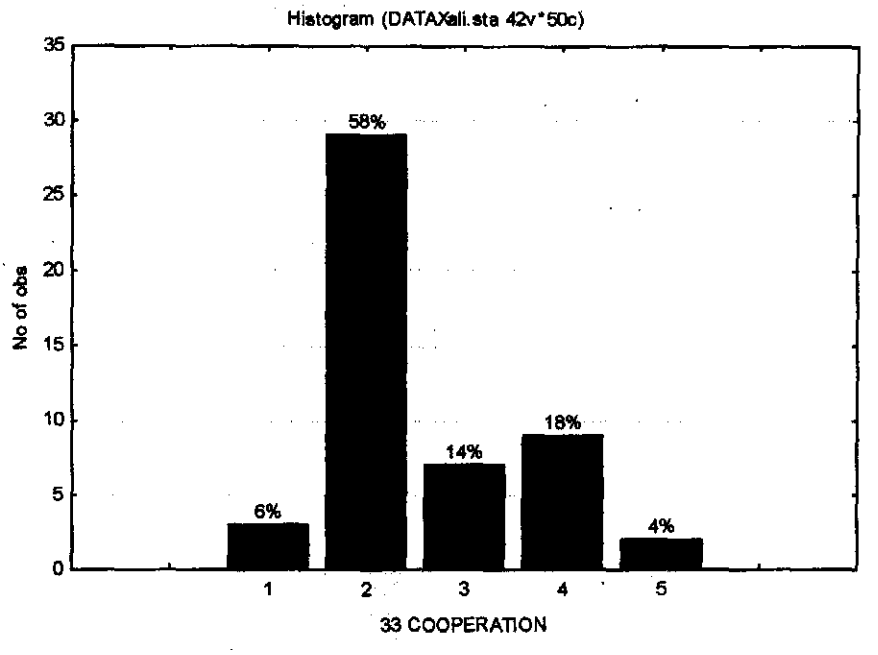
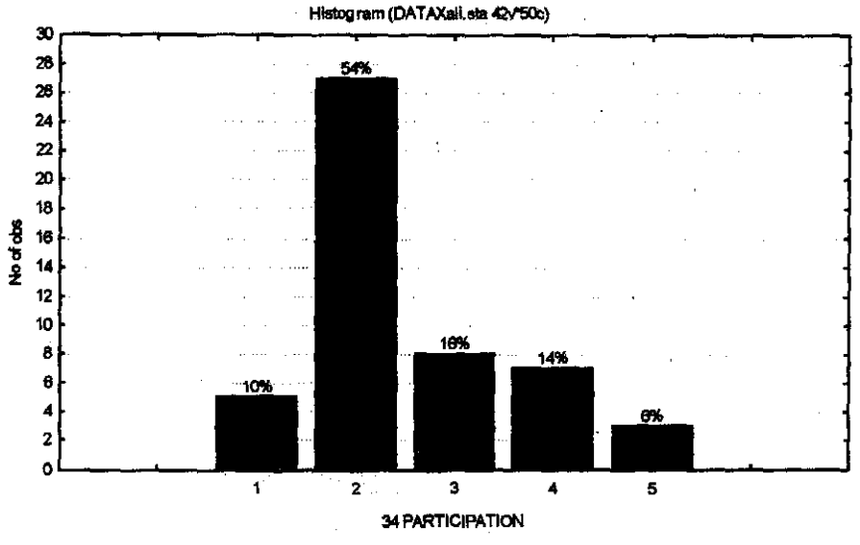


Figure 7 above indicates the responses of the respondents when asked how good or bad community cooperation is towards the project. It is important to emphasise that cooperation in this context refers to the cohesion of the community towards achieving the objectives of the project, and not cooption of the community by development agents. Fifty-eight percent of the respondents rated community cooperation as good, whereas 18% rated it as bad. Fourteen percent were uncertain. Six percent rated community cooperation as very good, and only 4% said it is very bad.

Figure 8 below shows the respondents' rating of community participation in the BHDP. Fifty-four percent of the respondents rated community participation in the project as good, whereas 14% said it was bad. Sixteen percent were uncertain. Ten percent rated community participation as very good and 6% rated it as very bad.

Respondents had different but related views about the type of training needed by the community to be able to participate effectively in the project. Areas of training raised include education about what development is and clarity on what the role of the community is in development projects, what the BHDP entails, skills in general as well as people skills and political education. Although some respondents agreed that there is a need for training, they could not give any specific areas.

Figure 8: Community participation in the BHDP



The second last question of the questionnaire was aimed at ascertaining how the respondents rated the impact of participation on human, financial and technical resources. The majority of respondents rated participation on human (53%) and technical (45%) resources as very positive. Thirty-five percent and 37% said participation would have a positive impact on human and technical resources respectively. With regard to the impact on financial resources, only 20% said participation would have a very positive impact, 29% said financial resources would have a positive impact and another 29% remained neutral. Fourteen percent and 8% respectively said participation would have a negative and very negative impact on financial resources.

For the last question respondents were asked to indicate on a scale of 1-5 how strongly they agree or disagree with each of the four statements given: 1 = Strongly agree; 2 = Agree; 3 = Uncertain; 4 = Disagree; 5 = Strongly disagree. The results are illustrated below in Figures 9-12.

Figure 9: Statement 19.1: Community participation improves decision-making

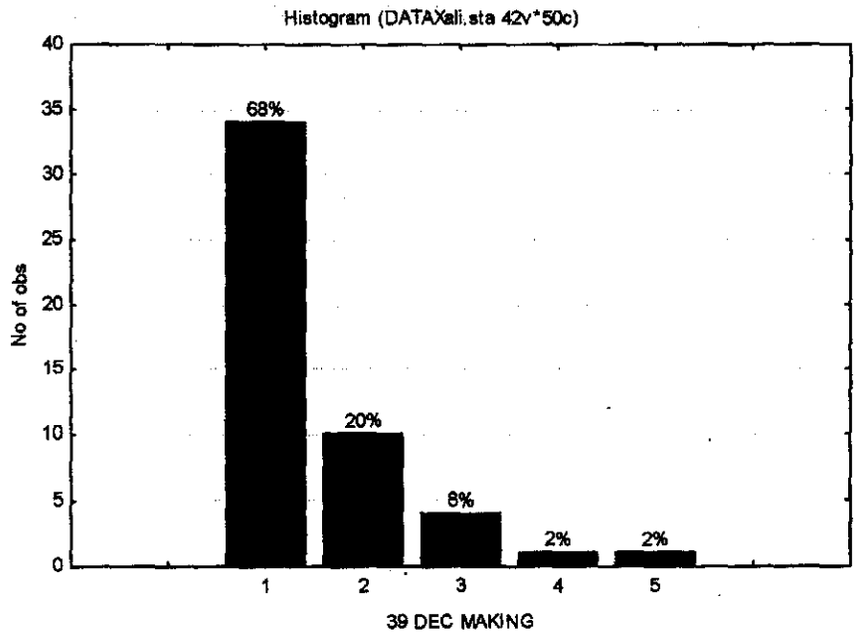


Figure 10: Statement 19.2: Community participation improves service delivery

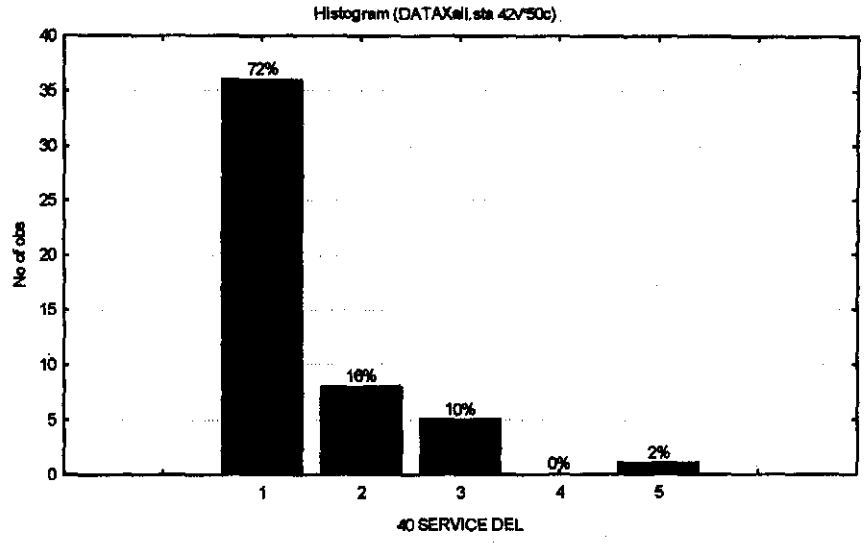


Figure 11: Statement 19.3: Community participation will restore credibility of the project

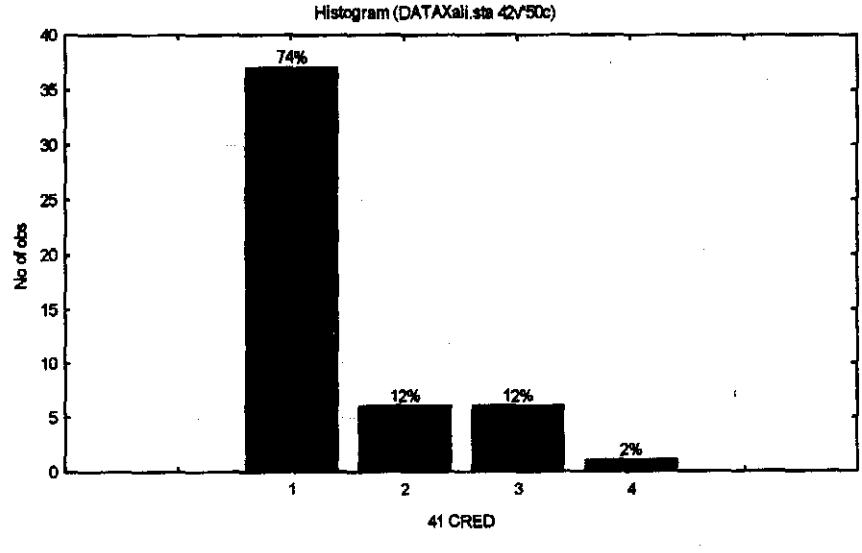
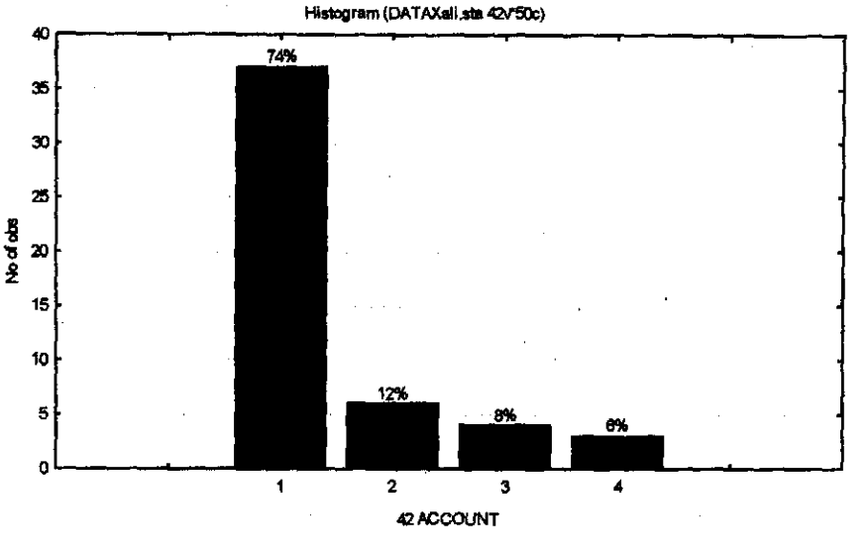


Figure 12: Statement 19.4: Community participation will enhance accountability



5.5 RESEARCH FINDINGS

This section discusses the research findings based on the data presented above. The research findings will be used to test the hypothesis of the research, which states that the BHDP will be more successful if there is a high level of community participation in the project. This hypothesis was developed from the research problem statement stated in Section 1.2.1. The problem statement poses a question regarding the nature and level of community participation in the BHDP and the impact it has on the project.

The research results show that there is no statistical significance across the board, except in two cases. In one case, the results show that gender have had statistical significance (p=0,04127) on the responses to statement 19.2 of the questionnaire. The analysis shows that 80,95% (n=17) of males tend to agree strongly with the statement "Community participation improves service delivery". In the other case, age has also had a statistical significant influence on the source of information about the project, this being community meetings. The

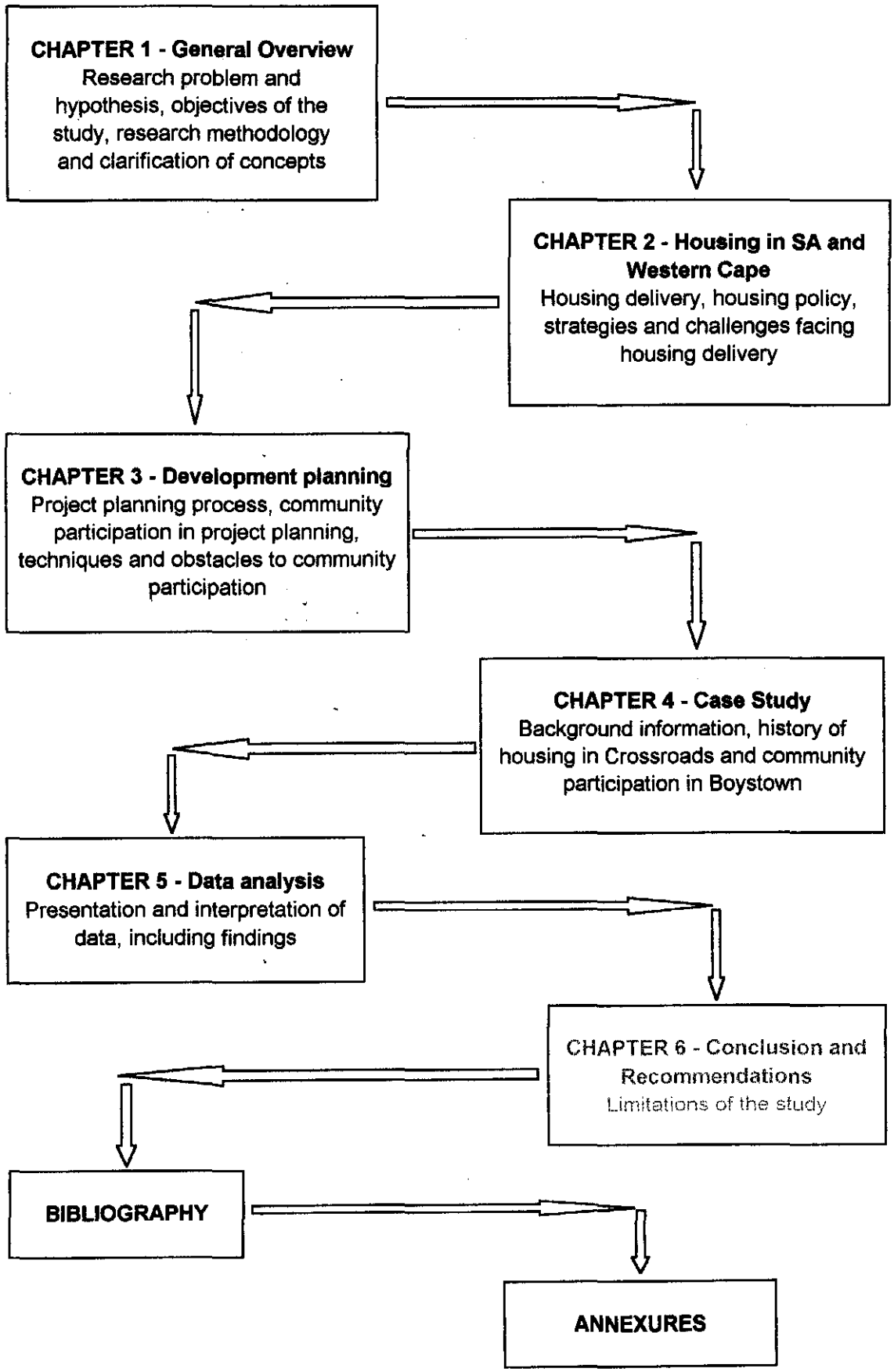
hands of the community. It is this kind of participation that will lead to sustainable development. By implementing authentic empowering participation, the BHDP would be accommodating the building blocks of development.

5.6 SUMMARY

This chapter presented an analysis of the data that was gathered by way of semi-structured interviews. A simple random sampling was used to select the interviewees. The study consisted of a sample of 50 heads of households, 58% females and 42% males.

The majority of the respondents are aware of the BHDP and became aware of the project through community meetings. Community meetings are not only a method of community participation, as discussed in Chapter 3, but are also the most popular source of information in the case of the BHDP. Problems identified as hindrances in understanding information about the project were stated. Training needs identified by respondents were also highlighted.

The research results show that only gender and age have had statistically significant influence in the research. Through the information gathered, it has been observed that there has been limited community participation in the project. This limited participation has had a negative impact on the project. The BHDP will be more successful if there is a high level of community participation that accommodates the building blocks of development.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CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study was to assess the nature and the level of participation by beneficiaries in the BHDP. In broad terms, it can be argued that there has been a lack of appropriate community participation in the BHDP. Based on the research conducted, some conclusions are drawn regarding the nature and level of participation in the BHDP. It is from these conclusions that recommendations are proposed regarding the future of the BHDP. Limitations of the study are outlined, and difficulties experienced by the researcher during the fieldwork are covered.

6.2 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the information gathered and observations of the researcher, it can be concluded that community participation in the BHDP was poorly facilitated, hence the outcry and resistance reflected in Annexure 1. Although the community is eager to participate in the project, there are obstacles to their participation. There are divisions within the community that are a matter of concern as they might affect the stability in the community. The researcher gathered from the interviews and the Mayor's meeting that Boystown is divided into two groups. One group supports the ward councillor and believes that the councillor should be leading the project. It could be argued that the supporters of the ward councillor believe in him because of the previous visible RDP housing delivery, and because they also regard him as their legal representative. The other group is opposed to the councillor. This group does not have faith in the councillor because of the alleged corruption associated with the allocation of the RDP houses, including the imposition of the project committee for the BHDP. Although this group believes the community should be driving the BHDP, it is perceived as a stumbling block to the implementation of the project. However, the researcher believes that there is a third group, one that does not support

either side. This neutral group has a simple goal: to obtain houses. They are not concerned about the processes involved in the housing delivery. The existence of these groups is a challenge to community participation and also for community commitment towards the project.

The nature of community participation in the project has been confrontational. This statement is based on the shootings that took place during a community meeting in which an old man was killed. The blockade created with burning tyres to prevent contractors from entering Boystown is a further indication of confrontational participation. After a number of attempts by the community to seek the Mayor's attention on the matter, she finally took action and her intervention should be commended. She gave a go-ahead for the election of a project committee by beneficiaries of the project. Although the Mayor indicated in the community meeting in October 2003 that the budget of the BHDP would be reallocated to meet other priorities if there is no positive progress, her intervention is likely to save the BHDP.

Based on the research conducted, it can also be concluded that the Boystown community does have an understanding of what community participation entails. This is evident in the elaboration by some respondents regarding the fight for project committee election. It became evident that if the beneficiaries do not elect the committee themselves, they will lose touch of the project activities and will not have control over the functions of the committee. In addition, one respondent stated:

> In community meetings people get an opportunity to raise issues of concern so that the leadership can pass these on to the authorities. The leadership does not take decisions on behalf of the community. The people make the decisions and the leadership listens to the people. The Boystown community wants to drive the development themselves and for whatever goes wrong with the project they will take responsibility for it.

Another signal that indicates the community's understanding of participation is the suggestions made by the respondents. One suggestion is that the community needs exposure to development processes and procedures so that they can play a meaningful and constructive role in the BHDP. Another suggestion was that the project should utilise local labour/skills. Although legislation such as the Local Government Municipal Systems Act encourages the use of local labour in local development projects, community participation is vital in ensuring the implementation and effectiveness of the projects.

The following recommendations are proposed based on the data analysis and discussions above:

The process of setting up a legitimate project committee that has been elected and endorsed by the Boystown community should be a priority in order for the project to move forward. The committee should reflect the composition of the community, meaning that the youth and women should also be represented. This will ensure that the interests of all groups are accommodated. The role and responsibilities of the project committee should be clearly defined at the onset. The community should delegate some authority to the project committee to avoid a situation whereby the committee goes back to the community all the time for consultation. The project committee should be the liaison machinery between the community, the developers and the municipality. However, the committee should not become gatekeepers, they should rather forward information and give feedback to the community on a regular basis. Regular feedback will enable the community to play a meaningful monitoring role.

The change agents together with the project committee should employ appropriate community participation methods. One such method for Boystown should be community meetings. There should be a clear communication strategy that will enable a free two-way flow of information from and to the community. A

clear schedule outlining activities to be undertaken should be produced and this schedule should be known to the project committee and the community. This will enable the community to monitor the work of the project committee and the progress of the project.

It is important to emphasise that the community should participate in the election of the project committee, including in the process of deciding on the best methods of community participation and of developing a communication strategy. Community participation should be instilled in the BHDP while it is still at its infancy stage. It is clear from the protests and resistance shown by the Boystown community that a top-down development approach is not acceptable, and that it can never work in Boystown. Therefore, to avoid further tension and unnecessary delays in project implementation, the planning process should be revisited. Planning involves making decisions and it is important that the beneficiaries are part of the decision-making process to ensure legitimacy and acceptance of the project. The beneficiaries should therefore engage with the change agent in the planning process as equal partners. Because participation is an instrument of empowerment, the Boystown community, through its participation, will have an opportunity to influence the direction and implementation of the project. During the interviews, one respondent summed up the significance of participation as follows: "Participation can eliminate crime and it can also assist the authorities with planning, the actual delivery and the monitoring of the project". Participation in the planning process will create a social learning environment whereby both the change agents and the community will exchange knowledge and ideas regarding the project.

Capacity-building programmes that include the community at large should be organised by both the change agents involved in the project and the project committee. These programmes should consider the training needs identified during the interviews, which include a need to clarify what development is, and the role of the community in development projects. Training initiatives will assist

in increasing the capacity of the community to control and manage the project effectively. The change agents should use the capacity building programmes as a platform to transfer information and skills to the community to enable them to make informed decisions. This approach will address some claims made during the interviews, such as that people have unreasonably demanded for four-roomed houses. If the people are well informed about the budget available for the project, the size of the landscape of the settlement and the number of beneficiaries, it is likely that they will not make unreasonable demands.

To avoid conflict situations associated with housing allocation in Crossroads, a beneficiary list should be compiled beforehand. The compilation process should be transparent and the list should be easily accessible. Houses should be allocated according to this list. The issue of relocating residents is linked to this. For any upgrading, people must be relocated in order to prepare the land for the actual delivery of housing. It was gathered through the interviews that some people are not happy about the relocation, because they fear that once the development is completed, certain people will get preference to the houses. This fear is based on their past experiences. It must be remembered that some of the people in Boystown arrived in Crossroads in the mid-1970s, and they have been relocated a number of times during the past housing developments, but to date they are still living in an informal settlement. It is therefore important for parties concerned to be sensitive about relocation.

In addition to general relocation, the issue of the Boystown residents who were encouraged to relocate to open spaces, as discussed in Chapter 4, should be addressed. Although it is claimed that these people are supporters of the ward councillor, it is likely that they moved because they were desperate for housing. It also appears that they underestimated the power of resistance exerted by the group perceived to be opposed to the ward councillor. The plight of this group should be resolved before the project implementation commences, and they should finally become part of the beneficiary list.

To conclude this section, it is important to highlight that participation is one of the ingredients necessary to achieve sustainable development. Authentic community participation therefore needs to be entrenched in the BHDP. During the interviews, the researcher came across some statements that cause great concern, such as "*we listen and follow what our leaders say ... the leaders do not want the councillor for reasons known to them*" and "*some of us are scared to attend meetings as we fear victimisation if you disagree with the views and ideas that have been already decided by the leadership*". It is important to clarify that community participation is not about pursuing views of the leadership. Community participation is about giving power to the people to influence decision- making. It is the responsibility of the leadership to create a platform where each member of the community is free to voice his or her views about the BHDP, and the different views should be embraced.

6.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This section aims to highlight the limitations of the study, including some of the difficulties that the researcher experienced.

The scope of the study was limited and did not engage all the different stakeholders affected by and involved in the BHDP. The research focused on gaining insight about community participation in the BHDP from the community's perspective. The study thus only focused on the grassroots level. Because of time constraints and lack of sufficient capacity, not all households were included in the study. For these reasons, a pilot research involving only 50 respondents was conducted.

Other avenues that could have been explored in assessing community participation in the BHDP include the following: local leadership, local community-based organisations, the ward councillor, officials and the housing committee of the City of Cape Town Municipality, the housing board of the

Western Cape, and people who were relocated from Boystown to open spaces as discussed in Chapter 4. Also for future studies, the total number of households for the research could be increased, depending on resources such as time, funds and capacity.

As indicated in the beginning of this chapter, the researcher did experience some difficulties during the fieldwork. Although most of the households visited kindly welcomed and cooperated with the researcher, some refused to be interviewed. Some respondents became irritable and emotional in the middle of interviews, stating their frustration about the housing allocation process in Crossroads. This anger obviously had an influence on their responses to the questions posed. Of the 59 households visited, seven households declined to cooperate and in two other households occupants were under the influence of alcohol. Those who declined stated different reasons for not cooperating, including the following:

- They claimed that they did not know anything about the BHDP and stated that they did not want to waste their own and the researcher's time;
- There was nothing valuable that the researcher could have learned from them as they did not attend meetings because of work commitments;
- They stated fears of repercussions if they responded to the questions of the researcher – fears of being in trouble in the community, fears of being victimised and of being burnt down with their own shacks;
- They also stated that members of the community are not allowed to talk to strangers, and that communication takes place via committees. The researcher was referred to the committees that exist in the community and also to leaders and people involved in the project.

Another challenge that confronted the researcher is that of respondents' expectations. Even after explaining to respondents at the beginning of each interview that the research is conducted for academic purposes, some

respondents had hopes that the research will assist in fast-tracking the implementation of the BHDP. At times it was hard to deal with the frustrations raised by respondents, especially that of elderly people. Regardless of these difficulties, the researcher was able to continue with the research. The researcher hopes to facilitate a feedback process to the Boystown community through the channels wherein the permission of conducting the research was granted.

6.4 SUMMARY

The nature of community participation in the BHDP has been confrontational due to the top-down development approach adopted by the change agent. This confrontational approach indicates that community participation in the BHDP was poorly facilitated by the change agents involved in the project. To avoid confrontation, change agents should ensure that beneficiaries of the project participate from the initiation stage of the project, through to the planning, implementation and monitoring stages of the project.

It has been emphasised throughout this study that participation is an instrument of empowerment. Beneficiaries are empowered through their participation and training is crucial for building the capacity of beneficiaries in order to achieve meaningful participation. Empowering participation is more likely to result in sustainable development. It is therefore important to incorporate community-participation mechanisms in development projects. Projects would be more successful if it involved a high level of community participation.

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Annexure 1: Media Reports

Long, long wait for a proper home

May 20 2002 at 11:05AM Cape Argus

By Myolisi Gophe

As the clouds gathered ahead of last week's showers, Mlindeli Mateyise sat on a bench and worried about his house flooding again.

Whenever it rains, pools form in his two-bedroom zinc home in Boys Town informal settlement in Crossroads, Cape Town, his home for 11 years.

His shack has no electricity, he uses a bucket as a toilet and shares communal taps for water.

When he inherited the house from his father, he had hoped to move to a proper brick house soon.

His shack was moved from the now developed Unathi, also in Crossroads, to what was planned as a transit camp to give contractors the space to build him a proper home

But political differences delayed the construction, forcing him to remain in the camp.

In 1998 hopes of getting his own house re-emerged when some of his neighbours benefited from other developments in the area and in Philippi East, and his name appeared on a waiting list.

But in January last year the process was delayed again as some residents claimed the housing allocation was plagued by corruption, nepotism and favouritism.

The project came to a standstill when those opposing the development physically interrupted construction of infrastructure for the 700 plots.

Last month the Cape High Court granted the City of Cape Town an interdict to prevent the those against the project from coming within 100m of the construction site.

A week later one man was gunned down and four others were injured in a shootout during a housing development meeting.

One person was arrested in connection with the incident. Now some residents say they fear for their lives.

And Mateyise and others have to wait longer for better housing to live a better life.

On May 10, during a housing portfolio committee meeting, African National Congress and Democratic Alliance councillors were involved in a heated argument about a consultants report on Crossroads.

The DA said the report was biased and unclear, but the African National Congress said it showed what was happening in Crossroads.

City housing manager Hans Smit said if the "extremely complicated" and dangerous political situation was not resolved, the project could not continue.

While both parties agreed that the development should proceed, a motion was passed in favour of the DA that the consultant should draft a new report, which was submitted to the council on Friday.

Angry residents demand action on shootings

Moses Mthetheleli Mackay
May 20 2002 at 11:05AM Cape Argus

About 300 Old Crossroads residents in Cape Town marched to Nyanga police station at the weekend to demand the arrest of African National Congress councillor Depoutch Elese who allegedly shot dead a resident and wounded four others during a housing development meeting last month.

Elese has also been accused of corruption, nepotism and favouritism in the housing allocation process.

Residents said they wanted to know why Elese had not been arrested for the crimes he allegedly committed on April 21.

One person was arrested on the same day in connection with the incident.

'Boys Town residents want justice to be done'

Placard-bearing residents converged at Mfesane community hall in Old Crossroads and marched to the Nyanga police station on Saturday.

The march was organised by Intatho nxa-xheba kawonke-wonke (public participation), a community organisation formed before local government elections in 2000 in Old Crossroads.

Provincial Community Safety Minister Leonard Ramatlakane was not present at the station to receive the memorandum due to other commitments but it was handed to a member of his department, Nyaniso Ngele.

Addressing residents before he handed the memorandum over, march leader Mlungisi Noludwe said: "Boys Town residents want justice to be done. Elese allegedly shot and killed somebody but has not been arrested. We want him and his bodyguards to be arrested because they are responsible for the incident in April."

Noludwe said Ramatlakane should break his silence, intervene and suspend housing development in the area.

He said residents wanted to see the housing development in Boys Town take place in a fair, transparent and democratic way.

Residents proposed that the project should include locals to prevent corruption and political interests.

Noludwe said ince early last year, attempts had been made to bring the plight of residents to the attention of the authorities, but they had failed to resolve the problem.

Ramatlakane confirmed that he had received the memorandum and said he would respond in due course.

He said the allegations made in the memorandum were the same allegations made by Democratic Alliance education spokesperson Helen Zille about two weeks ago and he would respond to her tomorrow.

Ramatlakane said the shooting allegations levelled against Elese were being investigated by the police and anyone who had information about the shooting should make a statement to the police.

He said that on the day of the incident he had asked people to make statements to the police.

Angry crowd keeps out builders

ANDISIWE MAKINANA
Staff Reporter

CONTRACTORS at Boy's Town near Old Crossroads were forced to put a housing development project on hold after angry protesters went on a rampage.

A 500-strong mob converged yesterday on the main thoroughfare, Klipfontein Road, where they burnt tyres to prevent contractors travelling under police guard from entering the area.

The protesters were vehemently opposed to the construction because they claimed they were not consulted. They also claimed that the housing project's committee was made up of "friends of the ward councillor, Depoutch Elese".

But Elese denied the allegations. "Firstly, I don't have a problem with consulting the community. And secondly, when the committee was elected between January and February this year those chosen had lived in Boy's Town but they have since relocated."

Mlungisi Noludwe, chairman of the civic organisation in Boy's Town, said Elese and his friends "who are ANC councillors in other areas are forcing the development in Boy's Town". He claimed they were doing this to cover up corruption they had been involved in in other areas.

Noludwe said there was no transparency in the project as the civic group had not seen the plan, nor did members know anything about the infrastructure or the contractor. "They could have chosen their friends for all we know."

Elese, who is accused of shooting dead Kenneth Ndayi at a residents' meeting in April (he will appear in court on this charge next Friday), has denied the corruption allegations.

Nomsa Mlanjeni, the City of Cape Town housing chairwoman, said the council had an interdict allowing it to proceed with the project, "but we wanted to accommodate the other group". However, she said that now it would have to enforce the interdict.

ARGUS, 19 July 2002

ARGUS, 02 August 2002

Boys Town conflict flares again

A CONFLICT over the development of low-cost houses in Boys Town, Crossroads, which has gone on for months, appears to have flared up again.

Last December the city awarded Paradigm Con[illegible] a contract to develop 202 residential erven as phase 3 of the Boys Town informal settlement development.

But the development has ground to a halt as a result of violent conflict and disagreement over the issue.

Resident Kenneth Ndayi was killed and four other people were injured when shooting broke out during a development meeting in the area on April 21. One person was arrested in connection with the incident.

And on one occasion tyres were set alight just as the contractor was trying to take delivery of the site.

MYOLISI GOPHE
Staff Reporter

Now people in the area are talking about two shacks that were reportedly damaged in the past few days when petrol bombs were thrown at them. Police said they had heard the "rumour" but no case had been reported to them by yesterday.

The City of Cape Town has now told the police to enforce a court interdict granted by the Cape High Court in April, restraining people who halted the project from interfering further.

A group called Intatho Nxaxheba ka Wonke-Wonke, led by former African National Congress member Mlungisi Noludwe, has been accused of holding the project to "ransom".

Noludwe said the organisation did not oppose the project but wanted the project committee to be made up of people from Boys Town, not outsiders.

"From experience, this (involvement of outsiders) has, in previous developments, led to favouritism, nepotism and corruption," Noludwe said.

He said as the leader of the community, he had notified the police about the torching of the two houses but was told that the owners must lay charges, which they were in the process of doing.

But Danile Landingwe, the city's ANC councillor responsible for roads, transport and stormwater, said the council had been working with the community and Noludwe's group was just a "tiny band of irresponsible people determined to prevent housing delivery to the desperate citizens".

He said it had been decided yesterday that the police would be beefed up by the municipal police on Monday to enforce the interdict and make sure that the project proceeded.

Noludwe said police could enforce the interdict but it would be difficult if the project committee was not "democratically" elected.

But Landingwe said the police's duty was to maintain law and order, not to facilitate meetings. He said the decision to seek an interdict was taken at a political level.

An interim project committee was formed last month in a meeting attended by members of Noludwe's group, but in the follow-up meetings the group either didn't turn up or the gatherings ended in violent confrontation.

Police said after the interdict was granted they tried to make the conflicting parties sort out their differences through negotiations instead of an interdict.

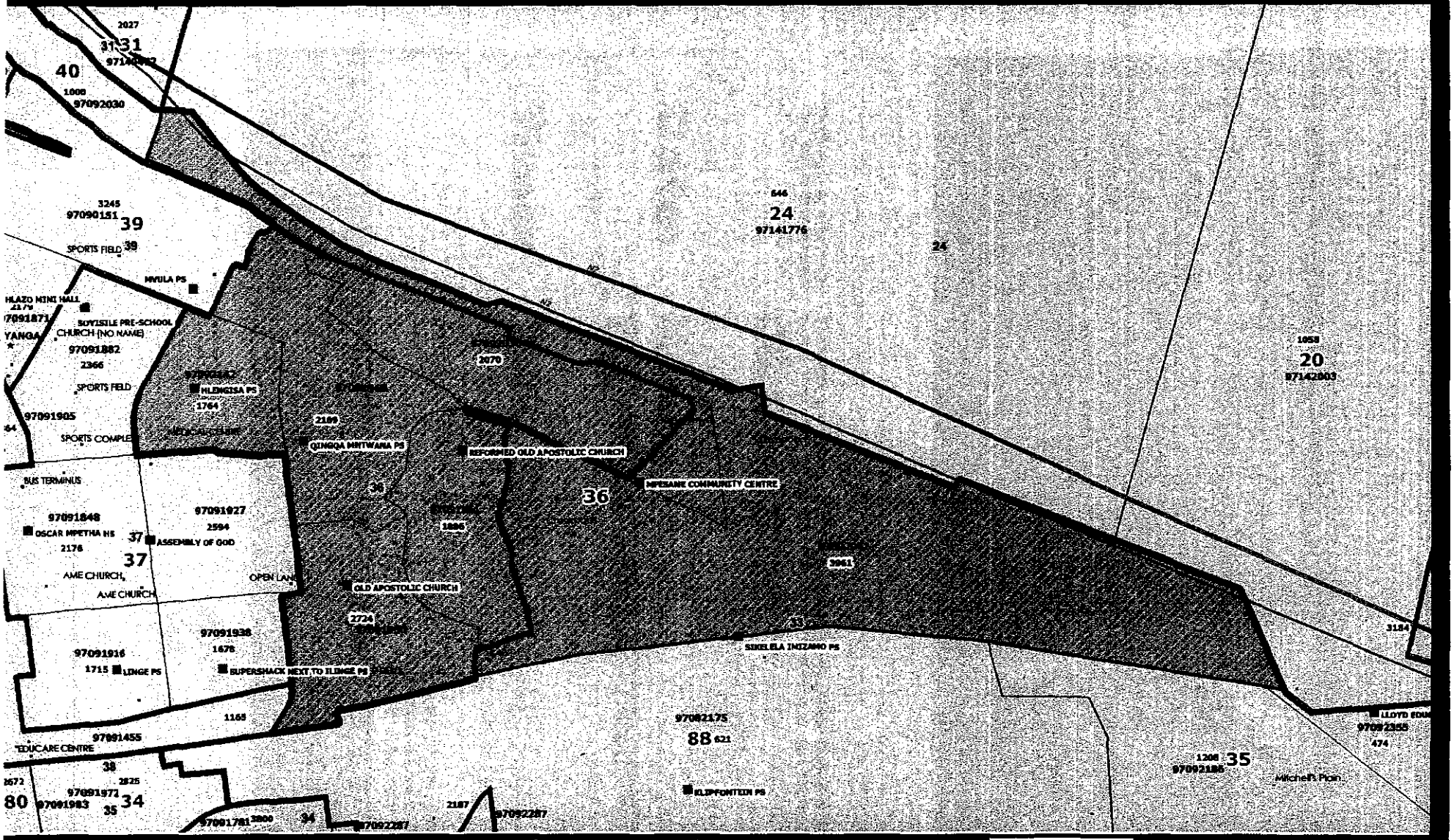
● Denise O'Callaghan, national spokeswoman for Boys Town, the youth care organisation near Macassar, has pointed out that the organisation has no connection with the Boys Town housing development in Crossroads.

Annexure 2: Map

ITY OF CAPE TOWN (CPT)

MAP SET II

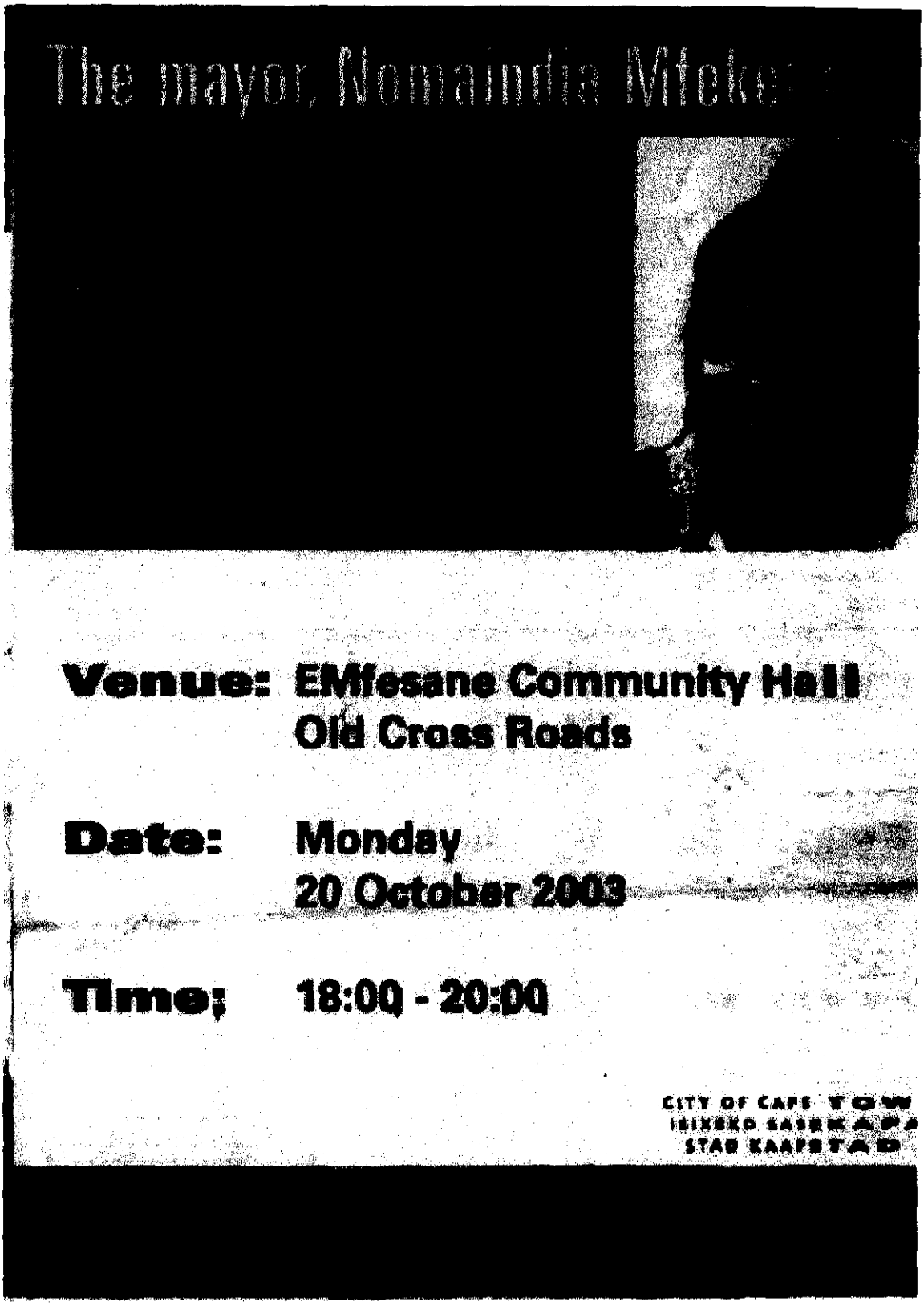
WARD: 36

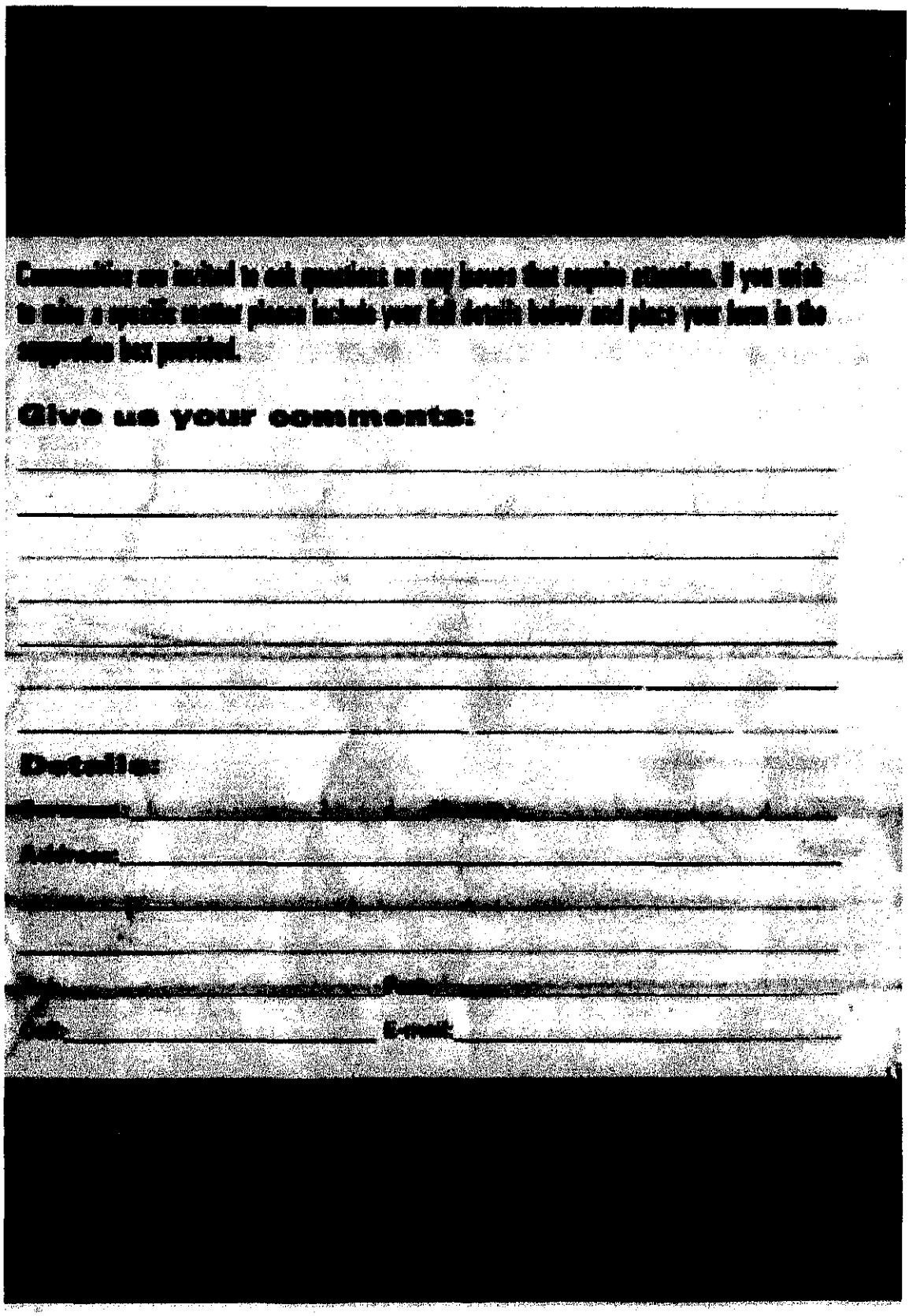


DEMARCATION BOARD MUNICIPAL

LOCAL ELECTIONS
2005 / 2006
DRAFT WARDS

ANNEXURE 3: Pamphlets





Annexure 4: Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE

1

1. What is your gender?

F	1
M	2

2

2. In which of the following age categories do you fall?

20-24	1
25-29	2
30-34	3
35-39	4
40-44	5
45-49	6
50-54	7
55-59	8
60-64	9
65 +	10

3

3. For how many years have you been residing in Boystown?

0-4	1
5-9	2
10-14	3
15-19	4
20-24	5
25-29	6
30-34	7
35-39	8

4

4. How are you being paid?

Jobless	Daily	Weekly	Fortnightly	Monthly	Self-employed
1	2	3	4	5	6

5

4.1 What is your highest formal education qualification?

Lower Primary	1
Primary	2
Junior Secondary	3
Secondary	4
Tertiary	5
No schooling	6

6

4.2 What other informal education do you have?

.....	7

5. Are you aware about the Boystown housing project?

Yes	1	
No	2	8

5.1 If yes, how did you become aware of the project?

....	9

6. Is the information about the housing project easily accessible?

Yes	1	
No	2	10

6.1 Was the information understandable?

Yes	1	
No	2	11

6.2 If no, what problems did you experience?

....	12

7. How do you access information about the housing project?

Source of information	Yes	No	
Community meetings	1	2	13
Street committee	1	2	14
Project Committee	1	2	15
Local community organisation	1	2	16
Ward Councilor	1	2	17
Other	1	2	18

8. How was the project identified or initiated?

Method	Yes	No	
Needs assessment conducted	1	2	19
Observation	1	2	20
Government objectives	1	2	21
Do not know	1	2	22
Other	1	2	23

9. Are you aware about the vision of the project?

Yes	1	
No	2	24

9.1. If yes, what do you think it is?

.....	25

10. What do you think are the objectives of the project?

Objectives	.....	
Do not know	4	26

11. Are you aware of who serve in the project committee?

Yes	1	
No	2	27

11.1 How many members serve in the project committee?

.....Members	28

12. According to your knowledge who elected the project committee?

Community	1	
Municipality	2	
Contractors	3	
Ward Councilor	4	
Self-appointed	5	
Do not know	6	29

13. How often is feedback given to the Boystown community about the project?

Often	1
Seldom	2
Never	3
Do not know	4

30

13.1 How is this feedback given?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

31

14. If the project leader leaves today how successful do you think the project will be?

Very successful	1
Successful	2
Not successful	3
Uncertain	4

32

15. Is community cooperation towards the project very good, good, bad or very bad?

Very good	Good	Uncertain	Bad	Very bad
1	2	3	4	5

33

16. Is community participation in the housing project very good, good, bad or very bad?

Very good	Good	Uncertain	Bad	Very bad
1	2	3	4	5

34

17. What type of training do you think the community needs to be able to participate effectively in the project?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

35

18. Do you think participation will have a very positive, positive, negative or a very negative impact on the following issues?

Issues	Very positive	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Very negative	
18.1 Human resources	1	2	3	4	5	36
18.2 Financial resources	1	2	3	4	5	37
18.3 Technical resources	1	2	3	4	5	38

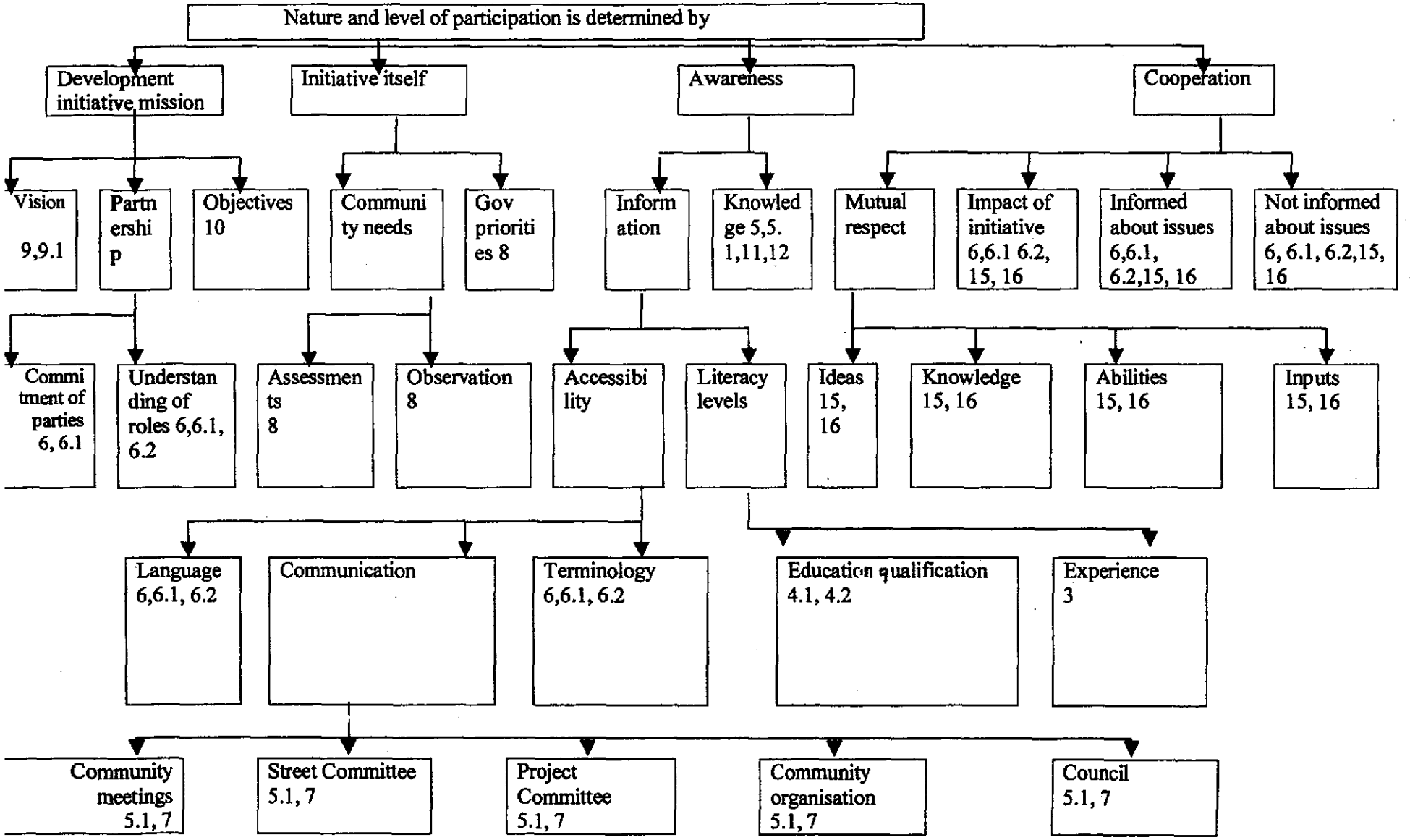
19. Please indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements:

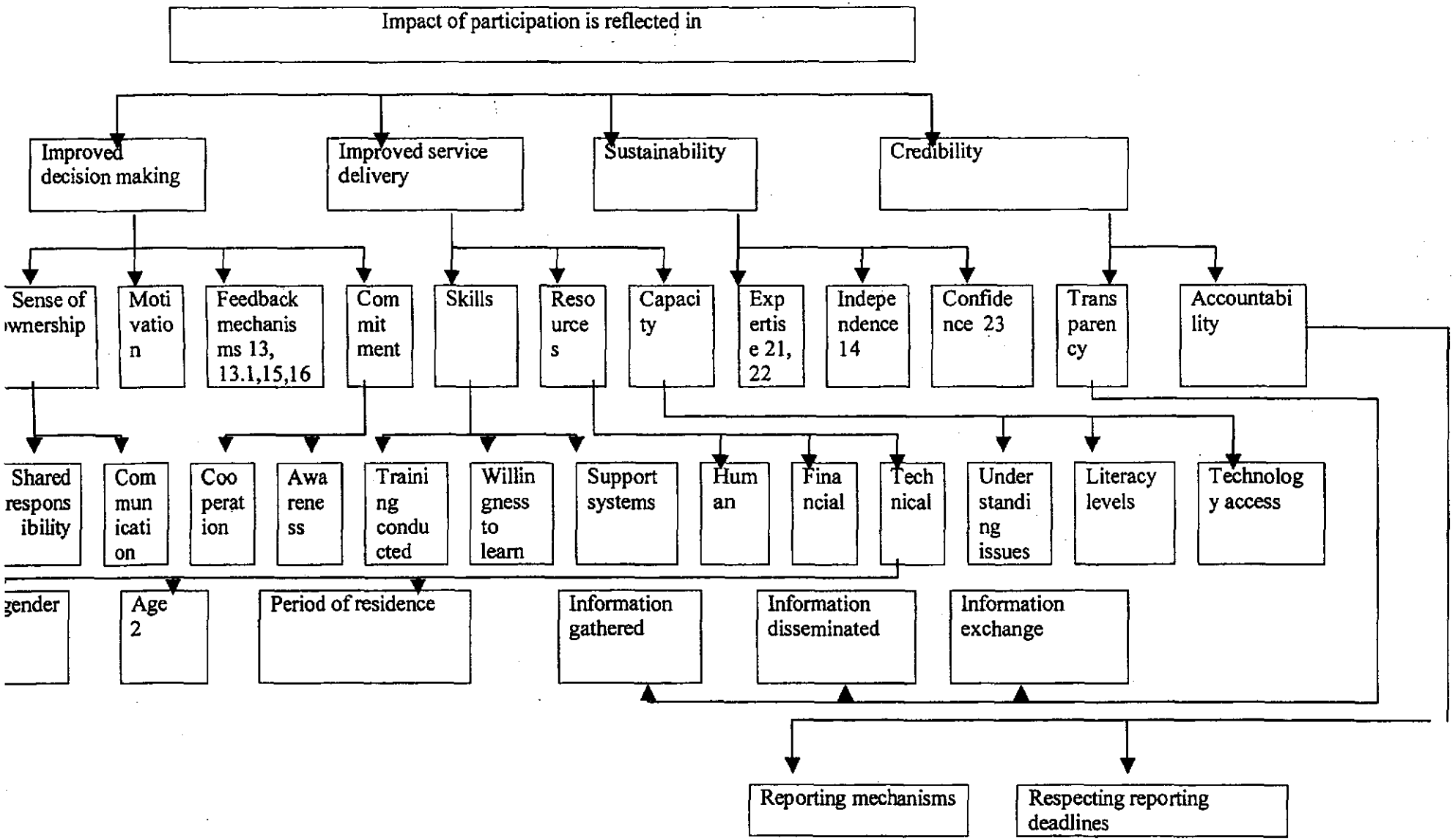
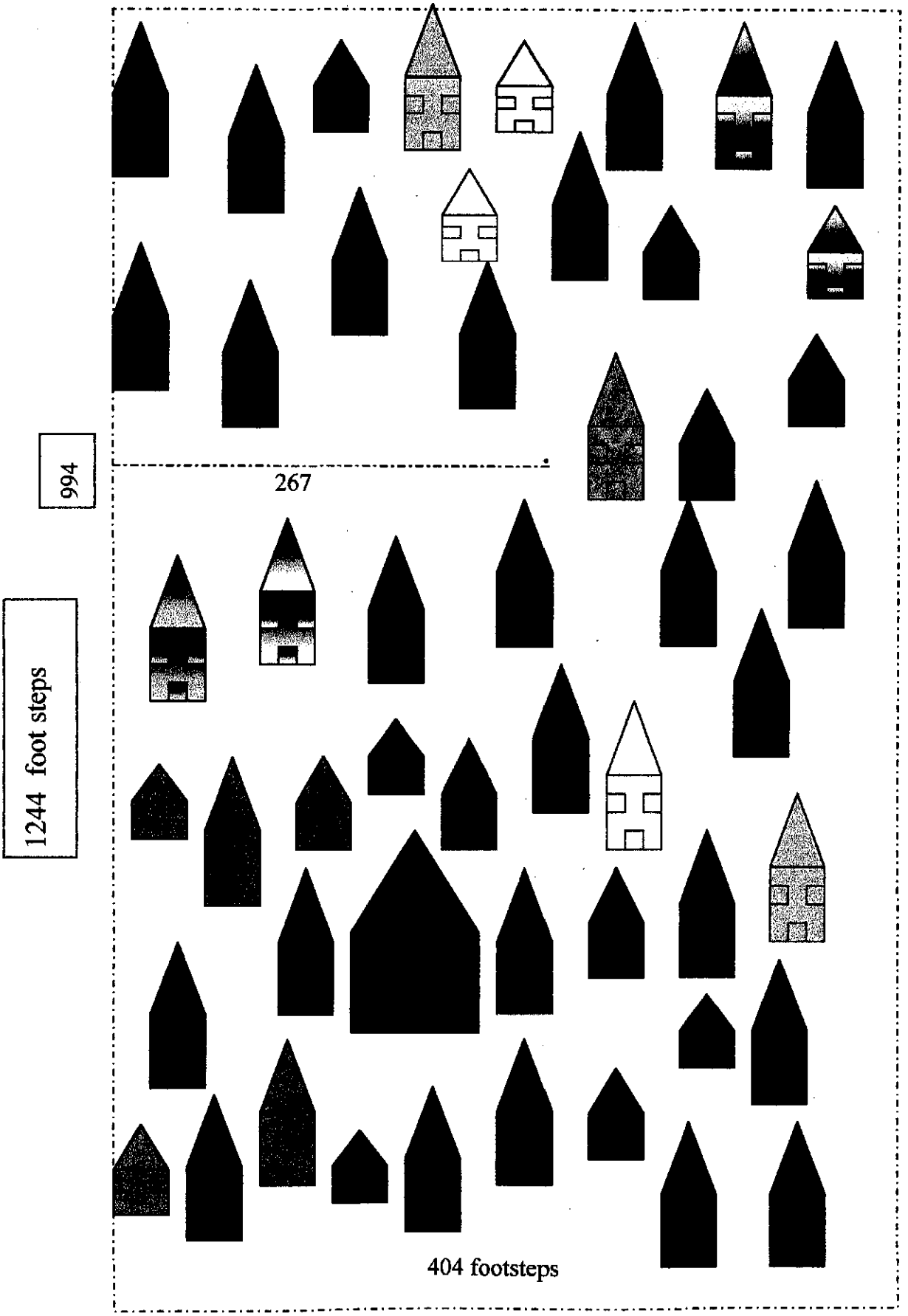
Statements	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
19.1 Community participation improves decision-making	1	2	3	4	5	39
19.2 Community participation improves service delivery	1	2	3	4	5	40
19.3 Community participation will restore credibility of the project	1	2	3	4	5	41
19.4 Community participation will enhance accountability	1	2	3	4	5	42

ANNEXURE 5: Pairs of random sample digits selected

1.	0994	267	30.	0491	102
2.	0278	247	31.	0559	078
3.	0353	396	32.	0583	331
4.	1228	382	33.	0920	265
5.	0352	342	34.	0713	323
6.	1027	217	35.	1186	004
7.	0784	099	36.	0053	139
8.	0404	217	37.	1127	171
9.	0418	027	38.	0796	323
10.	0178	228	39.	0391	036
11.	0371	176	40.	1175	161
12.	0844	208	41.	1046	140
13.	0834	210	42.	1099	013
14.	0128	153	43.	1096	329
15.	0240	135	44.	0278	002
16.	0967	243	45.	0763	212
17.	0555	242	46.	0233	209
18.	0216	239	47.	1202	230
19.	0838	386	48.	0912	228
20.	0873	035	49.	1114	173
21.	1152	143	50.	1081	008
22.	0626	361			
23.	0332	122			
24.	0757	263			
25.	1167	260			
26.	0381	401			
27.	0356	340			
28.	0755	390			
29.	1168	035			

Annexure 6: Dendrograms


Nature and level of participation is determined by
Development initiative mission
Initiative itself
Awareness
Cooperation
Vision 9,9.1
Partnership
Objectives 10
Community needs
Gov priorities 8
Information
Knowledge 5,5. 1,11,12
Mutual respect
Impact of initiative 6,6.1 6.2, 15, 16
Informed about issues 6,6.1, 6.2,15, 16
Not informed about issues 6, 6.1, 6.2,15, 16
Commitment of parties 6, 6.1
Understanding of roles 6,6.1, 6.2
Assessments 8
Observation 8
Accessibility
Literacy levels
Ideas 15, 16
Knowledge 15, 16
Abilities 15, 16
Inputs 15, 16
Language 6,6.1, 6.2
Communication
Terminology 6,6.1, 6.2
Education qualification 4.1, 4.2
Experience 3
Community meetings 5.1, 7
Street Committee 5.1, 7
Project Committee 5.1, 7
Community organisation 5.1, 7
Council 5.1, 7


Impact of participation is reflected in
Improved decision making
Improved service delivery
Sustainability
Credibility
Sense of ownership
Motivation
Feedback mechanisms 13, 13.1,15,16
Commitment
Skills
Resources
Capacity
Expertise 21, 22
Independence 14
Confidence 23
Transparency
Accountability
Shared responsibility
Communication
Cooperation
Awareness
Training conducted
Willingness to learn
Support systems
Human
Financial
Technical
Understanding issues
Literacy levels
Technology access
gender
Age 2
Period of residence
Information gathered
Information disseminated
Information exchange
Reporting mechanisms
Respecting reporting deadlines

Annexure 7: Footsteps measurements covering Boystown informal settlement