The Role of Community Participation and Community Empowerment in the Planning and Delivery of Low-Income Housing: An evaluation of Housing Project 59 in Paarl

by

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Assignment submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Town and Regional Planning at the University of Stellenbosch

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December 2003
Declaration

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

Signature:

Date: 3 November 2003
Summary

In the past, the policy for the provision of low-cost housing was, by and large, ineffective because apartheid planning spatially and economically marginalised the majority. The disenfranchisement of the majority and social engineering denied this majority any access and voice in shaping, or influencing the shape, of their living environment. Today, there are various pieces of legislation that emphasise and highlight the importance of community participation in development planning. The concept of community participation has repeatedly appeared in the literature as an approach that empowers people to take control over their own lives. The involvement of people in all aspects of planning and development programmes that affect them is a fundamental requirement for sustainable development. Satisfying basic human needs in participatory, empowering and sustainable formats is the essence of development.

The study is descriptive and issue-orientated, limiting itself to the understanding of the process of community participation and empowerment in low-cost housing. Interviews were conducted with 75 respondents from male- and female-headed households, using a semi-structured questionnaire. The study records how respondents participated in the shaping of their living environments, and the extent to which they were/felt empowered by the housing delivery process.
The findings suggest that participation contributed to empowerment, and an overwhelming 91% of the sample were satisfied with their level of involvement in the project. The findings of the study further indicate that, although there had been some effort to involve the community as a whole, as well as individual members in the project, the level of involvement, particularly of individuals, was not satisfactory. Beneficiaries were given information regarding the housing development and were offered opportunities to participate, but their views were not taken into account during the design and implementation phases.

The recommendations provide some insights on how low-income housing delivery can be made more participatory, empowering and sustainable.
In die verlede was die beleid oor lae-kostebehuisning oneffektief, omdat apartheidsbeplaning die meerderheid ruimtelik en ekonomies gemarginaliseer het. Die ontburgering en die ruimtelike manipulasie van rasse het die meerderheid enige toegang tot deelname in vorm, of beïnvloeding van vorm, van hulle eie omgewing ontsê. Tans bestaan daar 'n verskeidenheid van wetgewing wat klem plaas op gemeenskapsdeelname in ontwikkelingsbeplanning en die belangrikheid daarvan beklemt. Die begrip gemeenskapsdeelname het verskeie kere in die literatuur voorgekom as 'n benadering wat mense bemagtig om verantwoordelikheid vir hulle eie lewens te neem. Die betrokkenheid van mense in alle aspekte van beplannings- en ontwikkelingsprogramme wat hulle raak is 'n fundamentele vereiste van volhoubare ontwikkeling. Die bevrediging van basiese menslike behoeftes binne 'n deelnemende, bemagtigende en volhoubare konteks, is die essensie van ontwikkeling.

Die studie is beskrywend van aard en konteks georiënteerd en word beperk tot 'n verstaan van gemeenskapsdeelname en bemagtiging in die voorsiening van laekostebehuisiging. Onderhoude is met 75 respondente van huishoudings waarvan óf 'n man óf 'n vrou aan die hoof gestaan het gevoer deur middel van 'n semigestruktureerde vraelys. Die studie meld hoe respondent deelgeneem het in die vorming van hul leef omgewing, en die mate waartoe die respondent bemagtig was/gevoel het deur die behuisings voorsienings proses.
Die bevindinge suggereer dat deelname bygedra het tot bemagtiging, en dat 'n indrukwekkende 91% van die steekproef tevrede was met hul deelname aan die projek. Navorsing het verder gevind dat, alhoewel daar pogings aangewend is om die gemeenskap as 'n geheel, en individueel, te betrek, deelname onvoldoende was, veral op individuele vlak. Begunstigdes het inligting in verband met die ontwikkeling ontvang en is die geleentheid gebied om deel te neem, maar hul menings is nie in ag geneem tydens die ontwerp- en beplanningsfases nie.

Die aanbevelings verskaf 'n paar insigte oor hoe die voorsiening van lae-koste behuising meer deelnemend, bemagtigend en volhoubaar gemaak kan word.
Acknowledgements

I acknowledge with gratitude the guidance given me by Mr F Khan, my supervisor.

My heartfelt thanks to the staff of The Housing Department of Drakenstein Municipality for all their time and effort. A special thanks to Mr Patrick van Wyk, for assisting me during all the interviews, and for introducing me to the community. I would also like to extend further thanks to the Drakenstein Municipality for allowing me to pursue my dreams and finish my studies.

To my mother, father and fiancée, whose determination in life instilled in me the values of education, discipline and ambition. I am in their debt.
Dedicated to Jack
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PHP – People’s Housing Process
RDP – Reconstruction and Development Programme
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Since 1994, more than one million houses have been built and services have been extended to millions of people. Nonetheless, the government estimates that an additional two to three million housing units still need to be provided (Knight, 2001:2). The housing industry, particularly in the context of pervasive poverty and underdevelopment, is a sector that can contribute towards the upliftment and empowerment of communities. According to Lediga (1999:4), community empowerment enables communities to take ownership of all development initiatives. By assuming ownership of development initiatives, local communities will likely demonstrate more commitment to the successful/effective implementation of development projects and/or programmes. Community empowerment enhances programme and project sustainability, and should therefore be an end product of all shelter projects.

Section 26 of the South African Constitution (1996) guarantees every person the right to access to adequate housing. However, there is an extreme shortage of affordable housing for the poor in South Africa. This, according to Sowman and Urquhart (1998:1), is largely due to the discriminatory policies of the previous government, which restricted the movement and place of residence of African people. Consequently, housing needs have not been met and there is an enormous backlog in the supply of low-income housing.
Housing provision and delivery is a complex problem in South Africa and is not exclusively related to the lack of sufficient housing, but also to poverty. The Housing White Paper (RSA, 1994a) views income poverty as an underlying cause of the housing problem. The poor do not have the monetary resources to buy a house, and most of them cannot even afford to rent the cheapest houses. The prevalence of poverty provides the government, as well as the communities, with major challenges. According to Allen and Thomas (2000:3), poverty is an age-old concern, although development has only become an important concept in the last 200 years. A crucial area for analysis is the relationship between development and poverty. It might at first appear that the two are opposites: surely poverty implies a lack of development, whereas development implies moving towards eradicating poverty. However, in practice it is quite possible for development to occur without eradicating/alleviating poverty (Allen and Thomas, 2000:3). Top-down planning; the lack of access of households to income and services; and the inability of poor households to generate income exacerbate the problem of poverty.

A key component in the development debate is the concept of participation. If communities are appropriately empowered by actively participating in projects, they can often manage their own development. It is important that those for whom the planning is intended have a voice over how their future is shaped. Participation should be a learning experience for the community, as well as for the officials and councillors involved in the housing process.
The practice of upgrading informal settlements through the provision of infrastructure and basic services is an important step in the process of housing the poor, and as a step forward in the process of eradicating/alleviating poverty. By considering environmental factors in all stages of the planning, design and development process, living conditions in low-income settlements can be improved significantly. According to Ward (1976:5), the second law of housing is that the important thing about housing is not what it is, but what it does in people’s lives. Building homes rather than merely houses should be the key objective, and this is not possible without meaningful participation and community empowerment.

Notwithstanding the many innovative approaches to supply shelter in recent years, housing is likely to remain in short supply. Housing the nation is one of the greatest challenges confronting government and, indeed, the people of South Africa. Given the scale of the housing shortage and backlog, it is unlikely that the government will meet the enormous demand and need through the provision of conventional houses for all.

1.2 Problem statement

South Africa is confronted with an enormous challenge, namely the provision of a large number (2 to 3 million) of houses to the majority low-income groups. The South African government’s goal in 1994 was to increase housing delivery on a sustainable basis to a peak level of 350 000 units per annum, within a period of five years, to reach the target of 1 000 000 houses (RSA, 1994a:4). While government
has met this target, Knight (2001:1) states that there are still 7.5 million people in need of adequate housing. This backlog can largely, although not completely, be ascribed to the discriminatory laws of the apartheid years. The White Paper on Housing (RSA, 1994a:11-15) highlights several other constraints facing housing provision in South Africa, such as geographic disparities between rural and urban areas, between different urban areas and between provinces; low incomes; high rates of urbanisation; inefficient and inequitable cities; dispersed rural settlement structures; the past institutional framework which governed housing; shortages of end-user finance and subsidies; land use and planning; land availability; as well as other sociological issues such as high expectations, crime and violence. However, the most significant constraint has been identified as affordability on the part of both the state and the people. The 1994 White Paper on Housing estimated that at least 70% of South Africa's population is unable to afford finance, while a further 10 to 15% will only be able to afford limited finance, most likely from non-traditional lenders. Moreover, even those who are able to afford loans are frequently denied credit as a result of the enduring discriminatory practices of the financial sector.

To date, post-apartheid housing interventions have not been very successful in addressing the apartheid spatio-economic legacy. Many developments consist of nothing more than matchbox houses that are badly planned and built; lacking recreational facilities and sufficient open spaces; and, located far from transport and economic opportunities.
Over and above the aforementioned problems, the lack of community participation and empowerment is viewed as being one of the biggest problem areas in the delivery of low-income housing. According to Baba (1998:3), energy can be channelled towards community development through community participation. However, Bekker (1996:50) states that, in some cases, the expectations are unrealistically high. He warns that “citizen participation cannot be considered a panacea for all the ills of society; it is simply a change in process”. Current approaches to public participation often tend to be ad hoc, incremental, unstructured, unbalanced, uncoordinated and, above all, smack of ‘window dressing’ (Meyer and Theron, 2000:1). Public participation has become a “buzz-word” used by some without a proper or coherent understanding of its content and meaning.

Local authorities in South Africa are under constitutional, legal and moral obligations to involve the public in their affairs. Despite the above statement, Hardie et al (1986:09) maintained that the planning profession displays a great lack of interest with regard to initiating proposals and mechanisms to establish viable and meaningful participation and community empowerment. Indeed, the profession is rather inclined to justify the lack of public participation on the grounds that it is time consuming, human resource intensive and expensive. Almost two decades later, Mr C. Cupido, Acting Head of Housing Administration in the Drakenstein Municipality, stated that community participation is time consuming and expensive, causing development to ‘drag on for too long’ (Interview, 2003). However difficult the
process of community participation, it is a necessary process if people are to be empowered. The process is indeed time consuming and demanding and often lacks the comfort of a safe office environment and sophisticated audiences that most professionals/practitioners are accustomed to.

Through this study, practical recommendations will be suggested with a view to improving the level of community participation and empowerment in the provision of low-income housing in the case study of Housing Project 59, in particular, and in future low-income housing development, in general.

1.3 Hypothesis

Community involvement in the planning and design of low-income housing projects contributes to community empowerment, and is critical to meeting the needs and demands of communities in a sustainable manner.

The reasons for this are many. Firstly, by giving the community a voice, the result will be decision-making programmes of a better quality tied to meeting local needs. Secondly, local people will take greater responsibility for the care and maintenance of their neighbourhood than they would if development was imposed top-down with minimal involvement of the local community. Thirdly, community empowerment will result when the community feels that it is contributing the maximum of its own human, financial and material resources, and that assistance from outside is only
for what they cannot manage on their own. Fourthly, participants will be ‘enabled’ to understand their own social/situational reality and devise (and articulate/champion) solutions to their own problems, instead of relying on government to do it for them.

1.4 Aims and objectives of the study
The overall aim of this study is to assess the importance and contribution of community empowerment and public participation in low-cost housing projects, specifically in the Housing Project 59 case study in Paarl.

The specific objectives underlying this study are, firstly, to provide a clear understanding of the meaning, content and practice of ‘community participation’ and ‘community empowerment’; and, secondly, to make practical recommendations on how government and planners can facilitate more dynamic public participation and empowerment of communities.

1.5 Research method
A literature study and an Internet search was undertaken to acquire recent and updated secondary information on housing, participation and empowerment. This study also draws on an extensive literature survey of primary material - policy and project documents. Interviews were conducted with relevant stakeholders in Housing Project 59 to supplement this study. The descriptive survey method was employed to process data derived from simple observational situations, which may be physically observed or generated through the use of questionnaires. It is a
research method that looks with intense accuracy at the phenomena of the moment and then describes precisely what the researcher sees (Leedy, 1989:140). The descriptive survey method makes use of a technique called observation, which entails an analysis of the 'unspoken' (the environment and actions of beneficiaries).

Quantitative (assigning numbers to observations) and qualitative (descriptive data of people's own words) research methods were also employed. Data collected through interviews were analysed and reviewed using descriptive and explanatory methods.

1.6 Overview of chapters

The study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter Two represents an overview of the housing situation both globally and in South Africa. This chapter highlights the key problem areas within the housing context. Chapter Three attempts to provide the reader with a better understanding of the various definitions and meanings attached to the concept of community participation. An overview of the levels of intensity of participation, as well as of the objectives of public participation, is provided, in order to assess local government's efforts towards the achievement of viable participation. The chapter ends by describing the advantages and disadvantages of participation. Chapter Four discusses the importance of community empowerment and highlights the different objectives and elements of empowerment, also paying attention to various forms of empowerment. Chapter Five provides an illustration of the crucial link between community empowerment
and community participation and discusses their importance in achieving the objective of sustainable development. Chapter Six provides background information on Paarl, in general, and on Housing Project 59, in particular. This chapter includes the analysis of the research data. The conclusion, Chapter Seven makes recommendations on how low-income housing delivery can be made more participatory, empowering and sustainable.
CHAPTER 2: HOUSING

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the successes of and problems underlying housing provision both globally and in South Africa. This review will provide the reader with a better understanding of the major 'issues' underlying the provision of housing. The chapter also deals briefly with the 'people's housing process', as this presents significant social and community empowerment prospects/opportunities.

2.2 Global issues in housing

At the beginning of the 19th century, only three percent of the world's population lived in towns. By 2030, it is estimated that more than half of the world's population will live in cities. It is further estimated that more than 8 000 million people will be living on the urban fringes in developing countries (Baba, 1998:14).

Currently, there are some 1.2 billion people worldwide experiencing 'income poverty', meaning they live on the equivalent of less than one dollar per day (http://www.habitat.org/how/intlstats.html). In the cities of the developing world, one out of every four households lives in poverty. Urban problems in developing countries have become more acute in recent years as more people migrate to the cities in search of a 'better life'; placing added pressure on urban infrastructure and the physical environment. The direct result of this urban expansion has been a tremendous increase in 'shanty' towns/squatter settlements/informal settlements,
generally characterised by appalling living conditions. The growth of squatter and spontaneous settlements (a visible manifestation of hyper growth), urbanisation and poor urban management strategies are inevitable aspects of the Third World urban development. Moreover, Gilbert and Gugler (1991:12) are of the opinion that 'shanty towns', unemployment, petty services and pavement dwellers are, in part, an outcome of national poverty and the unequal distribution of income. If Third World societies were more equal, the form and severity of poverty would be less marked.

According to Penderis (1996:34), an important dimension of the informal settlement phenomenon is that it poses a serious planning problem in the cities in which it exists. The settlements very often reflect illegal occupancy of public and/or private land, resulting in physical planning problems. Moreover, owing to inadequate sanitation, a lack of services, poor drainage and high population densities, the settlements pose a potential hazard to the health of urban communities living under these conditions.

The United Nations Centre for Human Settlement (March, 2001) has estimated that approximately 21 million new housing units are required in developing countries each year to accommodate the growth in the number of households from 2000 to 2010. Some 14 million additional units would be required each year for the next 20 years if the current housing deficit are to be met by 2020 (also available at: http://www.habitat.org/how/intlstats.html).
2.3 The South African context

During the past two decades, more and more families in South Africa, as in the rest of the developing world, have experienced increasing deterioration in their physical living conditions (Baba, 1998:18). Although the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development (RSA, 1994b:23) states that 'housing is a human right' and Section 26 of the Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996) states that everyone has the right to have 'access to adequate housing', the number of families without homes is on the increase. It is the government's duty to take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right. Provincial legislature and local governments share responsibility with the national government for the delivery of adequate housing.

Housing is a critical asset for the poor and can cushion them against the impact of poverty. Housing not only provides shelter and space for human development, but can also be utilised as a base for home enterprises and may be rented out or sold, and is an important form of collateral for credit. Policies and programmes focusing on improving the value of the asset can assist households to become less vulnerable to poverty, offering them a greater number of choices and opportunities for development (May, 1998).

South Africa faces a tremendous challenge as the government attempts to manage the delivery of adequate housing to millions of the poor, whose needs and priorities were previously ignored. According to May (1998), the effects of the apartheid
system remain visible, as major inequalities still characterise the housing sector: the average floor area per white person is about 33 square metres, whereas it is nine square metres in formal housing and a meagre four to five square metres in informal housing for African people. Overall, it is clear that the current housing situation does not offer the poor an asset that can reduce their vulnerability and promote their socio-economic development. A lack of adequate shelter, the absence of clean water, inadequate sanitation and a dearth of facilities for waste disposal are the norm for the majority of South Africans.

From 1994 to date, the low-income housing sector has undergone fundamental changes. Some 1.45 million housing subsidies have been approved, and 1.3 million housing units have been constructed, providing more than 6 million poor people with secure tenure and safe homes (RSA, 2002). However, as stated earlier, a further two to three million units are still needed, as there is still a backlog of 7.5 million people who need proper shelter. The backlog results from many factors, including overcrowded squatter settlements, increasing land invasions in urban areas (which disrupts official plans and projects), and poor access to services in the rural areas. The high population growth rate, low (and declining) rates of housing delivery and high unemployment (over 50% in most townships) exacerbate housing and shelter problems.

Even where people are housed (in government provided dwellings) conflicts continue over housing payments and access to basic services. Reports regularly
appear in the print media of residents occupying vacant houses, fighting water and electricity cut-offs, and evictions.

2.4 The People's Housing Process

The People's Housing Process (PHP) is a strategy that aims to support the poorest of the poor, who have access to housing subsidies, and who wish to enhance their subsidies by building, or organising the building, of their homes themselves. This strategy supports the broad principles of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which promotes development as a people-driven process. The PHP programme provides technical, financial, logistical and administrative assistance to individuals and communities, enabling them to build their own houses on a sustainable and affordable basis (Matlaba, 1999:28).

Experience has proved that if beneficiaries are given the chance either to build houses themselves or to organise the building themselves, they can build better houses for less money (Department of Housing, 2000:297). There are five categories of potential beneficiaries to whom the support programme could apply, namely owners, non-owners, occupants, landless people and rural people. The programme's aims include the mobilisation and support of community efforts; capacity building and skills transfer; the promotion of a culture of saving; facilitation of economic upliftment and employment creation; and, the promotion of the most effective use of resources. The PHP programme can be linked to housing as a social process, because participation and the upliftment of communities are central
components of sustainable housing delivery. According to Sowman and Urquhart (1998:4-5), housing projects and settlement upgrading programmes can only be implemented successfully if they are viewed as an ongoing social process, which seeks to create a unique sense of place and belonging; improve access to resources and economic opportunities; improve the quality of the environment through the creation of public places and green open spaces; provide social amenities and facilities and promote resource sharing; provide for assistance in self-help and upgrading programmes; and, provide opportunities for ongoing public participation.

It is important to build people a home with sufficient services and facilities close to opportunities, and not merely a house in ‘facility-infrastructure-opportunity’ barren areas. For the housing delivery system to be sustainable, it is essential that all human settlement needs be addressed. If the government and other stakeholders do not do so, they will fail the poor yet again, and the ongoing processes of poverty and homelessness will continue.
CHAPTER 3: PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

3.1 Introduction

In the literature, participation is always connected to the actions of communities, groups or individuals that are related to the development, improvement or change of an existing situation. The concept of community participation appears repeatedly in the literature as an approach that empowers people to take control of their lives. This approach is, however, faced with several challenges, which include the dependency mentality, poverty, culture and illiteracy. Hlabane (1999:26) sees these social challenges as stumbling blocks to participation. Significant numbers of people, particularly those in rural areas, display a type of 'dependency mentality' not unrelated to the fact that for generations, they have been abused by and been dependant on local elite groups. People have thus become accustomed to leaving decisions and initiatives to their leaders – a situation that has discouraged them to take their own initiative. Another challenge to participation is poverty, because it implies powerlessness or the inability to exert influence over forces that shape one's livelihood. A third challenge relates to culture and illiteracy. People who are not educated often cannot question irregularities and power imbalances in society. They would rather settle for the existing status quo than challenge leadership.

The involvement of people in all the aspects of planning and development programmes that affect them is a fundamental requirement of sustainable development (Sowman and Urquhart, 1998:14). Participation is thus accepted as
an empowering process, in which people can influence development activities that affect their lives. Planning is for people, which means that they need to be part of the decision about what kind of programmes and/or projects will be appropriate. By giving people ownership of a project, they are more likely to support and help to develop and maintain the programme and/or project. Participation should not be seen as a once-off exercise, but should rather be an ongoing process of discussion with all the stakeholders involved.

### 3.2 Defining community participation

Contradictory assumptions exist about the meaning of participation and, like most ‘catchwords’ related to development, it has various meanings and connotations. The various ‘actors’ involved in the process of community participation often have different views on what the process entails and what level of intensity is acceptable (see section 3.3 for the different levels of intensity in public participation).

The central element of community participation is participation by the communities in decisions that directly affect their lives. This explanation is in line with a typical definition of public participation by Oakley et al (1991:6):

> “Public participation is an active process by which the beneficiary or client groups influence the direction and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their well being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values they cherish”.
This implies the sharing of power between the authorities and the community. Another definition that is in line with the above statement is Rahman’s (1993:150) definition that views participation as an "active process in which the participants take initiative and action that is stimulated by their own thinking and deliberation, and over which they can exert control". According to Coetzee and Graaff (1996:145), real participation takes place when people are consciously involved in development. Participation is an important way to counteract the isolation of people, and 'bottom-up' decision-making is mainly concerned with promoting local participation (Kotze and Kellerman, 1997:33-35).

Apart from efforts to distinguish between 'definitions' of community participation, other approaches can be used to help differentiate this concept. The first form of differentiation, as Oakley et al (1991:7) indicate, is to distinguish between participation as a **means to an end** and/or **an end in itself**. In the former, public participation as a **means to an end**, participation is viewed as a social learning process deemed necessary for the success of an initiative. The involvement of the communities is considered essential for, inter alia, improving the outcome of a project through cost sharing, increased efficiency and improved effectiveness. In public participation as an **end in itself**, beneficiary involvement confers legitimacy to projects by endorsing a political imperative. Here, involvement is perceived as an objective whose accomplishment denotes a more qualitative than quantitative achievement. The primary concern becomes not what public participation
contributes to the final product, but gaining long-term social advantages and sustainable development.

Another ‘layer’ of distinction, indicated by Meyer and Theron (2000:3-4) and correlating quite closely to the ‘means’ and ‘end’ dichotomy, is to analyse public participation as a system-maintaining or a system-transforming process. This debate distinguishes between two analytical groupings, namely public participation as involvement and public participation as empowerment. Public participation as involvement indicates a method that relates to a top-down decision-making process, which is well known in South Africa. According to Meyer and Theron (2000:3), this top-down process is exactly what is not needed. Public participation as empowerment focuses directly on the beneficiaries of a development intervention, i.e. the ‘target-group’ and main role players, as well as decision-makers in the development process. For Meyer and Theron (2000), the latter is exactly what is needed in South Africa.

There are various pieces of legislation that emphasise and highlight the importance of community participation in development planning. According to Section 152 of the Constitution (1996), one of the objectives of local government is to encourage community involvement. The Local Government Municipal Systems Act (RSA, 2000) supports the Constitution and strongly encourages municipalities to “promote effective participation through appropriate mechanisms, processes and procedures” (section 17(2)). This Act supports one of the objectives of participation (discussed
in section 3.4), namely effectiveness. Section 3(1) (d) of the Development Facilitation Act (RSA, 1995) stipulates that members of communities affected by local development should actively participate in the process of development. Another critical document that supports participation is the White Paper on Local Government (RSA, 1998). Citizens, the White Paper states, should be involved in planning and policy-making and as partners in development programmes (RSA, 1998:27). The Housing Act of 1997 also places strong emphasis on participation, and Part One of this Act stipulates that all spheres of government must consult meaningfully with individuals and communities affected by housing development. Building local democracy is thus a central role of government, and municipalities should develop strategies and mechanisms to continuously engage with the community.

3.3 Levels of intensity of public participation

According to Paul (1987:4-6), participation may have different levels of intensity. He identifies the following four ascending levels of intensity of participation: (i) information sharing, (ii) consultation, (iii) decision making, and (iv) initiating action (see Figure 3.1 below). The optimum form of people’s participation would include all four levels, but the appropriate level for a specific situation depends on the nature of the project and on other local circumstances. These four levels have the following characteristics:
3.3.1 Information sharing

Information may be shared with beneficiaries in order to facilitate collective or individual action. Although the sharing of information represents a low-intensity form of participation, its impact can be very positive, depending on the extent to which beneficiaries are equipped to understand and perform their tasks better. According to Kok and Gelderblom (1994:66), techniques for information sharing include information documentation, exhibitions and media coverage, as well as audio and visual material.

3.3.2 Consultation

Consultation constitutes a higher intensity participation level because beneficiaries are not only informed, but are also consulted on key issues during the planning process. Beneficiaries are given the opportunity to interact with and provide feedback to the development agency that the latter can take into account in the design and implementation stages. According to Kok and Gelderblom (1994:68), techniques that can be used in consultation include ideas competitions, referenda, questionnaire surveys, and in-depth and focus group interviews.

3.3.3 Decision making

Paul (1987:5) states:

"A still higher level of intensity may be said to occur when beneficiaries have a decision-making role. Decisions may be made exclusively by beneficiaries or jointly with others on specific issues. Decision-making implies a much
greater degree of control or influence by beneficiaries than under consultation or information sharing™.

Kok and Gelderblom (1994:70) identified three techniques for decision making. The first is public meetings and inquiries (hearings). The second is the Delphi technique, which is applied to combine the knowledge and abilities of a diverse set of participants in order to arrive at a consensus opinion. The third is the nominal group method, which represents a situation wherein individuals work in the presence of others, but the participants are not necessarily required to interact with one another during the session.

3.3.4 Initiating action

People’s participation reaches its peak when the beneficiaries are able to take initiative in terms of action or decisions. Initiative denotes a “proactive capacity and the confidence to get going on one’s own”. This differs qualitatively “from their capacity to act or decide on issues or tasks proposed or assigned to them” (Paul, 1987:5). Methods of initiating action, according to Kok and Gelderblom (1994:74), include self-help manuals, planning aids, task forces and extension services, workshops, the Charette method™, and the building of organisational and management capacity.

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1 This is a means of achieving a working relationship between people within the community, government officials and planners.
3.4 Objectives of community participation

Paul (1987:3) maintains that community participation may be viewed as a process that serves one or more of the objectives identified below.

3.4.1 Empowerment

Development is seen as leading to an equitable sharing of power and to a higher level of political awareness amongst weaker groups (in particular). This view is shared by Oakley et al (1991:9), who argue that empowerment has become an accepted term, in development vocabulary, and that the relationship between participation and power is now widely recognised. Development activities are seen as a means of empowering people so that they are able to initiate actions on their own and thereby influence the process and outcomes of development.
3.4.2 Beneficiary capacity

According to Paul (1987:3), the objective of community participation entails that the beneficiaries of a project assume some operational responsibility. Beneficiary capacity can contribute to the sustainability of a project by enhancing the level of beneficiary interest and competence in project management. Participatory planning and management helps to establish a self-sustaining and expanding reservoir of skills in communities (Taylor, 1994:126).

3.4.3 Effectiveness

Another of the objectives of community participation is increased project effectiveness (Paul, 1987:3). Effectiveness refers to the degree to which a given objective is achieved. Community participation is seen as enhancing project effectiveness. The World Bank (1991:85) further substantiates the objective of effectiveness. In an evaluation of 25 projects, the World Bank found that participation was the single most important determinant in project performance and sustainability.

3.4.4 Efficiency

Community participation may also have the objective of improving project efficiency (Paul, 1987:4). In this context, community participation is used to promote agreement, co-operation, and interaction amongst beneficiaries, thereby ensuring a smooth supply of project services and a reduction in the overall cost. Oakley et al (1991:17) also view participation as leading to greater efficiency, as it allows for the
efficient use of resources available to a project, particularly if project beneficiaries take on some responsibility for the project.

3.4.5 Sharing of costs

Paul (1987:3) maintains that, in some instances, beneficiaries are expected to share the costs of the projects serving them. Beneficiaries can therefore contribute labour or money or undertake to maintain a particular project or part of a particular project. Community participation is thus used to facilitate a collective understanding and agreement on cost sharing and its enforcement.

Paul (1987:4) emphasises that, in reality, these objectives are not mutually exclusive, and a development project could therefore simultaneously pursue several objectives.

3.5 Public participation and housing

Civic activities and public participation are areas that could help improve and develop housing policy by potentially aligning it closer to the needs of people, and strengthening their rights for adequate housing in the face of economic liberalisation.

Today, there is a shift in emphasis from an analysis of physical structures to an analysis of urban social structures and the improvement of social conditions to deal with housing and area imperfections. When dwellers control the major decisions
and are free to make their own contribution to the design, construction or management of their housing, both the process and the environment produced stimulate individual and social wellbeing. On the other hand, when people have neither control over, nor responsibility for, key decisions in the housing process, dwelling environments may become a barrier to personal fulfilment and a burden on the economy (Turner, 1976:6).

One viewpoint on the question of public participation in housing policy suggests that the residents and their associations should be involved in order to increase the quality of living areas. Associations that encourage public participation in the decision-making process must continue to be created, supported and encouraged, because they represent the development of civil society, which brings wider social benefits. Correspondingly, strong social capital - defined loosely as mutual trust, norms of reciprocity and social ties - is considered advantageous to the coordination of actions and, thus, for societal efficiency (Shupulis, 2000). The need for wider public participation in the housing improvement process has already been mentioned. Over and above the principle aim of raising the overall quality of housing, the latent outcomes of such activities must also be stressed. These positive spin-offs, including enhanced community negotiation skills and the building of social capital, are also beneficial to the social structure of civil society, particularly with reference to improving social cohesion and deepening democratic citizenship.
By combining the received information, and analysing and testing it on the basis of existing theories on public involvement, cohesion, collective action and the wellbeing of society, it is possible to identify sustainable ways to address the weaknesses in the housing solutions of emerging democratic societies. Government must take into consideration that people should own the process and the product in the People’s Housing Process, and that the product will only be acceptable when broad public participation is ensured (Kruger, 2002:31).

3.6 Public participation: advantages and disadvantages

In order to pursue the question of whether participation exercises any influence on development efforts, consideration will be given to its advantages and disadvantages. Often the advantages and disadvantages of any citizen participation activity will be determined by the attitudes of the party or parties involved. According to Clapper (1996:70), it seems reasonable to appraise the benefits or drawbacks of citizen participation on the basis of its outcome or potential outcome; that is, if citizen participation achieves the goals envisaged, it may be regarded as successful and advantageous, and vice versa.

3.6.1 Disadvantages

Some of the disadvantages listed by Clapper (1996:70-74) that have relevance to the case study are listed below:
• Supporting the goals of public management

In these instances, government favours participation activities that do not 'disturb', but rather support, government goals. Any participation that threatens to thwart government ideals and transfer authority to citizens is actively discouraged.

• Low citizen participation levels

Low levels of citizen participation are a reality and, unless people have the necessary motivation and resources to become involved, participation will remain low. Lack of education may also result in low levels of participation.

• Threat to professional image of public administration

Citizen participation may come into direct conflict with established and inflexible institutional arrangements and work procedures, which are designed for efficiency rather than responsiveness to public preferences.

• Potential for conflict

This aspect may be considered from at least two perspectives; namely conflict between citizen groups, and conflict between citizens and public officials. Both types of conflict may result from the pursued goals of participation.

• Lack of government response

The majority of citizen participation 'contacts', whatever form they assume, generally seem to be ignored by officials.
• Representativeness
The different parties involved in the participation process are not always equally competent, articulate and well organised.

• Time, cost and benefits
A particularly critical drawback of citizen participation relates to time and cost. The poor, who have much to gain from participation, are the ones who do not participate because the cost is often too high in terms of time, inconvenience and finance.

• Attitude of public managers
Public officials have a general dislike for, and suspicion of, increased citizen participation.

• Lack of information
Meaningful participation requires that the public be well informed about participation opportunities in government issues, problems and strategies, which is not always the case. The non-disclosure of information may be due to a fear that information disseminated to the public in an effort to gain support and foster participation may backfire and serve to forewarn the opposition.
• Participation mechanisms

Established mechanisms for participation could lead to only the elite participating, presumably because they are more informed about and have greater (vested) interests than the general public.

3.6.2 Advantages

In spite of continued opposition to participation, there have always been those who are actively committed to establishing increased participation on the basis of it being a democratic right. Some of the arguments highlighting the advantages of participation identified by Clapper (1996:75-77), and relevant to the case study, include:

• Reduction of psychological suffering and apathy

Citizen participation is seen as absolutely necessary in any effort to overcome a sense of powerlessness among people. A fundamental reason for encouraging participation is that it reduces psychological suffering and overcomes the apathy of ordinary citizens.

• Positive application of citizen powers

Citizen participation can serve as a means of converting dependency into independence – that is, converting the poor from passive consumers of the services provided by the state into producers of services.
• Converting opponents

Citizen participation may influence citizen behaviour positively and provide a technique whereby opponents may be co-opted into contributing positively to development programmes and/or projects, which traditionally are replete with conflict.

• Information dissemination

The effective and efficient distribution of information is essential for citizen participation, whether it is government-sponsored or citizen-initiated.

• The inalienable right of citizens

Citizen participation needs to be pursued and encouraged for its own sake on the basis that it is the inalienable democratic right of all the citizens of a country.

Additional advantages of participation gleaned from personal working experience include:

• It helps gain insight into local conditions and the needs of people
• Individuals are more likely to be committed to plans if they have been involved in the preparation of them
• It potentially promotes and fosters the involvement of women and other minority groups
• It can lead to increased community empowerment
CHAPTER 4: COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT

4.1 Introduction

One issue that everybody agrees on when empowerment is discussed, is that power is the central concept of its definition. In its purest form, empowerment means acquisition of power and the ability to wield it to one's benefit. If people are properly empowered, they can often manage their own development efforts. As Burkey (1993:211) states: “Don’t do anything for people that they can do for themselves”.

According to Parker (2000:23), in order for development to be successful, it needs to have a strong element of human development in it. Empowerment therefore requires more than just the acquisition of new skills; it also requires a transformation in people's consciousness that leads to a process of self-actualisation. This, in turn, allows them to take control of their lives and challenge both the structures and the people that dominate them. In relation to the above statement, the RDP states the following on empowerment:

“Human resource objectives underpin the capacity to democratise and renew the society. They are planned to empower the full participation of people on the basis of knowledge, creativity and skills” (RSA, 1994b:09).
Sound democratic principles presuppose that local communities are empowered to operate freely and initiate development themselves. Development becomes more sustainable if local communities are eager and capacitated to lead the development. This becomes a reality only when communities are empowered and involved in the decision-making process. The participation of local communities in decision making on matters affecting them is an integral part of empowerment (Friedman, 1992:13), and is viewed by Craig and Mayo (1995:120) as the route to empowerment. Empowerment is therefore not a means to an end, but an objective of development. It demands knowledge and understanding to make correct decisions.

4.2 Elements of empowerment

It is essential for everyone involved in the arena of development to take note of the elements that constitute empowerment. This is central to understanding the concrete manifestations of empowerment. Singh and Titi (1995:14) identify seven elements of empowerment. Local self-reliance, autonomy in decision-making processes of the community at micro/village level, and direct participatory democracy in the larger process of the representative governance comprise the first element. These would allow for the maximum use of people’s capabilities in using services and information, exercising foresight, experimenting and being innovative, collaborating with others, and exploiting new conditions and resources. The second element relates to the provision of space for cultural assertion and spiritual welfare, and experimental social learning, including the articulation and application of
indigenous knowledge in addition to theoretical/scientific knowledge. Access to land, education, housing and health facilities constitutes the third element. The ability to achieve and sustain self-sufficiency constitutes the fourth element. The fifth element consists of access to income, assets and credit facilities, and the ability to create credit facilities. Access to skills training, problem-solving techniques, the best available appropriate technologies and information, without which knowledge and skills become virtually useless, is the sixth element. The final element is participation in decision-making processes by all people, in particular women and the youth.

4.3 Political empowerment

As stated earlier, empowerment is about power. According to Hlabane (1999:9), political empowerment is concerned with the access that individual members have to the process by which decisions, particularly those that affect their own future, are made. This implies power to voice their opinion in the decision-making process. Political empowerment would seem to require a prior process of social empowerment through which effective participation in development becomes possible. Hlabane (1999:10) mentions two models of power that can be used to analyse different aspects of participation and empowerment. The first is the 'power to', which uses the metaphor of human development wherein individuals are simultaneously undergoing an exercise of power through which they participate in each other's freedom. This means that power over anything can contribute to the achievement of their development. This type of power can be attained by educating
people about how to manage or improve their economic status, and also about the inclusion of women and the youth in the decision-making process. This action aims at empowering the excluded people and neutralises the dominance of exclusionary cultural practices.

The second model is 'power over', which is viewed as a coercive power relationship centred in the institutions of government. It involves securing access to political decision making, often in the public forums. This means that government must be open to participation in decision-making processes.

4.4 Economic empowerment

4.4.1 Introduction

Development means improving the living conditions and livelihood of the excluded majority. According to Hlabane (1999:11), improvement suggests that there must be resources to enable it, in the sense that, without resources, development will never be attained. Therefore, economic empowerment is necessary to attain development. Economic empowerment, it is believed, will reduce poverty and unemployment.

4.4.2 Generating economic empowerment

Poverty alleviation is undoubtedly the key developmental challenge of the developing world. It becomes even more daunting in view of the job losses and growing unemployment due to retrenchment and restructuring in private and public
sector organisations (Irurah et al, 2002:10). As a result of the apartheid legacy, poverty in South Africa bears a racial dimension, which undermines political stability. Consequently, economic empowerment of the previously disadvantaged is a unique South African sustainability challenge. According to Irurah et al (2002:10-12), the main sustainability responses for generating economic empowerment include the following:

4.4.2.1 Access to land and security of tenure

Through South Africa's land reform programme, communities and households regain access to land that had been forcibly appropriated by the apartheid government. This is crucial for rural communities, who require land for farming. In urban areas, settlement upgrading and security of tenure constitute an equivalent level of empowerment.

4.4.2.2 Job creation, entrepreneurship and economic empowerment

Housing delivery can be harnessed as a vehicle for job creation through strategically designed settlements and construction programmes. Support for emerging contractors in both construction and materials supply is critical. Most of the projects implemented through the PHP programme – which requires the establishment of housing support centres – have a strong component of skills development, job creation and local procurement of materials.
4.4.2.3 Affordability and alternative finance

The current housing programme is driven through state-provided housing subsidies. The topping up of subsidies with financial resources from the private sector and the beneficiary households has not been systematically pursued. In an effort to deliver better quality housing than that available through conventional subsidy programmes, communities and civic organisations have initiated processes of tapping into alternative finance. Besides the established stokvel system (peer-based saving and borrowing), microfinance programmes targeted at low-income households serve two major objectives. Firstly, they aim at promoting a savings culture and, secondly, they provide affordable credit to low-income households. Both the above-mentioned measures contribute significantly to the affordability of housing and other basic needs.

4.4.2.4 Cost savings for households, communities and municipalities

Energy efficiency allows a household to enjoy the same or higher services at lower levels of energy consumption, thus contributing to cost saving on combustible fuels or electricity. This also applies to water conservation interventions and waste management. Indirect benefits of sustainable housing include enhanced environmental health (less cost to health services) and improved productivity at work and school. Even though sustainable housing may mean higher initial cost for most stakeholders, cost savings in the long-term outweigh the additional capital costs by a significant margin.
At the community and local government levels, sustainability interventions lead to savings in the capital and operational costs of infrastructure and services such as networks for electricity, water and sewerage. This saving can be enhanced even further by the involvement of the communities in the management and delivery of services.

4.4.2.5 Economic empowerment for women

Where the head of the household is female, strategies aimed at empowering women in government procurement programmes, alongside maximising access to employment opportunities, finance, and skills development, as well as in the allocation of optimally located housing, is important in redressing economic inequities.

4.5 Factors affecting community empowerment and the transition to democracy

According to Craig and Mayo (1995:173-175), the following factors affect community empowerment and the transition to democracy.

The first factor is lack of transport. Many low-cost housing developments are located far from transport routes. This leads to people having to travel great distances in search of employment and other amenities. It can also lead to people not attending meetings, and thus not participating, because they do not have the requisite means.
The second factor is competition for political power. The positioning of political parties as significant actors in the negotiation process is seen as a key to the reduction of conflict and furthering empowerment. The process of meeting popular demands demonstrates not only a commitment to the voters, but will also affect the transition to democracy and the possibility of continued peace and political stability. Thus, it is imperative for different political parties to work together.

The third factor relates to disempowered youth and criminal activity. The disintegration of the country's social fabric resulting from apartheid continues to generate devastating consequences, especially for the youth. The effects of the breakdown of family life and the educational system on the welfare of youth mean that any development programme has to pay special attention not only to obvious aspects, such as material poverty, but also to the psychological and emotional dimensions.

The final factor is unemployment. The unemployment rate amongst undereducated and unskilled youth is very high. The South African labour market faces several problems, including high rates of unemployment and underemployment, and low remuneration in sectors generating employment. There are critical skill shortages, especially in the rural areas, where unemployment contributes to poverty. The population of the rural areas find themselves far from the loci of economic development. In order to access available opportunities, it is necessary to travel large distances and frequently to subsist in new and unfamiliar environments for
long periods while looking for work. There is a mismatch in the spectrum of labour demand in relation to labour supply, particularly where the educational and skills profiles and other attributes of the available labour source do not correspond to the pattern of demand in the labour market. Moreover, great use is made of seasonal employment and this leaves the workforce effectively unemployed for large portions of the year, resulting in underemployment. It is thus imperative that government creates an enabling economic environment to support employment growth in the formal and informal sectors.
CHAPTER 5: PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT: THE IMPORTANT LINK

5.1 Introduction

According to Parker (2000:17), the empowerment strategy is the current paradigm in participatory development. This strategy regards the participation of the majority of the beneficiaries as being the bottom line for the success of any development project or programme. At the same time, it places emphasis on including the previously excluded components of the society, such as women, the youth and people who are illiterate, to participate in the process of development.

The 'strong' interpretation of participation sees participation as being a process of empowerment. Participation that empowers local people with knowledge, ownership, assertiveness, motivation and means is imperative. When people are properly empowered, it enables them to develop skills that they can apply in contributing to the development of their community. From Table 5.1 we may conclude that there can be a link between participation and empowerment, depending on the strategy chosen. Burkey (1993:59) is adamant that, in this regard, "we are left in no doubt that meaningful participation is concerned with achieving power: that is the power to influence the decisions that affects one's livelihood".
Table 5.1: Two logical models underlying participatory strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>“Efficiency”</th>
<th>“Empowerment”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State building through top-down partnership with local population/ civil society/the poor. (&quot;inclusive reaching down&quot;)</td>
<td>Alternative development by local popular movements and organisations. (&quot;integrative reaching up&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Normative assumptions:</strong></td>
<td>The poor masses ought to have satisfied their basic needs (as they are defined by the state)</td>
<td>The poor masses ought to get the kind of development decided by them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Deductive assumptions:</strong></td>
<td>This presupposes their participation in public development programmes. Therefore, they must be made capable of participating more</td>
<td>This presupposes an actively formulating and organising population having the ability and the right to express their demands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Casual theoretical assumptions:</strong></td>
<td>• ‘Development goals can be reached harmoniously and conflicts between social groups resolved through some kind of local democracy. Therefore people's participation is possible’.</td>
<td>• ‘Development goals can be reached harmoniously and conflicts between social groups resolved through some kind of local democracy. Therefore people’s participation is possible’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• ‘People’s participation has a positive effect on development’.</td>
<td>• ‘Development is positive when there is people’s participation’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• ‘People’s participation is an effective means to mobilise local (human and material) resources with the purpose of implementing (certain) development programmes’.</td>
<td>• ‘Empowerment of the masses is a necessary means to achieve people’s participation as no government will spend any resources on development and welfare decided by the masses unless the masses have the power to force the government’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• ‘Lack of participation is an expression of the population’s inability to participate’: lack of education, funds and resources and low levels of organisation’.</td>
<td>• ‘Lack of popular participation in development programmes is an expression of disagreement or resistance (internally amongst members of the local community or externally against the central government or people in power)’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘OR is it an expression of the programme design being inappropriately adapted to the needs of the target group, i.e. inappropriate planning and implementing procedures, or inappropriate technology’.</td>
<td>‘OR is it an expression of the existence of social structures excluding the masses from participating’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Operational barriers to participation) Thus, it is a technical, educational, administrative, or financial inadequacy needing to be corrected</td>
<td>(Structural barriers to participation) Thus, it is a social conflict to be resolved through a compromise on conflicting policies and/or removal of the ‘departicipatory’ social structures (political reforms)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Adapted from Parker, 2000:21)
5.2 Building blocks of development

Meyer and Theron (2000:5) argue that public participation forms part of the so-called "building blocks" of development as graphically illustrated in Figure 5.1. Public participation creates a social learning process, social learning creates self-reliance, which establishes capacity, and capacity creates empowerment. Lastly, these processes lead to sustainable development.

![Figure 5.1: Building blocks of development](image)

It is important to note that self-reliance can only be gained through a social learning process, and that the social learning process cannot take place without participation. The social learning process results in the poor gaining self-confidence in themselves and their ability to help themselves. According to Burkey (1993:53-55), ultimately, this results in conscientisation, where people gain self-reflected...
critical awareness of their social reality and also the ability to change that reality through their conscious collective action.

Participation, according to Oakley and Marsden (1984:9), should be viewed as a means of empowering people by developing their skills and abilities, thus enabling them to negotiate development delivery systems and/or equip them to make their own decisions in terms of their development needs and reality. The aim of development should be to combine the 'scientific knowledge' of external change agents with internal social knowledge, or people's knowledge, in order to deepen people's understanding of their situation. But, in spite of the emphasis that is placed on individual participation, the importance of external stimuli and change agents as catalysts for the implementation of the development process cannot be denied (Liebenberg and Stewart, 1997:125).

As has already been stated, there is a definite link between participation and empowerment in development. Swanepoel (1993:2) illustrates this link when he argues the following:

"When people are involved in a community development project, their objective is always concrete. The objective can be precisely described and can quite often be seen and touched. The peculiarity, though, is that while people are striving towards a concrete objective, they at the same time reach abstract goals that they may not even have thought of. While striving to get a clinic established (a concrete objective) they gain in something abstract such
as self-reliance, self-sufficiency and human dignity. These abstract gains are the enduring and permanent results of community development which enable people to help themselves”.

In the above, Swanepoel (1993) is alerting us to the crucial link between two of the building blocks of development, namely participation and empowerment. Sometimes people participate without gaining any empowerment, but it is virtually impossible for people to become empowered if they do not participate in some way or another.

5.3 Public participation and community empowerment: central components of sustainable development

It is important to note that participation and empowerment constitute a central component of sustainable development, as sustainable development should be based on the beneficial attainment of access to and the mobilisation of resources by the poor in order to address their basic needs (Liebenberg and Stewart, 1997:126). As stated previously, Sowman and Urquhart (1998:14) support this notion when they state that “the involvement of people in all aspects of planning and development programmes, which affect them, is a fundamental requirement of sustainable development”.

The position adopted here is one that views community empowerment as an end product of public participation, which ultimately leads to sustainability. Public participation means more than just consultation or asking people what they think.
The affected community must be involved in all stages of the planning process and in making decisions that will affect their lives. This means that the community must be actively involved in identifying and prioritising their needs; agreeing on the nature and scale of the proposed project; contributing to the planning, design and implementation of the project; and, assisting with monitoring and evaluating the usefulness and success of the project. As mentioned before, public participation should not be seen as a once-off exercise, but should rather be an ongoing process of discussion with all the stakeholders involved.

Participation also means involving the neighbours of proposed upgrading and housing projects in the planning process. This will promote better integration of communities as a step toward social sustainability (Sowman and Urquhart, 1998:16). Local authorities and community representatives have a responsibility to promote the participation of their constituencies in decision-making processes to facilitate community empowerment. Local people have important ideas and information about the environment in which they live, which can help make a project more sustainable. Ultimately, people are the experts of their own environment, and they therefore have the right and the obligation to assess it and then determine the possibilities it holds. Active participation can be seen as one way for people to assess their own reality and provide their own solutions to the problem/s encountered. This provides a foundation for sustainable development. In the light of the above, it can be argued that development as a process must aim at satisfying basic human needs in a participatory, empowering and sustainable manner.
CHAPTER 6: BACKGROUND TO PAARL AND THE MAIN FINDINGS OF THE CASE STUDY

6.1 Introduction

The town of Paarl was established in 1687 and gained municipal status in 1849. Paarl is situated 60 km north-west of Cape Town in the Berg River Valley, alongside the National Road and main railway line, which leads through the town itself (see Appendix 1). Paarl connects to the metropolitan area of Cape Town through railway connections and is situated 45 minutes from the nearest international airport and harbour. These characteristics make Paarl an ideal place for the establishments of export industries. The scenic beauty, good wines, leisurely lifestyle, cultural-historical museums and old buildings make this town a popular tourist attraction. The town covers an area of 6 700 ha (including the Paarl Mountain Nature Reserve of 2 895 ha). Paarl is one of five towns that fall under the Drakenstein Municipality; the other four are Saron, Gouda, Hermon and Wellington.

In 1996, the Paarl district had a total population of 153 321 inhabitants. From 1970 to 1996, the population of Paarl district grew from 83 794 to 153 321 inhabitants (see Table 6.1).
Table 6.1: Paarl population statistics

<table>
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<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>53200</td>
<td>72380</td>
<td>80104</td>
<td>90308</td>
<td>98397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>9885</td>
<td>13520</td>
<td>13826</td>
<td>21694</td>
<td>29733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>20709</td>
<td>22960</td>
<td>23112</td>
<td>24119</td>
<td>25191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>83794</td>
<td>108860</td>
<td>117042</td>
<td>136121</td>
<td>153321</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: SuperSTAR database, University of Stellenbosch, based on 1996 census data)

Housing Project 59, better known amongst its inhabitants as ‘Greenfields’ (see Appendix 2), is one of numerous official low-cost housing developments in Paarl. The development is located on provincial government land, and is located outside the town itself (near shops, schools and churches). Housing Project 59 is divided into seven phases (see Appendix 3). The total development of Project 59 comprises 1 640 single dwelling residential erven. The 173 erven of Phase One were used to complete another housing project, Project 43. Only Phases One to Three have been completed to date (June 2003). The other four phases will start when funding is made available.

The focus of this paper is Phase Two of this project (see Appendix 4a and 4b), which consists of 266 erven of 100 m² each with a basic house of 27.04 m² (see Appendix 5). The idea was to provide smaller houses on larger erven (see

\[ g^2 \] is the growth rate in percent per year.
Appendix 6) so that the beneficiaries could extend their houses when they have the money (see Appendix 7). Altogether, 75 households were interviewed (see community questionnaire - Appendix 8a), comprising close to 30% of the total household population of Phase Two. To achieve a representative sample, every third household was interviewed. All the inhabitants of Phase Two previously resided in the ‘transit camp’ named Fairyland. The construction of Phase Two started in 1999 and ended in 2001, when the beneficiaries took occupation.

All beneficiaries of Phase Two received the dwelling free and were in the income category R0 to R1 500 per month. The beneficiaries all had to have families and only qualified if they had not previously received housing from government. The subsidy received for each house was R23 100. According to Cupido (Interview, 2003), the Acting Head of Housing Administration Drakenstein Municipality (see Appendix 8b for questionnaire), additional subsidies were given to disabled individuals, as indicated in Table 6.2 on the next page.
Table 6.2 Additional subsidies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of disability</th>
<th>Additional to house</th>
<th>Additional amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Walking aids</td>
<td>12 m² paving, ramp to doorway</td>
<td>R868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheelchair</td>
<td>12 m² paving, ramp to doorway, grip plates on doors</td>
<td>R362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheelchair</td>
<td>12 m² paving, ramp to doorway, grab rails, lowered taps</td>
<td>R1327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>visual doorbell indicator</td>
<td>R844</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Local labour, which included ten of the beneficiaries, was used during the construction phase. This ensured the achievement of one of the objectives of community participation, namely the sharing of costs, as some beneficiaries contributed labour to the particular project. M5, the company responsible for the construction of the houses, presented building courses in the local community hall for nearly two months. During this time, experts on building skills, painting, carpentry and plumbing trained local people. Two of the criteria that the potential 'helpers' had to fulfil, were that they were unemployed and had to pass a skills test prior to the commencement of training. Housing construction provided employment for eight months.
An open space and a church site were allocated to this phase, but still to be developed because of funding constraints (see Appendix 9). Currently, these sites are being used for dumping. The site for the open space is crucial and could serve as a playground for the children where parents can keep a close eye on them. When the inhabitants were asked what they would regard as important in low-cost housing developments, nearly everyone answered 'a central playground for the children'. Although this was the intention with the planned layout, this need of the community still remains to be met.

6.2 Demographic and economic data

6.2.1 Gender and age composition

The age distribution of the case study population (see Table 6.3 below) reveals that females are in the majority (54.7%). The larger representation of females indicates that there are more female-headed households, as sampling was based on ownership of the house.

Table 6.3: Gender and age distribution: Case study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-70</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71+</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Generated from sample survey)
The age profile of females was evenly spread, with a slightly higher percentage (17.3%) in the 31 to 40 year age category. The age profile of the male population looks slightly different, with no males in the 20 to 30 age groups. Furthermore, the age profiles of males were evenly spread, with a slightly higher percentage (17.3%) in the category 51 to 70 years.

6.2.2. Employment

The unemployment figures for Paarl is the lowest for the White population (1.8%) (see Table 6.4). The African population has the highest rate of unemployment (20.7%). The figures for the Coloured population are close to that of the African population (10.9%). When comparing the unemployment figures for Paarl to that of the case study (see Figure 6.1), it becomes clear that unemployment is higher in the housing settlement. Figure 6.1 indicates that only 40% (30 people) of the respondents are employed. A vast majority, namely 60% (45 people), are unemployed. Of the unemployed, 58% are female. It was further found that 92% of the unemployed women and 74% of the unemployed men are in their working years.
Table 6.4: Employment status in Paarl

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment status</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>8767</td>
<td>34001</td>
<td>10317</td>
<td>53085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed, looking for work</td>
<td>3993</td>
<td>6650</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>10957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not looking for work, not Wishing to work, unspecified</td>
<td>987</td>
<td>1553</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>2613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home-maker, retired, disabled</td>
<td>2329</td>
<td>12208</td>
<td>5015</td>
<td>19552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full time learner</td>
<td>3205</td>
<td>6400</td>
<td>1632</td>
<td>11237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19281</td>
<td>60812</td>
<td>17351</td>
<td>97444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total population in group: 29075

Percentage of group reflected: 66

(Source: SuperSTAR database, University of Stellenbosch, based on 1996 census data)

Figure 6.1: Employment status: Case study

(Source: Generated from sample survey)
6.2.3 Household size and education

From Table 6.5 it is clear that most of the houses are overcrowded, with the majority of households (59%) in Phase Two accommodating three to five people in a 27.04 m² house. In 90% of the cases, the household consisted of family members only, and in most cases only one person per household is working.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household size</th>
<th>Number of households</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Generated from sample survey)

Research findings further suggest that 25% of the respondents are dependent on disability grants, grants for children or pensions. Dependency on the state is common in households with children. The households with three and more children also spend more of their income transfers on water and electricity. As demonstrated in Figure 6.2, the majority of respondents (81%) spend between 0 and 20% of their income on basic services, such as water and electricity. It is mostly the larger households (4%) that spend between 41 and 60% of their income on services.
As Table 6.6 indicates, the level of education of the respondents is very low. More than a third (25.3%) have never attended school. The majority of respondents (25.3%) had schooling to standard eight. Overall, 43% of the respondents attended primary school, 32% attended high school, and only 6.7% completed high school.

Table 6.6 Education level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did not attend school</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub A – B</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 1 – 3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 4 – 5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 6 – 8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 9 – 10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Generated from sample survey)
The findings on high unemployment rates, low incomes, poor education and high numbers of female-headed households - who constitute one of the most vulnerable segments of society - are not surprising. It is very typical of the demographic and social profile of informal settlements, which previously housed the present beneficiary community.

6.3 Data on housing needs and satisfaction

As indicated in Table 6.7, there are still a large number of people in need of adequate housing in Paarl. This need seems to be the largest amongst the African population, where 13 232 people lived in shacks in 1996. Close to 11 000 (10 754) of the Coloured population were housed in shack settlements. Only 11 Asian and 206 White households shared this plight. According to Cupido (Interview, 2003), there are currently (June 2003) 17 134 households in Paarl in need of adequate housing; i.e. on the municipality's waiting list. These people currently live in 'transit camps' that have been established by the municipality. The residents of the transit camps have access to water and sanitation facilities. Despite this, many people are still squatting illegally in various locations, which present problems for the municipality with regard to land release and assembly.
Table 6.7 Type of dwelling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of dwelling</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian/Asian</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Unspecified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House on separate stand</td>
<td>9553</td>
<td>45171</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>18784</td>
<td>1401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional dwelling</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1117</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flat in block of flats</td>
<td>1212</td>
<td>15812</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1623</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town/cluster/semi-detached house</td>
<td>2157</td>
<td>17539</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1431</td>
<td>719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit in retirement village</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House/flat/room in backyard</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>1756</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal dwelling/shack in backyard</td>
<td>2536</td>
<td>5247</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal dwelling/shack elsewhere</td>
<td>10696</td>
<td>5507</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room/flat let on shared property</td>
<td>2209</td>
<td>3225</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2346</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caravan/tent</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None/homeless</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified/dummy</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>866</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: SuperSTAR database, University of Stellenbosch, based on 1996 census data)

As indicated in Tables 6.8 and 6.9, the majority of the respondents are satisfied with their houses and their living environment. Dissatisfactions stem from the fact that the entire community was not involved in the construction stage of the development. Residents were of the view that had they been involved in construction, the houses would not leak and the walls would not be damp during the winter.

The houses appear to be poorly built, with little cement being used as evident in the crumbling walls. According to some beneficiaries, the dwellings were built with only two bags of cement per house, instead of the required eight. Apparently, some of the local labourers booked out the initial required amounts, but sold most of the bags. The following questions can be asked: How is it possible that the building inspector did not pick up this problem? Did the building inspector inspect the
dwellings on a regular basis? Why was this illegal profiteering not reported to relevant municipal personnel?

The beneficiaries also stated that they were informed during meetings that they had a three-month period after they took occupation to file complaints regarding the condition of the dwellings. If problems occurred during these three months, the municipality would repair defects at no cost. After the prescribed three-month period, the beneficiaries were deemed responsible for any repairs and the cost thereof. The project was completed in summer and it was only during the rainy winter season that leakages became a problem.

Table 6.8 Ratings of the quality of houses (in percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The quality of materials used</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance requirements</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The quality of the site</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The quality of services (water, electricity, sewage disposal, refuse removal)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The design of the house</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The size of the house</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It was mainly the larger families (24%) that complained about the size of the house.

Table 6.9 Rating of the quality of the neighbourhood (in percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Availability and/or distance from facilities such as schools, shops, churches, etc.</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Fair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The natural environment (trees, plants)</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety and security³</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privacy</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace and quiet</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4 Data on individual and community participation

From the research findings, it is clear that anybody who wanted to attend the community meetings could do so. The municipality informed the beneficiaries through pamphlets (in Xhosa, Afrikaans and English) and announced the meetings over loudspeakers during the day. During these meetings, issues such as home ownership, criteria to qualify, occupation dates, the need for housing, employment opportunities during construction phases, prepaid electricity meters, extensions to houses and the size of the erven were discussed. However, plans of the houses

³ The community of Phase Two started their own neighbourhood watch in response to gangsterism. As a result of this initiative, the crime rate in the area has dropped considerably, and 93% of the respondents feel safe in their living environment.
were not shown to the beneficiaries and no options regarding the design of the house were given; all the houses were built the same.

The community was given a chance to voice its opinions at every meeting, and consequently 91% of the respondents indicated that the level of community involvement was satisfactory. When reasons for dissatisfaction were probed, the remaining 9% felt that only certain people were 'allowed to speak', and some had no opinion. For this nine percent, desirable involvement means that individual beneficiaries should have a 'voice' in critical decisions relating to the project, not only community leaders. The notion of only certain people being 'allowed to speak' was also highlighted. Five percent of the respondents indicated that only community leaders were involved, and 4% did not know.

Responses to the question: “At what stage of the housing project were you involved?” - are reflected in Figure 6.3 This finding indicates that 71% of the respondents were involved in the planning phase, whilst 19% were involved in the planning and construction phases. None were involved in only the construction phase or the delivery phase. A mere 10% indicated that they were not involved in either one of the phases, as they had no interest to become involved.
Respondents understood 'community participation' in different ways, the most common being:

- 'When people are invited to meetings'
- 'When the community is involved in decision making'
- 'When we have a say in decisions made affecting our lives'
- 'When we are given a chance to voice our opinions'

All respondents viewed community participation as being advantageous and stated the following reasons to support this:

- 'So that we can be informed of what is happening'
- 'To practice the right to freedom of speech'
- 'So that the government can know what we want'
- 'So that we can make informed decisions'
• 'So that problems and needs can be discussed'  
• 'So that the government can know when and why we are unhappy'

Cupido (Interview, 2003) and Mr Delaney (Acting Head of Planning and Economic Development), viewed community participation as both advantageous and disadvantageous. In the main, they view community participation as a "process of making beneficiaries part of the planning process". They deemed participation necessary "so that the people feel they are included in decision making"; to "create a feeling of belonging to the project" amongst the beneficiaries; and, "to help identify problems and needs of communities". The biggest limitation, according to Cupido (Interview, 2003) and Delaney (Interview, 2003), is the fact that public participation can "drag on for too long". This statement is in line with the findings of Hardie et al (1986:9) as mentioned before.

There are currently no specific resources set aside or allocated for community participation. Suggestions from the community can be encouraged by obtaining recommendations from all affected parties and implementing them where practically possible. Paul's (1987:4-6) four 'intensity' levels of participation provide a good starting point for evaluating the nature and effectiveness of citizen involvement in the project. The following is of relevance:

• Information regarding the development was shared with the beneficiaries
Beneficiaries were given the opportunity to interact with, and provide feedback to, the municipality as a community.

The beneficiaries’ opinions were, however, not taken into account during the design and implementation phases.

Beneficiaries did not make decisions on specific issues; they just voiced their opinions.

Beneficiaries were not permitted to take their own initiative – they were merely the subjects of change.

From the above, it is clear that the level of community participation, and in particular, individual participation, was not satisfactory. Despite this finding, research findings indicated that over 90% of the respondents were satisfied with the level of community involvement. These contradictory findings may be ascribed to the fact that most of the respondents have a poor education, and did not therefore fully engage with participation schemas/formats. The ‘ideal’ level of participation would have been to include beneficiaries in all levels of development, and to acknowledge and address their recommendations. The planning process is irrelevant if the divergent needs and preferences of the beneficiaries are not meaningfully taken cognisance of.

Participation yielded the following positive results. Firstly, it led to increased community empowerment. The participation of the community in decision-making formed an integral part of empowerment. Beneficiaries, especially women, felt
politically empowered by being afforded a chance to voice their opinions. Economically, beneficiaries were empowered through having acquired access to land and security of tenure. Social/psychological empowerment resulted from residing in a cleaner, healthier living environment.

Secondly, the inalienable rights of citizens were realised. Beneficiaries were allowed to participate in decision-making, as it is their inalienable democratic right. The reduction in psychological suffering and apathy constitutes the third positive outcome. Beneficiaries are living in a cleaner, safer and healthier environment than before. Living conditions in the shack settlement, where they previously resided, were appalling, as it was a 'breeding' ground for diseases and criminal activities.

The effective distribution of information to the beneficiaries regarding the development constitutes the fourth advantage. As mentioned before, the beneficiaries received information regarding the housing project during community meetings. Lastly, participation potentially promoted and fostered the involvement of women. More than half of the respondents that attended the community meetings and voiced their opinions were female.

6.5 Data on individual and community empowerment

The community was given power to voice their opinions and to be part of the decision-making affecting their lives. When the question was asked whether the
project empowered people, the respondents answered in the affirmative. When they were asked to provide examples of empowerment, the following were registered:

- 'We have a right to voice our opinion and the municipality realised this right at the community meetings.' This implies power to voice their opinion in the decision-making process and relates to political empowerment.
- 'I now feel that I am worth something now that I have my own house with running water and electricity.' This statement relates to both economic and social/psychological empowerment: economically, in that the people own their houses and thus have access to land and housing, which is one of the main elements of empowerment; and socially/psychologically, in the sense that they feel better about themselves and their living environment.
- 'At least now I can sleep peacefully, I do not have the fear of myself or my house burning down as I had when I was living in a shack settlement.'
- 'I do not have to depend on a man anymore to look after me and my three children'. This statement can be related to the social and psychological empowerment of women. Because she owns her house, it is clearly a step forward in redressing gender inequalities.

Nineteen percent of the respondents indicated that they gained new skills in building and communication. These skills, they asserted, would assist them in finding other work. Community participation in decision making yielded more results than initially expected, i.e. more than just empowerment resulted from participation.
beneficiaries are now more self-reliant than before and they have learnt to provide for themselves (e.g. safety). A social learning experience took place in that the participants learnt to be more effective and efficient in sustaining and improving their standard of living.

6.6 Problems identified

The respondents pointed out some weak points of this project, which they felt government should pay attention to in future low-income housing developments. Firstly, there is no playground for the children. Although the municipality has allocated land for recreational purposes, it has so far not been developed and is used for dumping. As a consequence, children are either forced to stay indoors or play in the road. The respondents indicated that they are quite willing to maintain the recreational site.

Secondly, the streets of the neighbourhood are narrow and speed bumps are only provided in the upper streets. Respondents said that they would prefer it if all the streets have speed bumps, as taxis and local people tend to drive fast and often injure children.

Thirdly, no crèche is allocated to this Phase. Although there is a crèche nearby, it services the needs of another low-income housing development. Fourthly, there is much controversy around the site being allocated for the construction of a church. Local government views the church as necessary – a facility that people are
deemed to need and want - when in actual fact they would prefer to have a hall, or more importantly, a crèche.

Fifthly, no collective social facilities, such as a hall, are provided. The respondents feel that a community hall could have served multiple purposes. For example, they could hold their neighbourhood watch meetings there in the evenings; they could use it as a crèche during the day; it could be used for religion worship; it could serve as a place for indoor sports; and it could also be used as a place for community and individual training and education.

Sixthly, as mentioned before, is the issue of poor quality housing construction. After heavy rains, people have to sweep water out of their houses. Apart from the fact that the houses leak, the dwellings were constructed with too little cement. No holes can be made in the walls and, during winter, the wind blows through the walls. Some houses are already starting to crack and the beneficiaries do not have money to undertake the necessary repairs.

According to the respondents, all of the above issues have been brought to the attention of the municipality at previous meetings and it has become clear that, although the municipality provides opportunities for community participation, it does not always respond to their needs and priorities. The normal response they encounter from the municipality is that there is a shortage of money.
Chapter 7: Conclusion and Recommendations

7.1 Conclusions

This study found that it is virtually impossible to achieve viable empowerment if there is no participation. Community participation and empowerment creates self-reliant communities that are able to provide for themselves. Without meaningful participation and empowerment, the needs and demands of communities cannot be met in a sustainable manner.

The findings from the case study suggest that participation contributed to empowerment. The respondents felt empowered politically, as they were given opportunities to voice their opinions; economically, by having secured access to land, housing and basic services, as well as security of tenure; and socially/psychologically, as they experienced a greater feeling of self-worth by having their own house and living in a cleaner, safer and healthier environment. On balance, the beneficiaries of Phase Two of Housing Project 59 appeared satisfied with their houses in general, and an overwhelming 91% of the sample felt that the level of community involvement was satisfactory. But this should not detract from the fact that whilst beneficiaries expressed satisfaction with the overall level of community involvement, their views were not taken into account during the most critical stages of the project; i.e. design and implementation phases. This accounts in no small measure for the dissatisfaction and problems recorded above.
The most interesting finding from the research suggests that every beneficiary felt empowered in one way or another. This finding is interesting because it was not one of the local government's objectives. In addition, as with participation, no resources were set aside or allocated toward achieving this objective.

No amount of money or material resources can guarantee a significant, self-sustained impact on a community unless people, both individually and collectively (as a community), contribute to development programmes and projects (Baba, 1998:45). It must be emphasised that, without the involvement of the community in planning and decision-making processes, people's desires, expectations, needs and aspirations cannot be met. At the same time, the demands of the community for improvement will not be realised in an effective and efficient way.
7.2 Recommendations

As a way of improving empowerment and participation in the delivery and planning of low-cost housing developments, the following recommendations should be considered:

- Local government should promote and foster active involvement in the decision-making processes, instead of merely consulting people when they consider it necessary. Government and planners in their approach to housing development should strive to include communities in decision-making, not to impose decisions. Their role must be to empower communities to solve their own problems. Housing development should thus be seen as a process rather than just the delivery of houses to beneficiaries. It should be about empowering people with skills, knowledge, and capacity to act effectively at community and individual level.

- Training for councillors and officials should be seen as a priority. Research findings suggest that some officials fail to see that communities have to be included in municipal decision-making processes.

- The community should be involved in all stages of development and must be helped to prioritise their needs and be empowered to become equal partners in development programmes and projects.
• Recommendations, opinions and complaints from the beneficiaries need to be acknowledged and addressed, even after the proposed housing development is completed and the beneficiaries have taken occupation.

• There is a need to plan with, and not for, communities. Planning with communities will lead to sustainable development as the services provided would be what the beneficiaries actually want and need (versus what government believes they need). The planned provision of a church instead of a much-needed crèche in the case study area is a good example.

• Appropriate methods of participation need to be utilised. The ideal is to identify and utilise methods of participation that would ensure that beneficiaries can actually influence decision making.

• Provide assistance to people who wish to build or organise the building of their homes themselves through lending meaningful support to the People’s Housing Process.

• The housing process must be economically, fiscally, socially, financially and politically sustainable in the long term. This implies balancing end-user affordability, the standard of housing, the number of housing units required, and the fiscal allocations to housing.
• Housing must be built to quality standards. Building dwellings that last only in the short term, and which soon crack and become uninhabitable, undermine the benefit received by the beneficiary.

• Government must create an enabling economic environment to support employment growth in the formal and informal sectors.
References:


SuperStar database, University of Stellenbosch.


Newspapers:

Interviews:

Cupido, C. 2003. Acting Head of Housing Administration, Municipality, Drakenstein. Personal interview. 21 July, Drakenstein.

Appendix 1 - 9
Appendix 1: Map of Paarl

(Source: Paarl Post, 28 August 2003)
Appendix 2: Housing Project 59/Greenfields
Appendix 3: Phases of development
Appendix 4a: Phase Two of Housing Project 59
Appendix 4b: Partial overview of Phase Two
Appendix 5: General house plan

**BASIC HOUSE CONSTRUCTION**

**FOUNDATION**

Raft foundation and slab as specified by Engineer or converted to a reinforced raft foundation if dictated by soil conditions.

**SUPERSTRUCTURE**

External walls are constructed with 140x190x390mm blocks, bedded in class 2(6:1) mortar: DPC under all walls and brick reinforcing every 3 layers and every layer above window height.

Internal walls are built with 140x190x390mm block brick reinforced every 2 layers tied to external wall.

**WINDOWS**

Steel windows as per Clisco catalogue or equal approved, glazed.

**DOORFRAMES**

1.2mm steel doorframe.

**ROOF**

17.5° pitch roof, with cement tiles on 75x36mm rooftruss and 75x50mm wallplaste, as per Engineer's design, fixed to wall with 4mm galv. wire. No ceiling, no gutters and down pipes.

**FINISHING**

Floor slab wood floated. No paint on inside, one coat Megadeal or similar acrylic paint on outside walls as specified by supplier. All window frames one coat red oxide and one coat gloss enamel.

**PLUMBING**

Plastic single basin on the inside with tap connected with 15mm polyprop harness to water supply. Single stopcock on the outside to cut off water supply. Plastic P-pant with plastic seat and clamp. Knee bath optional extra.

**ELECTRICITY**

None

**FENCING**

None

**DRAINAGE NOTES**

Provide to all drains, junctions and changes of direction of all soil and waste fittings. All 115mm below ground level to have wrapped covers. Provide red earth to all waste fittings. Drainage pipes to be vented where required. Provide all soil and drain pipes to have a min. fall of 1:40. All waste pipes to be 40mm external Ø.

**FIRE REQUIREMENTS**

All new work to be in accordance with Part 9 of Fire Protection Regulations as promulgated in the HRU, Occupational Classification in Safety Distance in Compliance with T72. The Fire Department must be notified of completion to obtain a clearance certificate prior to electrical connection.

---

**DEVELOPMENTS**

**PAARL**

27.04m²

**DATUM:**

Date: 21/11/2000

NAGESIEN:

Checked: W.O.

SKAAL:

Scale: 1:100

WYS No.:

REF No.: 4A

---

**PLAN**

Typical Siteplan Scale 1:200

---

**M5**

Stellenbosch University http://scholar.sun.ac.za
Appendix 6: House and erven sizes

Size of dwelling

Size of backyard
Appendix 7: Housing extensions
Appendix 8a: Community questionnaire

Questionnaire on the role of community participation and community empowerment in the planning and delivery of low-cost housing: An evaluation of Housing Project 59 in Paarl

Questionnaire No:
Date of interview: / /2003
Gender: 
Age of interviewer: 

Highest standard passed:
1. Did not attend school
2. Sub A – B
3. Std 1 – 3
4. Std 4 – 5
5. Std 6 – 8
6. Std 9 – 10
7. Tertiary education

1. In which town/city/state did you live before you arrived here?

2. Before you came to live in Housing Scheme 59, were you housed in:
   - Your own home
   - Rented home
• Flats
• Other (shack, with family etc)

3. How many people are currently living in the house permanently?

____________________________________________________________________________

4. Do you own or rent your current home?

____________________________________________________________________________

5. Are you employed?
   1. Yes  2. No

6. Who contributes to the running cost of the household?

____________________________________________________________________________

7. What percentage of your monthly income goes towards rent, rates and service payments)?
   1. 0 – 20
   2. 21 – 40
   3. 41 – 60
   4. 61 – 80
   5. 81 – 100
8. What is your understanding of the concepts of public participation and community empowerment?

_________________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________________

9. Were you, as individual, involved in the process leading to the provision of housing in this community? If yes, answer the following question.

At what stage of the housing project were you involved?

i) Planning

ii) Construction

iii) Planning and construction

iv) Delivery

v) All of the above

vi) None

10. How did you come to know about meetings about the proposed housing development?

_________________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________________
11. What issues were raised at meetings?

_________________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________________

12. In your view, was the community given a chance to voice opinion/s?

_________________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________________

13. Were you satisfied with your level of involvement in this project?

   1. Yes  2. No

14. If not, what would you regard as desirable involvement in this project?

_________________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________________

15. Would you say that the entire community or only a small group in the community was involved in the development?

   i) Community as a whole

   ii) Community leaders
16. Do you think community participation is advantageous, disadvantageous or both to housing projects?
   1. Advantageous – elaborate further
      ________________________________
   2. Disadvantageous – elaborate further
      ________________________________
   3. Both – elaborate why
      ________________________________

17. Do you think that you obtained new skills (communication, building skills, etc) and or information during planning and execution of the project? If yes, provide a few examples.

   ________________________________
   ________________________________
   ________________________________
   ________________________________
18. Do you think that the project empowered you in some way?
   1. Yes  2. No

19. If yes, provide examples of empowerment.

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

20. What, in your opinion, are the most important issues in low-cost housing (participation, open space, recreational facilities, etc.)? What do you think the authorities should concentrate on and provide to you as end-user?

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

21. How would you rate your house in terms of:

   - The quality of materials used
   - Maintenance requirements
   - The quality of the site
   - The quality of services (water, electricity, sewage disposal, refuge removal)
   - The design of the house
   - The size of the house

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22. How would you rate the quality of the neighbourhood in terms of:

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- Availability and/or distance from facilities such as schools, shops, churches, etc.
- The natural environment (trees, plants)
- Safety and security
- Privacy
- Peace and quiet
Appendix 8b: Acting Head: Housing Administration Questionnaire

Questionnaire on the role of community participation and community empowerment in the planning and delivery of low-cost housing: An evaluation of Housing Project 59 in Paarl

Questionnaire No:

Date of interview: / /2003

Name of Interviewer: ________________________________________

Job description: ____________________________________________

1. How were the people currently living in housing scheme 59 selected?

2. Where did the money come from to build these houses?

3. Did the development take place in phases? If yes, how many, and, over how long a period?
4. If the development was phased, explain the differences between the phases?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

5. How many people are housed in this development?

________________________________________________________________________

6. What subsidies were provided; and, how much did people pay for the houses?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

7. What is your understanding of the concept of community participation?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

8. Were beneficiaries given any choices in terms of the design of the houses? If yes, shortly explain each option.

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
9. Do you deem participation as necessary? Please explain.

10. Was the community involved in the process leading to the provision of housing? If yes, answer the following:

   (a) At what stage of the housing project was the community involved?
   i) Planning stage/pre-construction
   ii) Construction
   iii) Delivery
   iv) All of the above

   (b) What was the level of involvement?
   i) Fully involved (listened to and implemented some of the 'relevant' inputs of the community)
   ii) Partly involved (listened to community input)
   iii) Minimally (only took consideration of the input of community leaders)

11. How can suggestions from the community be encouraged?
12. Does the Drakenstein Municipality set aside or allocate specific resources for public participation?

13. What do you consider to be the benefits and limitations of public participation?

14. What is your understanding of the concept of community empowerment?

15. What mechanisms are currently in place to facilitate community empowerment?
16. What would you consider to be the benefits and limitations of community empowerment?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

17. Did the successes and/or failures of previous low-income housing projects in Paarl influence the provision of Housing Scheme 59? Please elaborate.

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

18. Did the development take longer than anticipated?

________________________________________________________________________

19. If yes, why?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
20. Do you think that the community is satisfied with their houses?

21. Did the municipality conduct a past-occupation survey to test levels of dissatisfaction/satisfaction with the housing development?
Appendix 9: Open space and church site