The Witsand Human Settlement Project: A Participatory Process to establish a Sustainable Human Settlement?

by

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Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Sustainable Development Planning and Management in the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences at Stellenbosch University

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March 2013

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DECLARATION

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Date: 14 February 2013

ABSTRACT

South Africa is experiencing a number of challenges, which have led to developmental backlogs, housing shortages and growing informal areas. At the same time, the country is also experiencing sustainability problems, such as climate change, biodiversity loss and resource shortages. Strategies to address these challenges do not always provide adequate space for participatory structures as suggested by Local Agenda 21. Social sustainability (the ability of communities to collaborate in order to promote sustainability) is a fundamental component of sustainable development. An essential ingredient of social sustainability is to maintain and develop the stock of social capital (social bonds, relationships of trust, and connectedness in groups and networks). The existence of conflict and distrust in communities therefore makes cooperation for development and sustainability very difficult.

The purpose of this study was to examine and evaluate a specific case study, namely the Witsand Integrated Energy Environment Empowerment Cost Optimisation (iEEECO) Human Settlement Project, situated near Atlantis within the City of Cape Town, with regard to lessons about the process towards sustainable human settlements and sustainability. This case study was chosen because it is a so-called People's Housing Project that has also been developed as an ecological sustainable project. The study specifically aimed to establish whether and how participation was implemented as part of this project and how effective this had been in promoting social sustainability, since it had also been a conflict-ridden project. The case study methodology was used where interviews, direct observation and focus groups sessions were conducted. Finally, the study reports on the findings and formulates recommendations based on the case study on some of the ways to improve sustainability.

The process of learning about this community was like unpeeling an onion, that started with the impression of a successful sustainable human settlement, but ended up with the knowledge that it is a project, which despite more than usual efforts made to implement sustainability principles and participation, remains conflict ridden and fragmented. The community is presently represented by two community organisations (of which one does not support sustainability principles). It also seems as if few community members felt that

they had really been involved in the participation process, with many relegated to make up numbers in meetings, with no real involvement in the process.

The level of illiteracy within the community is high and rumours abound, which at one stage led to houses of community leaders, as well as field workers employed by the municipality to monitor extension of shacks, being stoned and burnt. Municipal policies to use local people as gate-keepers to keep informal areas from growing are contributing to these problems. Changes in housing policies regarding contributory payments are also adding to conflict within the community, which adds fuel to rumours of corruption.

In the context of a shortage of space where people can legally build their own shacks, a shortage of public facilities like schools and clinics, as well as employment opportunities, this project cannot yet be regarded as an integrated sustainable human settlement.The lessons that this case study teaches us is about the path towards sustainability, is that it is a complex process, which requires a bigger focus on social sustainability and on conflict transformation. Social sustainability requires more and better participation and transparency in policy-making, as well as changes in policies to promote more fairness, justice, and the building of social capital. Co-production, where state and citizens work together to provide basic services, has much to offer as a method of participation, especially if initiated and run by grassroots organisations.

OPSOMMING

Suid-Afrika beleef 'n aantal uitdagings, wat gelei het tot ontwikkelingsagterstande, behuisingstekorte en groeiende informele gebiede. Terselfdertyd ondervind die land ook volhoubaarheidsprobleme, soos klimaatverandering, die verlies aan biodiversiteit en hulpbron-tekorte. Strategieë om hierdie uitdagings aan te spreek, laat nie altyd voldoende ruimte vir deelnemende strukture soos voorgestel deur Plaaslike Agenda 21 nie. Sosiale volhoubaarheid (die vermoeë van gemeenskappe om saam te werk ten einde volhoubaarheid te bevorder) is 'n fundamentele komponent van volhoubare ontwikkeling. 'n Noodsaaklike bestanddeel van sosiale volhoubaarheid is om die voorraad van sosiale kapitaal (sosiale gom, verhoudings van vertroue, en verbondenheid in groepe en netwerke) in stand te hou en te ontwikkel. Die bestaan van konflik en wantroue in gemeenskappe maak dus samewerking vir ontwikkeling en volhoubaarheid baie moeilik.

 Die doel van hierdie studie was om 'n spesifieke gevallestudie te ondersoek en te evalueer, naamlik die Witsand Geïntegreerde Energie en Omgewing Bemagtiging Koste Optimisering (iEEECO) Menslike Nedersetting Projek, naby Atlantis binne die Stad Kaapstad, met betrekking tot lesse oor die proses na volhoubare menslike nedersettings en volhoubaarheid. Hierdie gevallestudie is gekies omdat dit is 'n sogenaamde gemeenskapsbehuisingprojek (People's Housing Project) is, wat ook as 'n ekologiese volhoubare projek ontwikkel is. Die studie is spesifiek daarop gemik om vas te stel of en hoe deelname as deel van hierdie projek geïmplementeer is en hoe effektief dit was om sosiale volhoubaarheid te bevorder of nie, aangesien dit ook 'n konflik-geteisterde projek was. Die gevallestudie metodologie is gebruik, waar onderhoude, direkte waarneming en fokusgroep sessies onderneem is. Ten slotte doen die studie verslag oor die bevindings en formuleer aanbevelings oor hierdie gevalle studie ten opsigte van metodes hoe om deelname te verbeter om volhoubaarheid te bevorder.

Die proses van leer oor hierdie gemeenskap was soos om 'n ui af te skil, wat begin het met die indruk van 'n suksesvolle volhoubare menslike nedersetting, maar geëindig het met die wete dat dit 'n projek is, wat ten spyte van meer as die gewone pogings om volhoubaarheidsbeginsels en deelname te implementeer, deur konflik en fragmentasie gepla is. Dit word verteenwoordig

deur twee gemeenskapsorganisasies (waarvan een nie volhoubaarheid beginsels ondersteun nie). Dit blyk ook asof min gemeenskapslede regtig voel dat hulle in die deelname proses betrokke was, met baie wat voel dat hulle gerelegeer was tot getalle by vergaderings, sonder regtige betrokkenheid in die proses

Die vlak van ongeletterdheid in die gemeenskap is hoog en gerugte doen die ronde, wat op een stadium gelei het tot die steniging en verbrand van huise van gemeenskap leiers, sowel as veldwerkers wat deur die munisipaliteit aangestel is om die uitbreiding van plakkershutte te monitor. Dit blyk dat die munisipale beleid om plaaslike mense te gebruik as poort-wagte om die groei van informele gebiede te keer, bydra tot hierdie probleme. Veranderinge in behuising beleid ten opsigte van bydraende betalings dra ook by tot konflik binne die gemeenskap, wat gerugte van korrupsie aanvuur.

In die konteks van 'n tekort aan ruimte waar mense wettiglik hul eie informele huise kan bou, 'n tekort aan openbare fasiliteite soos skole en klinieke, asook werksgeleenthede, kan hierdie projek nog nie beskou word as 'n geïntegreerde volhoubare menslike nedersetting nie. Die lesse wat hierdie gevallestudie ons kan leer oor die roete na volhoubaarheid, is dat dit 'n komplekse proses is, wat 'n groter fokus op sosiale volhoubaarheid en konflik transformasie vereis. Sosiale volhoubaarheid vereis meer en beter deelname en deursigtigheid in die maak van beleid, sowel as veranderinge in beleide om meer regverdigheid en geregtigheid te bevorder, asook die uitbou van sosiale kapitaal. Ko-produksie, waar staat en burgers saam werk om basiese dienste te lewer, het baie om te bied as 'n metode van deelname, veral as dit geïnisieer en gelei word deur voetsoolvlak organisasies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank:

1. God, Almighty for the strength He gave me to successfully climb this mountain
2. My supervisor, Anneke Muller for her dedication and immeasurable patience to ensure that I succeed with my studies
3. My colleagues Lisa, Haveena, Naledi, Manda and the Sustainability Institute staff for their prayers and unbelievable support
4. Eve Annecke for her persuasion
5. The Witsand community for the interviews and making my work to be a success.
6. All the people I interviewed and those who provided me with information, I wouldn't have made it without them
7. My parents, Nomatheko and Zuzile Magida for their prayers, encouragement and motivation when I struggled to cope with pressure
8. My sisters, Ncediwe and Babalwa for their invaluable backing financially and otherwise
9. My wonderful daughters, Milisa and Azizipho who had to stay without their father for years but remained warm and loving
10. All the family friends that kept including me in their prayers

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
BA	Beneficiary Assessment
BNG	Breaking New Ground
CBD	Central Business District
CBO's	Community Based Organisations
CoCT	City of Cape Town
CPA	Communal Property Association
CRO's	Community Resource Organisations
CTA	Chief Technical Advisor
CWS	Community Water Supply
DA	Democratic Alliance
DAG	Development Action Group
DEA	Department of Environmental Affairs
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DoH	Department of Housing
EECO	Energy Environment Cost Optimisation
EPG	Empowered Participatory Governance
EPHP	Enhanced People's Housing Process
FBO's	Faith Based Organisations
FEPD	Forum for Effective Planning and Development
HSTT	Housing Support Task Team
HUDCO	Housing and Urban Development Corporation

IDP	**Integrated Development Plan**
iEEECO	**Integrated Energy Environment Empowerment Cost Optimisation**
IFC	**International Finance Corporation**
ISUP	**Informal Settlements Upgrading Programme**
KCIHT	**Kutlwanong Civic Integrated Housing Trust**
LA 21	**Local Agenda 21**
LED	**Local Economic Development**
MEC	**Member of the Executive Council**
MINMEC	**Ministers and Members of Executive Council**
NDoHS	**National Department of Human Settlements**
NGO's	**Non-Governmental Organisations**
NSFD	**National Framework for Sustainable Development**
NHC	**National Housing Code**
NHPSP	**National Housing Policy and Subsidy Programmes**
NP	**National Party**
NSSD	**National Strategy for Sustainable Development**
NNP	**New National Party**
OCGT	**Open Cycle Gas Turbine**
PHP	**People's Housing Process**
PHPT	**People's Housing Partnership Trust**
PoA	**Programme of Action**
PTO	**Permission to Occupy**
RDP	**Reconstruction and Development Programme**

SA	**South Africa**
SAHPF	**South African Homeless People's Federation**
SANCO	**South African National Civic Organisation**
SDI	**Shack Dwellers International**
SI	**Sustainability Institute**
SMME's	**Small Medium and Micro Enterprises**
SCSP	**Sustainable Communities Support Programme**
UISP	**Upgrading of Informal Settlement Policy**
UNCHS	**United Nations Centre for Human Settlements**
UNDP	**United Nations Development Programme**
UNEP	**United Nations Environment Programme**
UNFCCC	**United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change**
UNWCED	**United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development**
USAID	**United States Agency for International Development**
WEHBSO	**Witsand iEEECO Housing Beneficiary Support Organisation**
WHC	**Witsand Housing Committee**
WHSP	**Witsands Human Settlement Project**
WCED	**World Commission on Environment and Development**

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CHAPTER 1: AN OVERVIEW

1.1 BACKGROUND

South Africa is presently experiencing a number of challenges, inter alia a fast growing population, which together with urbanisation pressures and housing and service delivery backlogs from the Apartheid era, have led to housing shortages and growing informal areas. In addition, the economy does not address the problems of joblessness, poverty and persistent and increasing inequalities. This has resulted in the service delivery protests that have escalated in many parts of the country with some leading to the loss of lives. We've also recently experienced strikes over wages in mines and other sectors, fuelled by perceived inequalities, where the employees have been comparing their wages with those of senior management.

The country is also experiencing a number of sustainability problems, such as having to deal with climate change, fast rates of biodiversity loss, water and energy shortages, as well as acid mine drainage. The government has developed various policies and ways of dealing with these challenges. However it remains questionable whether the people on the ground are acquainted with the challenges the country is facing. Nevertheless, there is adequate evidence that the present development path in South Africa cannot be called sustainable.

The world recently celebrated Rio + 20, the 20th birthday of the Rio Conference. Agenda 21 (the agreement signed at the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, also known as the Rio Conference) made calls for countries to develop sustainable development strategies, but it also outlined the responsibilities of local governments in implementing such strategies. Chapter 28 of Agenda 21 is known as Local Agenda 21 (LA 21) and deals with the role of local authorities in promoting sustainability. It also includes a programme of action for the local level. These calls were also reconfirmed at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg during 2002.

Todes (2004: 847, citing ICLEI, 1996) argues that "the LA21 principles in particular stress the establishment of participatory structures which will continue to interface with local government over the longer term, and that are deeply rooted within

communities." The writer further suggests that in numerous definitions of sustainable development, good relationships between local government and civil society, as well as genuine participation, are fundamental. Real (also called genuine or authentic) participation can be defined as "a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, and the decisions and resources which affect them" (Dalal-Clayton and Bass, 2002: 178, citing the World Bank's Learning Group on Participatory Development, 1994). Genuine participation always includes a transfer of power to the relatively disempowered (Arnstein, 1969, as cited by Muller, 2012).

The LA21 call is based on the fact that in the past, development was seen as a 'top down approach' and the beneficiaries were not given a chance to be involved or to make decisions with regard to the development. This means that sustainability requires drastic changes regarding any approach to development. This change in perspective means that those who have been marginalised in the past, be given a voice and should be listened to.

The new approach to development (which is often referred to as the 'bottom-up approach' or people centred approach) is supported by many development writers such as Miraftab (2003), Lyons et al. (2001), Lemanski (2008), and Cheryl McEwan (as cited by Lizarralde, 2008) who also believe that 'participation should be an end in itself'. However this call has not always been heeded by the various stakeholders engaged in development. This is but one of the numerous challenges that face communities in development projects.

As highlighted above, another challenge with regard to the 'bottom-up approach' is the term 'participation' associated with it. The contention is that it is difficult to explain what 'participation' is. For example, Dalal-Clayton and Bass (2002) maintain that it is not exactly clear what the term 'participation' means and as such substantial differences exist with regard to how participation is perceived and understood.

Nevertheless, "there is a high degree of consensus on the need for participation of stakeholders in order to progress towards sustainable development" (Dalal-Clayton & Bass, 2002: 177). This study therefore argues that although participation is critical to 'progress towards sustainable development' as suggested by these writers, it is

also not guaranteed that through participation sustainable development will be attained. The reason is the fact that participation needs to be balanced with sustainability content and increased knowledge about sustainability issues within communities.

At this stage it is imperative to look at the terminology used in this study, and which will be further explored in chapter 2.

1.2 TERMINOLOGY USED IN THIS STUDY

1.2.1 SUSTAINABILITY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Pezzoli (1997 citing O'Connor, 1994: 158) argues that the concept of sustainability can be used to mean almost anything one wants it to mean. As much as this might be the case, Mebratu (1998: 498) maintains that "traditional wisdom has much to offer in terms of living in harmony with nature and in society; this is one of the fundamental tenets of the concept of sustainability." According to the Brundtland Commission, sustainable development is the "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987: Chapter 2 par. 1). Sustainability is often used interchangeably with the concept sustainable development, but O'Riordan *et al.* (2000, as cited by Muller, 2006) believe that sustainable development implies an end point, whereas sustainability is more about a pathway or direction in which to move. The reality of sustainability is however that the concept requires much more drastic changes (to behaviour and ways of doing things) than most people are prepared to accept.

1.2.2 SUSTAINABLE HUMAN SETTLEMENTS AND SUSTAINABLE NEIGHBOURHOODS

Sustainable human settlements and sustainable communities and neighbourhoods are used interchangeably in this study. The reason is that in South Africa the most commonly used term is 'human settlements' whereas other writers prefer to use 'communities' or 'neighbourhoods'. According to the Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy "Sustainable human settlements" refer to:

well-managed entities in which economic growth and social development are in balance with the carrying capacity of the natural systems on which they depend for their existence and result in sustainable development, wealth creation, poverty alleviation and equity.

The Bristol Accord on Sustainable Communities in Europe (2005) is more specific when it defines "Sustainable communities" as:

mixed used areas with a feeling of community. They are places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality of life. They are safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and good services to all.

According to the Bristol Accord the characteristics of sustainable communities are active, inclusive and safe; well run; fair to everyone (including future inhabitants); environmentally sensitive; well designed and built; well connected (with transport to jobs, schools, health and other services); thriving; and well served with services (Colantonio, 2007: 11).

1.2.3 SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

Social sustainability is a concept that also has many divergent definitions and a fully integrated approach to it does not yet exist. However, according to Colantonio (2007: 7) it is a fundamental component of sustainable development and "refers to the personal and societal assets, rules and processes that empower individuals and communities to participate in the long term and [lead to] fair achievement of adequate and economically achievable standards of life based on self-expressed needs and aspirations within the physical boundaries of places and the planet as a whole". According to Manzi et al. (2010: 4 citing Jarvis et al, 2001: 127):

"Social sustainability… is mainly concerned with the relationships between individual actions and the created environment, or the interconnections between individual life chances and institutional structures… This is an issue which has been largely neglected in mainstream sustainability debates."

The Western Australian Centre of Social Services (WACOSS) (as cited in McKenzie, 2004: 18) developed a model of social sustainability, in which they defined it as follows: "Social sustainability occurs when the formal and informal processes, systems, structures and relationships actively support the capacity of current and future generations to create healthy and liveable communities. Socially sustainable communities are equitable, diverse, connected and democratic and provide a good quality of life." The last part of the WACOSS definition refers to the 5 principles of social sustainability.

Social sustainability has been described as a 'quality of societies' and includes skills or assets such as tolerance, personal responsibility, social justice, overcoming disadvantages and co-operative behaviour (Colantonio, 2007:5). Development need to foster environments conducive to social sustainability, including more just and equitable communities. Participation and partnerships in governance during the planning of projects have also been described as "fundamental elements of social sustainability" (Rydin & Pennington, 2000: 153, as cited in Colantonio, 2007: 10).

1.2.4 SOCIAL CAPITAL

According to Goodwin (2003: 1) social capital is one of five types of capital, the others being financial, produced, human and natural capital. Social capital has been described as an essential ingredient of social sustainability (Colantonio, 2007: 2 & 12) and is basically about relationships of trust, knowledge, mutual obligations and reciprocity, networking, associational activity and social norms of conduct within communities (Rydin & Holman, 2004: 118). This includes social networks and norms that help to improve self-reliance, social cohesion, collective decision-making and collective action within communities (Colantonio, 2007: 12). Svendsen and Svendsen (2004: 27 citing Coleman, 1988a: 95) describe social capital as:

> *'People's ability to co-operate in achieving a common goal'. This voluntary co-operation is self-enforcing and establishes an informal institution without any written rules in contrast to forced co-operation enforced by a third party following the written-down rules of a formal institution.*

This is supported by Roseland (2000: 81 citing Coleman 1988 and Putnam *et al.* 1993) when he defines it as a "shared knowledge, understandings, and patterns of interactions that a group of people bring to any productive activity." Putnam (2000, as cited in Rydin and Holman, 2004: 118) distinguishes between 'bonding' and 'bridging' social capital, where bonding capital refers to links within a community or group and bridging capital to links between different communities or groups. Rydin and Holman (2004: 122-123) add 'bracing' capital to this, which they define as "the strengthening of a 'scaffold' of connections between a limited group of people or places, some closer and some further apart". According to them, this describes the "cross-sectoral, cross-scale horizontal and vertical linkages that are involved in many partnerships or governance initiatives".

1.2.5 LIVELIHOODS

 Bryceson, Mbara and Maunder (2003: 178 citing Ellis 2000) maintain that "a livelihood comprises the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital), the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household." The sustainable livelihood approach is based on the view that all communities have strengths, as well as weaknesses, and development has to start by building on these strengths.

1.2.6 PARTICIPATION

According to Dalal-Clayton and Bass, (2002: 178 citing the World Bank's Learning Group on Participatory Development, 1994) participation is "a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, and the decisions and resources which affect them." Various researchers have proposed a link between social capital and participation or collective action. According to Pretty (2003: 1912) "Where social capital is high in formalized groups, people have the confidence to invest in collective activities, knowing others will too".

1.2.7 EMPOWERMENT

It is quite difficult to define 'empowerment' as it is contended that there isn't any proper definition for this term (see Narayan, 2002 and Pieterse, 2008). Yet Essama-

Nssah (2004: 509 citing Narayan, 2002: 14) suggests that the World Bank's framework "defines empowerment as 'the expansion of the assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives'."

According to Bailey (2010: 320) "Empowerment implies a transfer of power between stakeholders. This can happen at a number of different levels: individuals may acquire new skills or powers in relation to others; groups and their representatives may gain in influence and exert greater power over decision-making; and the balance of power may change between organizations involved in partnerships or secure increased resources or compliance from a higher tier authority."

Whereas the Upgrading of Informal Settlement Programme (UISP) refers to empowerment as a way "to address social and economic exclusion by focussing on community empowerment and the promotion of social and economic integration, building social capital through participative processes and addressing the broader social needs of communities" (NHC, 2009). According to Pieterse (2008) the rhetoric of empowerment is often, including in present South Africa, linked to very narrow and instrumentalist approaches to participation, which excludes the power to engage on underlying policies. He argues that an emphasis on 'the political' is important "to retain the seeds of transformative change".

1.2.8 CO-PRODUCTION

According to Mitlin (2008: 340) co-production "refers to the joint production of public services between citizen and state, with any one or more elements of the production process being shared." It is a strategy for improving the provision of basic services and as such has been used by some grassroots organisations so that they can reinforce their political position and also attend to their development needs. According to Muller (2012) co-production is a form of higher intensity participation, at the same level as the top three rungs on Sherry Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (partnerships, delegated power and citizen control). These are all degrees of citizen power, compared to the lower rungs on the ladder which Arnstein calls non-participation (such as one-way communication) or degrees of tokenism (two-way communication, but without any transfer of power).

1.2.9 CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

According to Lederach (2003) conflict transformation goes beyond particular procedures (conflict resolution and facilitation) which are mostly used to try and solve conflict, by trying to understand the underlying causes of conflict within a specific community. This is caused by the fact that it entails 'a way of looking and seeing', which provides one with a different view of what causes the social conflict. This way makes an individual able to identify the unique features of conflict by assisting in getting a clear perspective of the source of conflict.

Auvinin and Kivimäki (2001: 65 & 77) argue that conflict transformation in South Africa economic has been relatively successful in transforming political and perception structures, but not as successful in transforming the structures underlying economic conflict. According to them the theory of peace and conflict differentiates between 3 levels of conflict, namely expressions of violence (dealt with through crisis management to de-escalate the conflict); the disputes that motivate the violence (dealt with through dispute resolution and peace treaties) and then the conflict structures underlying these disputes (dealt with by conflict transformation and addressing the root-causes of these conflicts) (Auvinen & Kivimäki, 2001: 65 – 66).

1.2.10 URBANISATION

Kok and Collinson (2006: 17) suggested that "urbanisation can therefore be defined formally as the increase in the urban population of a country or area due to the following components of urban population growth: (a) urban natural increase, (b) urban net migration, and (c) the reclassification of parts of the rural population into the category 'urban' (due to the sprawl of existing urban areas into their rural surroundings or the development of new towns in former rural areas)." Urbanisation processes also lead to demographic changes (falling death and later, birth rates), as well as social and cultural changes within communities (such as changing attitudes to marriage, family life, work, the growth of individualisation, nuclear families, etc.).

1.2.11 BREAKING NEW GROUND

Breaking New Ground (BNG) is a housing policy adopted by the government in 2006. According to Mammon and Ewing (2005) "this policy is a comprehensive and approved housing delivery policy programme which acknowledges the need to see housing as an instrument to spatial restructuring by creating sustainable human settlements."

1.2.12 PEOPLE'S HOUSING PROCESS

The People's Housing Process (PHP) is a housing programme which was introduced in 2005 with its aim "to support households who wish to enhance their subsidies by building or organising the building of the homes themselves" (National Housing Code: 2007).

1.2.13 ENHANCED PEOPLE'S HOUSING PROCESS

The Enhanced People's Housing Process (EPHP) is the housing programme which replaced the PHP in 2009 and has "dedicated support and funding for harnessing community initiative, community empowerment and building community partnerships" (National Housing Code, 2009). This programme further promotes the active participation of beneficiaries to make decisions with regard to the housing development.

1.2.14 THE UPGRADING OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENT POLICY/PROGRAMME

The Upgrading of Informal Settlement Programme (UISP), "is aimed at the *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements", (National Housing Policy and Subsidy Programmes, 2010: 7). Although the beneficiaries may ultimately (as the last stage of the process) apply for the construction of their houses, this programme is basically about establishing serviced stands. The programme also focuses on empowerment and community participation as being central to its implementation.

1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM

In the light of the sustainability debate (to be discussed in detail in the next chapter), the purpose of this study was to examine and evaluate a specific case study, namely

the Witsand Human Settlement project (WHSP), situated near Atlantis within the City of Cape Town (CoCT) with regard to lessons that this case can teach us about the role participation can play in the development of sustainable human settlements or communities. This project is a so-called People's Housing Project, which has also been developed as an ecological sustainable project, namely the Witsand Integrated Energy Environment Empowerment Cost Optimisation (iEEECO) Human Settlements project. The goal of this project was to promote energy-efficiency, environmental protection and empowerment in a housing development; hence it is referred to as an iEEECO project.

The iEEECO^{TM1} methodology is referred to as a methodology that is community driven and ensures that the people are involved in the 'human settlement design and implementation'. It is therefore critical for this study to evaluate if the WHSP adheres to certain principles of sustainable development, as discussed in chapter 2. When assessing this project with regard to participation and sustainability, the study also explored what the People's Housing Process (PHP) policy entails (chapter 3), as it forms the foundation of this project. Also examined was the impacts other policies, such as the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP); and policies on participation and urbanisation, had on the WHSP since it became clear at an early stage that some of these policies contributed to conflict.

The study explored whether and how the development assisted in empowering the community. In addition, the study enquired into how the environment was brought into the project, how ecological features (e.g. energy efficiency, water efficiency, etc.) were implemented, and what the outcomes of these were. However the assessment of this study focussed more on participation and empowerment and not as much on the sustainability outcomes, because of the complexity and longer term implications of these issues.

As Davids, Theron and Maphunye (2005: 152) put it, participation of people in the development process "is an essential part of human growth, the development of self-confidence, pride, initiative, creativity, responsibility, cooperation, skills and capacity." Participation however (as it will be argued in the next chapter) is inherent

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[1] This methodology is the trade mark of PEER Africa

to social sustainability which is critical for sustainability. Participation also requires an important element known as 'social capital'.

1.4 AIMS OF STUDY

The study specifically aims to establish the role played by participation in developing the sustainable human settlement in the WHSP. In the process this study also looked at the following:

- The effectiveness the People's Housing Process and of the public-private partnership in the WHSP,

- How the development has assisted in empowering the community, or not, as the case may be,

- How sustainability was brought into the project, through the implementation of ecological features (such as for example, energy efficiency), and how this contributed to sustainable human settlements,

- The role played by the different policies (i.e. Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme and urbanisation) in conflict within the WHSP,

The study will formulate recommendations with regard to the implications of this project for the development of a well-balanced participatory process as part of constructing sustainable human settlements or sustainable communities.

1.5 METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

The study is a case study of a specific project, situated in the Cape Town Municipal area, and also made use of various methodological strategies which include a literature review, qualitative methods and participatory research or participatory action research (PAR).

Literature review – The study starts off with a literature review of issues relating to sustainability, sustainable human settlements, low cost housing, participation and conflict. Mouton (2001: 87) describes the literature review as a way of learning from other scholars "how they have theorised and conceptualised on issues, what they

have found empirically, what instrumentation they have used and to what effect." This means that I studied the various arguments offered by various scholars on specific issues or topics (in this case "participation", 'empowerment' and 'sustainability') and the relevance of these for this study.

Case studies – According to Mouton (2001: 149) case studies are "studies that are usually qualitative in nature and that aim to provide an in-depth description of a small number (less than 50) of cases." However (Levy 2008: 2 citing Gerring, 2007: chapter 2) argues that "despite the widespread use of case study methods throughout the social sciences, no consensus has emerged as the proper definition, either of a case or a case study."

Various authors such as Mouton (2001), Eisenhardt (1989)[2] and Yin (2008)[3] concur that through a comprehensive study of a specific situation one is able to discover the dynamics involved in that particular case. While, Flyvbjerg (2001) agrees with these authors that a case study involves a thorough investigation of a particular case, he nevertheless disagrees with the depiction which maintains that the case study "cannot provide reliable information about the broader class"[4]. The writer argues that a single case study can be used to generalise as it is depending on the particular case referred to and how it has been identified. However "formal generalisation is widely overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas "the force of example" and transferability are underestimated" (Flyvbjerg, 2011: 305).

Case study research is very useful to analyse power relations, including ethical and value related matters in social spaces. "It can aid in the struggle for democratic, accountable, and inclusive planning practice by explaining how decisions are taken, to what end, and to whose benefit" (Association of African Planning Schools, 2012: 6). According to the Association of African Planning School's Case Research Toolkit (2012, citing Nnkya, 2008) understanding power relationships is critical for the

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[2] "The case study is a research strategy which focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single settings" (Eisenhardt, 1989: 534).
[3] "Generally speaking, *case study methods* are used to probe deeply and intensively to gain insight and understandings of phenomena that are new, not understood, or unexamined." (Yin, 2008: 59)
[4] The Dictionary of Sociology describes a case study as: *"*The detailed examination of a single example of a class of phenomena, a case study cannot provide reliable information about the broader class, but it may be useful in the preliminary stages of an investigation since it provides hypotheses which may be tested systematically with a larger number of cases." *(*Flyvbjerg, 2001: 66)

knowledge associated with how the social spaces and resources have been unevenly dispersed within societies.

Yet, a case study presents a dynamic process which requires a researcher to undertake a proper analysis of the events which brought about the current situation. As a researcher I consulted as widely as possible with various role-players, to try to understand what happened in the past, which might have led to the current predicament in the Witsand Housing Settlement project. Different inputs by different individuals gave me a broader perspective. A case study also requires that one visits the location (s) as frequently as possible "to develop a 'feel' for its specific geographic, social and institutional context" (Association of African Planning Schools, 2012: 12). This was quite a challenge for me as researcher, as I did not have a big enough research budget for a lot of travelling. As such, in addition to attending a couple of community meetings, I also relied on minutes of the meetings of the development. In so doing, I might have missed something valuable for my study.

Participatory observations had also been made through attending meetings and conducting a workshop attended by some of the community leaders (which will be explained in more detail later). Interviews have also been held with various people such as community leaders, municipal officials and community members. Different sources have been used to collect further information about Atlantis and surrounding areas of Witsand, including books, articles, videos, PowerPoint presentations and research papers.

Qualitative methods - Mouton (2001) argues that in order to understand and have insight into life-worlds of research participants, qualitative methods should be used. The key purpose of using qualitative research according to Babbie and Mouton (2001) is to describe and understand human behaviour. This is because "qualitative researchers attempt always to study human action from the perspective of the social actors themselves (also referred to by anthropologists as the "emic" perspective)", (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 2o70). Therefore qualitative research was conducted as part of this study, which focused on collecting and analysing data in various forms, but mainly non-numerical.

Participatory research - Babbie and Mouton (2001: 314) argue that "today PAR is one of the most widely used research approaches that is characterised by a participatory element." According to Mouton (2001) PAR are studies that involve research participants as an essential element of the design.

Mouton (2001: 150) argues that "most types of PAR have an explicit (political) commitment to the empowerment of participants and to changing the social conditions of the participants." This is accentuated by other writers which argue that participation should result in empowerment[5].

Interviews – Semi-structured interviews were conducted, where questions were pre-planned. However, as the interviews progressed and new information acquired, the original questions had to be adapted. The interviews were mostly carried out personally, although some had to be telephonically or through e-mails, due to unavailability of the interviewees for personal interviews. Interviews were held with various people, including amongst others government officials, councillors, former councillors, community organisation representatives (for example, SANCO representative), committee members of the different housing structures (for example, WEHBSO and Masiphumelele), former committee members of the housing structures, representatives of private organisations involved in the WHSP (for example, PEER Africa), representatives of civic organisations from other communities who played a role in the WHSP (for example, KCIHT) and community members.

Direct observation – Direct observations were also undertaken, when I attended the various participatory sessions. As mentioned earlier, this was quite a costly exercise for me since, in order to attend these sessions, I had to travel quite far from my home to Witsand. These sessions were sometimes held three times a week and as such I failed to attend all sessions, as the study was not funded. This might have caused me to miss valuable information for the study.

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[5] "Participation of the community stakeholder or beneficiaries in the development process acknowledges that development should relate to empowering and liberating people" (Davids et al, 2005: 151).

Focus group – Since I was facilitating the Sustainable Communities Support Programme (SCSP) which is mentioned below. I had an opportunity to meet a group of community members who were participants in the programme and they acted as a focus group. During the deliberations I was able to get valuable information. This will be explained in detail later on in this study.

1.6 ABOUT THE CASE STUDY

This case study was specifically chosen because it incorporated sustainability principles which included, amongst others, ecological design and empowerment. This was quite important for my study as I believe that pursuing 'business as usual' when creating human settlements does not contribute to the global agenda of sustainable development. As the iEEECO methodology also indicated that there had been an empowerment process within the WHSP, I wanted to investigate how the community members have been empowered through the bottom-up participation approach.

I also had an opportunity at a later stage to get involved in the Sustainable Communities Support Programme (SCSP)[6], which was a programme instituted by the National Department of Human Settlement (NDoHS). The organisation that I work for in Stellenbosch (the Sustainability Institute (SI)) signed a memorandum of agreement with the NDoHS in 2008 to create a 3 year programme to capacitate officials and communities on the 'Breaking New Ground' (BNG) policy.

This was an opportunity for me to get a closer look at the case study, about which I knew very little at that stage. Before selecting the case study I had an opportunity to visit the settlement with government officials who were attending various housing courses at the SI. Community leaders that will be mentioned later on in this study captured my eye as they made presentations to the audience. They seemed to be very clear and in control of the project, depicting an 'empowered' community and a good participatory planning process.

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[6] This Support Programme was a national programme where 55 officials from relevant departments and 55 housing beneficiaries were to be nominated in each province to be part of the programme. The provincial capacity directorates were also to nominate a project or two projects (as it had happened with most provinces) to be part of the programme. The Western Cape Province nominated the WHSP in Atlantis and the Isiqalo Human Settlement in Khayelitsha as the two projects that would be involved in the programme

However it should be indicated upfront that I was not aware of the conflict that existed within the community, as will be revealed later in this study. When I started with the research I was not immediately informed that two housing committees existed and that some of the community members were against the sustainability principles being implemented. Getting closer to the project by conducting interviews and also being involved in the SCSP was of great help as more was revealed about the internal squabbles and tensions within the WHSP. It was like unpeeling an onion, with layers and layers of information, with original impressions changing as more information became available.

1.7 ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH

Homan (1991:1 cites Karhausen, 1987) argues that "in its grandest form, ethics may be recognised as a philosophical discipline 'primarily concerned with the evaluation and justification of norms and standards of personal and interpersonal behaviour'". According to Babbie and Mouton (2001: 520) "ethical issues arise out of interaction with other people, other beings (such as animals), and the environment, especially where there is potential for, or is, a conflict of interests".

Babbie and Mouton (2001) maintain that there is a challenge in identifying between right or wrong. What one regards as the right thing to do, may not necessarily be right for others. These writers further argue that often when people proclaim to be doing the right thing, it might be because of what they stand to benefit; conversely it might be harmful to others.

Babbie & Mouton (2001: 520) therefore contend that "in many cases, ethical choices involve a trade-off or compromise between the interests and rights of different parties". An example provided is that when interviewing people the researcher is exercising his/her right to gather information, however the right to privacy of the people involved should also not be violated.

It is therefore imperative that before conducting social scientific research, the researcher should investigate the correct procedures of doing the research. This study therefore looked at what could be considered ethical and unethical before conducting social research.

In my research I have done the following to promote ethical research:

- Even though I do not artificially refer to myself in the third person ('the researcher') in this study, I tried my best to be as independent as one can be in a study of this type. I tried to create distance between my personal feeling and the research in a number of ways, for example, by making sure that I interview all the relevant parties (groups) to the study. When I started with my thesis work, I only knew about one community based organisation, i.e. WEHBSO. When I heard that there was a second community based organisation that was also involved in the housing delivery, i.e. Masiphumelele, I interviewed them as well, to get their side of the story.

- I tried to build trust between myself and the interviewees by identifying myself and explaining the purpose of the research. I fully informed them about the research and guaranteed them that their privacy and sensitivity would be protected.

- Some of the responses by community members had been treated with anonymity and confidentiality, as requested by them. No one will be able to identify any given response with a particular respondent.

- Other interviewees have given me permission to use their names, but not to use all the information or comments provided at interviews.

- I also further investigated any dangers that the interviewees might be subjected to due to the research and I made sure that I upheld the privacy and safety of the interviewees by not revealing the information that would embarrass them or endanger their home life, friendships, jobs, and so forth. It was important for me not to use the names of people when commenting on sensitive issues, as at some stage the community has been involved in violent burning and stoning of some of the community member's houses (as it will be revealed in this study later).

- Instead of names I've used the term 'respondent' and numbered them alphabetically, in no particular order, so that they are not traceable. I've also used made up numbers for houses so that they are not easily traceable[7].

1.8 OVERVIEW OF THE PROJECT

The Witsand informal settlement in Atlantis is one of the many informal settlements in South Africa where the previously disadvantaged people live under inhumane conditions. Historically, the area of Atlantis has been dominated by the coloured community with some whites and Africans[8]. The residents in Witsand lived in wood and tin shacks with limited water and sanitation available to them *(see Photo 1)*.

People settled in Witsand for various reasons, some had lost jobs in nearby farms, others were looking for a place to stay and others had jobs in nearby factories. Some even moved from the Eastern Cape, when the factories they used to work in, moved to Cape Town, while another group came to join friends and relatives with the hope of getting jobs at these factories. However, conditions became even more difficult, as some of the factories later closed down or moved to other areas.

Photo 1: Pre-Project Conditions (Source: D. G. Mothusi, 2001)

At that stage, the Blaauberg municipality (which later became part of the present City of Cape Town) and some community members decided to do something about the situation. The PHP housing development was therefore initiated to avert the

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[7] However, I have provided a list of the real names and house numbers to my supervisor.
[8] The Atlantis area according to Census 2001 was dominated by Afrikaans speaking with 88.07%, with English speaking at 7.88% and Xhosa speaking at 3.35% with others at less than 1 %. (page 51).More information on the area is provided as part of the case study chapter.

problems being experienced and this brought high hopes to the community members that their lives were to change for the better *(see Photo 2).* As indicated above, people were required to be involved in the construction of their own houses. Participation by community members was therefore central to the development *(see Photos 3 and 4).* Stakeholders came together and various structures (such as the Block Committees[9]) were established to facilitate the development *(see Photos 5, 6 and 7).*

Photo 2: Post- Project Conditions (Source: D. G. Mothusi, 2001)

Photo 3 and 4: 07 July 2001 – Community AGM (Source: D. G. Mothusi, 2001)

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[9] Block committees were representatives that were chosen from each block to serve on the WHC/WEHBSO

Photo 5 and 6: 07 July 2001 – Stakeholder meeting and Witsand Community Leaders Meeting – 04 July 2001 (Source: D. G. Mothusi, 2001)

Photo 7: 07 July 2001 – Stakeholder meeting and Witsand Community (Source: D. G. Mothusi, 2001)

When this housing development started, most people were eager to get houses. Unfortunately delays in the project and other problems then became a source of conflict in the community. A lot of accusations were made and this eventually led to violent protests within the community. There was also confrontation between the community and the municipality where the community members levelled serious accusations against the City of Cape Town (CoCT) for the delays.

Allegations of political disagreements or misunderstandings between the provincial government and the CoCT were also cited as reasons for the delay. Certain policies such as the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme and the Housing Subsidy Scheme (as well as the lack of a Land Identification Policy) are also alleged to have been the source of conflict. The mistrust by community members ultimately led to the development of a splinter community-based group. Presently there is an unhealthy

and tense situation with competition between the two community based organisations (CBO's) responsible for housing within the community (i.e. WEHBSO and Masiphumelele), as well as the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) who also claims to be representing the community.

Conversely, there are also quite a number of positive things about the project. It is one of the few projects in South Africa which are based on ecological design principles. Some houses are north orientated to take advantage of natural sunlight so that they can be warmer in winter, thus becoming more energy efficient. They've also developed water efficient and environmentally friendly strategies. However, the breakaway group doesn't support these strategies, rather focussing on the delivery of houses without concentrating on ecological issues.

1.9 AN OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

The literature review in chapter 2 of the study focuses on participation for sustainability and sustainable human settlements. The chapter gives an overview of sustainability issues and also focuses on discussing various theories relating to participation, the different perceptions and definitions of participation, approaches to participation, its pros and cons and how it can strive towards attaining sustainable development. Different concepts are discussed, such as sustainable development, social sustainability, social capital, livelihood, conflict and conflict transformation, participation, empowerment, deep democracy, as well as deliberative democracy.

Chapter 3 deals with relevant policies relating to participation, urbanisation and housing at the national, provincial and local spheres of government, such as the subsidy scheme, the People's Housing Process, as well as the latest policies relating to the upgrading of informal settlements. It also deals with local policies of Cape Town, relating to participation, urbanisation and illegal squatters.

Chapter 4 focuses on the case study, namely the Witsands Human Settlement Project (WHSP). The study explored the various challenges and success stories that the project had experienced during the development. This chapter also assesses the case study.

Chapter 5 provides conclusions and recommendations to the study.

CHAPTER 2: PARTICIPATION FOR SUSTAINABILITY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

"Most people were desiring, not only the vote and an end of racial discrimination, but finally, an opportunity to be citizens with rights to a dignified life free from hunger, exposure to the elements and poverty" (Pieterse, 2008: 3).

The previous chapter briefly looked at the call by LA 21 for countries to develop sustainable development strategies. Writers such as Todes (2004) indicated that the call emphasized the establishment of participatory structures to ensure that sustainable development takes place. Participation and the bottom-up approach to development are supported by a number of development writers as mentioned in chapter 1. However it has also been indicated that there are challenges to participation. This chapter will focus more on participation for sustainability. It will highlight the important aspects such as social sustainability, social capital and empowerment to help ensure that the role of participation in the development process contributes to sustainable human settlements. It will be divided into two sections as follows:

Firstly, this chapter will describe what sustainability is all about. It will look at the origins of the concepts of sustainability and sustainable development. As highlighted in the previous chapter, the country experiences a number of sustainability problems and it is critical that we implement some of the sustainability elements in the development that takes place as a stepping stone towards a sustainable future which we all envisage. However it is vital to first understand the origins and the meaning of these concepts.

The chapter will also focus on how to plan for sustainability with regard to the establishment of sustainable human settlements. This will involve identifying or highlighting the sustainability features in human settlements. It will then briefly explore what South Africa is doing with regard to planning for sustainability. Finally, the study will examine social sustainability as a means to attain sustainability, its relationship with participation, social capital and empowerment.

Secondly, the study will discuss the theory of participation, describing what participation is and investigating approaches to participation, as well as the importance of participation. In addition, the study will also explore the relationship between empowerment and deliberative democracy and deepening democracy.

2.2 SUSTAINABILITY

2.2.1 What is sustainability?

According to the UNDP Report (1998: 1), "living standards have risen to enable hundreds of millions to enjoy housing with hot water and cold, warmth and electricity, transport to and from work." This has led to an increased use of resources and means that people have to find sustainable ways of managing the resources required to establish human settlements that are adequate for all. What do we therefore mean by sustainability? In the introduction in his book called "Green Development", Adams (2009) argues that "the concept of sustainability lies at the core of the challenge of environment and development, and the way governments, business and environmental groups respond to it."

The understanding is that as development takes place this imposes challenges to the environment and therefore governments and others have a responsibility of responding in sustainable ways. This directly speaks to what was mentioned by Mebratu (1998) in chapter 1 that sustainability is about "living in harmony with nature and in society." This is accentuated by Dresner (2002 citing O'Riordan) when he maintains that the originality of the whole sustainability notion was predominantly based on the environment.

Rogers, Jalal and Boyd (2005: 43) argue that "the core idea of sustainability is that current decisions should not impair the prospects for maintaining or improving future living standards." As we are desperate to improve the living conditions of the millions of people in the planet, we should not do that at the expense of better standards that need to be provided in the future. The writers' argument reiterates the definition for sustainable development by the UNWCD in chapter 1.

Swilling (2006) therefore suggests that it is critical for South Africa to take into account the sustainability elements when designing its infrastructure. He maintains

that "sustainable urban infrastructure as the basis for building sustainable neighbourhoods is the only long-term hope for South Africa. It should be the only option worth considering" (Swilling, 2006: 50). Sustainable communities (at neighbourhood, local, city or regional level) have been defined as "mixed used areas with a feeling of community. They are places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality of life. They are safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and goods services to all" (Bristol Accord, 2005, as cited in Colantonio, 2007:11).

2.2.2 The origin of the concept sustainability and sustainable development

According to Adams (2009: 65 citing McCormick, 1986), "in the 1960's, thinking within IUCN began to embrace greater concern for economic development." Later the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) developed a strategy for conservation and development. The strategy initially focussed on wildlife conservation but later included questions around population, resources and development.

However, according to Mebratu (1998: 500) it was the UN Conference on Human Environment held in Stockholm in 1972 that first identified the "importance of environmental assessment as a management tool." The writer further mentions that a group of scientists, later known as the 'Club of Rome', released a detailed report which highlighted that the economic growth of the 1960s and 1970s driven by the business community was threatening to surpass the environmental confines in not so many decades to come.

Mebratu (1998) notes that, since the Stockholm Conference, it became evident that environment and development can no longer be separated. He declares that new terms were generated such as "environment and development," "development without destruction," "environmentally sound development," and ultimately "eco-development" which was first used at the UN Environmental Program review in 1978 (Mebratu, 1998: 501). Adams (2009, citing I. Sachs 1979, 1980) concurs when he

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argues that whenever development was infused with notions and principles of environment it was referred to as 'ecodevelopment'[10].

This was a way of ensuring that the development projects undertaken, do take into consideration the environmental impacts. The World Conservation Strategy (WCS) suggested that responsible parties such as governments or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) develop national strategies to assess development objectives so that they take into consideration conservation objectives. Figure 1 below shows how this was to be implemented.
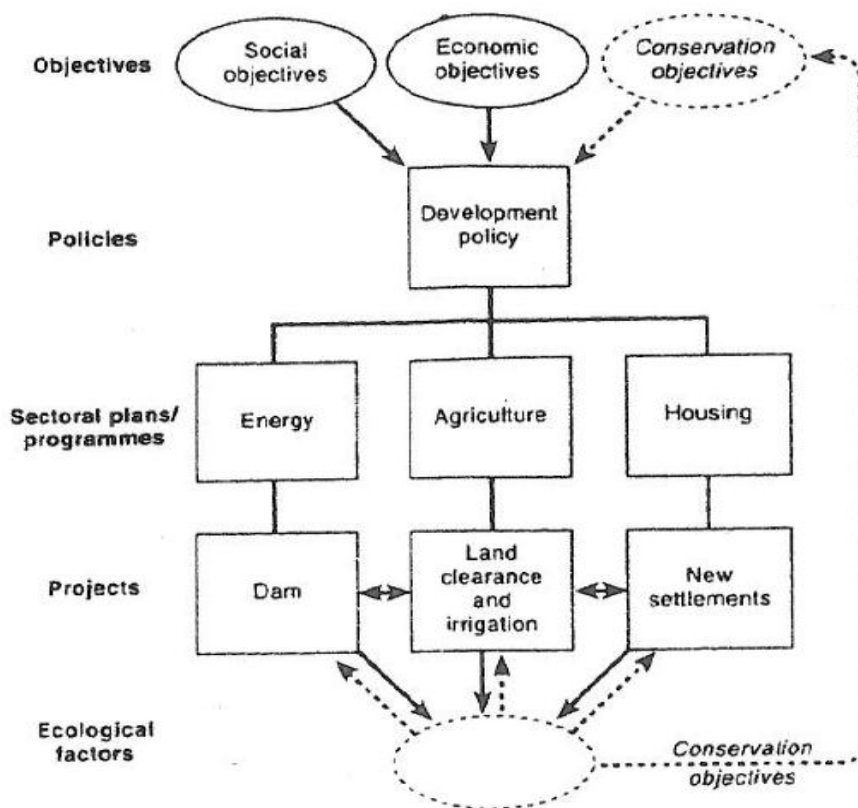
Figure 1 *Different objectives of a development policy* **(Source: Adams 2009: 71)**

Adams (2009) however maintains that during the 1980s there was a change and sustainable development was introduced in the field of politics by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), with its chairperson being the Prime Minister of Norway, Gro Harlem Brundtland. This is the commission known

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[10] "Behind the notion of ecodevelopment lay the awareness of the intrinsic complexity and dynamic properties of ecosystems and the ways they respond to human intervention and the need to ensure the 'environmental soundness' of development projects." (Adams, 2009: 66, citing Ambio 1979: 115).

for the most popular definition of 'sustainable development', mentioned in chapter 1of this study.

Two very important conferences organised by the United Nations, namely, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED, also known as the Rio Conference) in 1992 and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) at Johannesburg in 2002 (Adams 2009), were to discuss the impacts of development on the environment and to oversee the progress that has been made by countries to avert the situation since the WCED report in 1987.

However, it looks like there hasn't been much progress up to date in promoting sustainability. This study however will not go into details of the challenges experienced in the round table discussions, but what is clear is that sustainability requires everyone to do something to promote it. The notion of "think globally and act locally" comes into play. Clayton and Radcliffe (1996: 4) suggest that "there are a number of issues that suggests that we should start planning explicitly for sustainability, for perhaps the first time." This leads to a question of "how do we plan for sustainability?" The following section will attempt to answer this question.

2.2.3 Planning for sustainability

To attain sustainability a different mind-set needs to be applied. Macy and Young-Brown (1998) emphasized the importance of people asking themselves those critical questions which will make them to see and think (and plan) differently[11]. At this juncture it is critical for this discussion to ask the questions that Mebratu (1998: 502) asks about sustainable development, "What does it really mean for each and every community? How can we get beyond generalities and put them into practice? How do we know if we are moving toward a sustainable world?" In this case, how do we know whether the Witsand Human Settlement Project (WHSP) is moving towards the sustainable human settlement we envisage?

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[11] "As part of a larger living whole – be it a society, an ecosystem, or a planet – our comprehension of it is necessarily partial; we cannot stand aloof, blueprints in hand, and deliver final answers. But the questions we ask of ourselves and each other act as a solvent, loosening up encrusted mental structures, and freeing us to think and see in fresh ways." (Macy and Young-Brown,1998: 47)

Wackernagle and Rees (1996) insist that there has been confusion around the meaning and the importance of sustainability and as such has caused the delay in attaining it. This is a result, according to the two writers, of a consciously made confusion by those who decide to ignore the challenges posed by the unsustainable ways, since this clash with their own interests or sometimes because of fear of what is coming. Roberts (2011) claims that the abuse of the environment simply emanates from the accumulation of wealth. Yet Wackernagle and Rees (1996: 35) contend that "the good news is that today so many people accept the sustainability challenge as the first step toward a more secure future."

Gallopin (2003: 7) insists that "it is becoming increasingly clear that the quest for sustainability and sustainable development requires integrating economic, social, cultural, political and ecological factors." The writer further argues that this also requires a change in development approaches[12]. The writer also maintains that the people on the ground should be the active agents in the drive towards sustainability.

It is also critical to be able to understand how the local behaviours can have an impact on the global sphere and vice versa. If people understand the impacts it is therefore possible for everyone to act responsibly. This is supported by the well-known idea of 'thinking globally and acting locally'. The emphasis is also on making sure that present generation and future generations get more equal shares of resources, as well as that resources be divided more equally within generations.

Swilling (2006) suggests that there is a better way of dealing with the current predicament of a great need for development and still be able to attain sustainability[13]. The writer lists those things that are required in designing what he refers to as 'sustainable neighbourhoods'. He suggests that these can be used at the

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[12] "The constructive articulation of the top-down approaches to development with the bottom-up or grassroots initiatives. It requires the simultaneous consideration of the local and global dimensions and of the way they interact. And it requires broadening the spatial and temporal horizons to accommodate the need for intra-generational as well as inter-generational equity."(Gallopin, 2003: 7)

[13] "For many of the poorest neighbourhoods, sustainability means in the first instance investments in decent housing, more and better services, and neighbourhood facilities and infrastructure (both built and natural). However, their limited household incomes means they need to be protected from service systems that will be a constant drain on their finances, such as energy systems that are dependent on oil or grid electricity, transport systems that will become increasingly expensive as the oil price goes up, and sanitation options that become increasingly costly to maintain. Solar water heaters and LP gas stoves solve most of the first problem; rail and taxis that run on biogas or hydrogen resolve the second problem. Both are technical feasible, cheaper to operate and cost less capital account. The only scarce commodity is the imagination that is required to make it happen." (Swilling 2006: 11)

household level, at the neighbourhood level and at city level. Swilling (2006: 47-48) suggests the following:

- Transition to renewable energy alternatives and energy efficiency

- Zero waste via re-use of all waste outputs as productive inputs

- Sustainable transport, with a major focus on public transport

- Sustainable construction materials and building methods

- Local and sustainable food

- Valuing authentic cultural diversity, community and citizen participation

To this list can be added the issues mentioned in the Bristol Accord (2005), as mentioned in Chapter 1. In the light of the sustainability debate, it looks like there is a need for each country to have a plan to help it move towards a sustainable future. This study will therefore briefly look on the South Africa's development plans that aim to progress the country towards sustainability.

2.2.3.1 The South African National Development Plan and the National Strategy for Sustainable Development

The South African government has therefore taken an initiative to develop a plan known as the National Development Plan: Vision for 2030 (National Planning Commission, 2011). This plan seeks to address the issues of poverty and inequality. It intends doing this by focussing on creating jobs; expanding the infrastructure; transition to a low-carbon economy; transforming urban and rural spaces; improving education and training; providing quality health care; building a capable state; fighting corruption and through transformation and unity.

As indicated above sustainability therefore will require the integration of various forms of planning such as economic, spatial, infrastructure and environmental. This necessitates those in power to be more proactive and strategic in their approach. As Healy (1994: 52) suggests, "it is recognised that planning expertise involves a way of thinking, acting and valuing". This also calls for other planning approaches such as

communicative planning (see Watson 2005 citing Forester, 1989; and also Foley & Lauria, 2000) and collaborative planning (see Margerum, 1999 and also Innes & Booher, 2000) which require full representation by all stakeholders or interests groups; an open, sincere and comprehensive interaction between stakeholders, communication of ideas, diversity and interdependence between participants; all participants be equally informed and listened to and consensus decision making agreed upon by the majority of participants and concerted efforts made to gratify the interests of all stakeholders.

South Africa has previously attempted to adopt a similar approach through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The RDP office according to Harrison (2006) established the Forum for Effective Planning and Development (FEPD) to produce planning approaches that are integrated, multifaceted, participatory, and long term. The FEPD defined integrated development planning as "…a participatory approach to integrate economic, sectoral, spatial, social, institutional, environmental and fiscal strategies in order to support the optimal allocation of scarce resources between sectors and geographical areas and across the population in a manner that provides sustainable growth, equity and the empowerment of the poor and the marginalised" (FEPD 1995: Vol 1 as cited by Harrison, 2006: 194).

However, as indicted in the National Development Plan (National Planning Commission, 2011), the RDP has been unable to attain some of the important objects especially in reducing poverty and deprivation. The plan cites the government's biggest mistake of being highly optimistic about the capability of the state and that there was lack of coordination within government. The various departments were not working together and there was also no coordinated plan between public and private sectors and also the civil society. Other factors however were external, for example, the impact by the Asian crisis in 1998, the rand collapsing in 2001, the world's financial woes in 2008 and how trade patterns and investment in the world changed dramatically. The National Development Plan therefore intends to correct such mistakes by government as cited above and develop a new approach "one that moves from passive citizenry receiving services

from the state to one that systematically includes the socially and economically excluded, where people are active champions of their own development, and where government works effectively to develop people's capabilities to lead the lives they desire" (National Planning Commission, 2011: 1 – 2).

Whilst the National Development Plan is focussing on a long-term vision for sustainable development in the country, the National Strategy for Sustainable Development[14] also known as NSSD 1 (2009-2014) on the other hand has a five-year strategy and action plan. The strategy acknowledges the substantial growth that the country has made since independence; however it still believes that there are enormous challenges to development that need to be attended to in a way that follows the principles of sustainable development. The NSSD 1 "presents an understanding of sustainable development and explains the route that is being taken" (DEA, 2010: 6). The strategy extends an invitation to all stakeholders to be involved in discussions that are continuous and beneficial to all South Africans.

NSSD 1 started in 2003 and has been done in phases[15] consists of visions, goals and strategic priorities for sustainable development, the implementation including monitoring and evaluating progress that is being made to achieve the goal of sustainability. NSSD 1 will then, after evaluation with regard to the progress made, inform NSSD 2 (2015 – 2020). The National Framework for Sustainable Development (NFSD) (DEAT, 2006:11) which preceded the NSSD 1 has its vision for a sustainable society stating that:

> *South Africa aspires to be a sustainable, economically prosperous and self-reliant nation state that safeguards its democracy by meeting the fundamental human needs of its people, by managing its limited ecological resources responsibly for current and future generations, and by advancing efficient and effective integrated planning and governance through national, regional and global collaboration.*

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[14] The National Strategy for Sustainable Development and Action Plan builds on the National Framework for Sustainable Development which was approved by the Cabinet in 2008 and also on other several initiatives that have been launched by business sector, government, NGOs, civil society, academia and other key role players to address issues of sustainability in South Africa (National Strategy for Sustainable Development, p 6)

[15] Phase 1 was during 2003 – 2008 and involved an analysis of long-term economic, social and environmental trends and related policy initiatives. Phase 2 was during 2009 – 2010 and involved the formulation of a strategy and action plan for the period 2010 – 2014 to facilitate the vision, goals and strategic priorities outlined in the NFSD. Lastly, Phase 3 has been from 2011 – 2014 and onwards constitutes the formal implementation of the Action Plan (NSSD 1, p8).

Underpinning this vision is a number of principles such as the fundamental principles, substantive principles and process principles. The fundamental principles which are of interest to this study are said to relate to the fundamental human rights as enshrined in the South African Constitution which advocate human dignity and social equity; justice and fairness; democratic governance and a healthy and safe environment. The NSSD 1 also outlines five strategic priorities[16] which have associated Action Plans that speak to sustainable development and priority 4 is 'Building sustainable communities'. The South African government has therefore taken an initiative to plan for sustainability which is quite a positive move. However it has yet to be seen if there is a political will to convert what is on paper to action.

Looking at the above issues one may establish that sustainability entails different aspects; however as indicated in the National Development Plan people have a critical role in attaining sustainability. The study will therefore look at this role which is referred to as the social aspect.

2.2.4 Social sustainability and social capital

Earlier it has been mentioned that Mebratu (1998) described sustainability as 'living in harmony with nature and in society'. It is therefore vital to look at what did this writer mean by 'living in harmony in society'. Also what does Swilling (2006) mean when suggesting that in neighbourhoods it is important to 'value authentic cultural diversity, community and citizen participation'?

Blewitt (2008) argues that to address the ecological crisis also depends on how the people engage with one another 'as social beings'. The writer further argues that "ecological harmony is dependent on social harmony" (Blewitt 2008: 34). The best way to explain what these writers mean is for this study to explain what social sustainability is all about. Social sustainability as a concept is one of the dimensions or pillars of sustainability and originates from the social issues which have been incorporated into the sustainable development discourse in the late 1990s.

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[16] NSSD 1 strategic priorities are as follows: Priority 1: Enhancing systems for integrated planning and implementation; priority 2: Sustaining our ecosystems and using natural resources efficiently; priority 3: Towards a green economy and priority 5: Responding effectively to climate change.

According to Colantonio (2007: 7) social sustainability "refers to the personal and societal assets, rules and processes that empower individuals and communities to participate in the long term and [lead to] fair achievement of adequate and economically achievable standards of life based on self-expressed needs and aspirations within the physical boundaries of places and the planet as a whole". Colantonio (2007: 5) further suggests that included are skills or assets such as tolerance, personal responsibility, social justice, overcoming disadvantages and co-operative behaviour.

As indicated earlier to reduce poverty and deprivation, people need to play an active role, however as Colantonio (2007) puts it, this requires some skills or assets from the community as mentioned above. Social sustainability therefore speaks to such skills or assets which enable communities to become active citizens who participate in their development. Participation is therefore described as "a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, and the decisions and resources which affect them" (Dalal-Clayton and Bass, 2002: 178 citing the World Bank's Learning Group on Participatory Development, 1994).

'Development' as Goodwin, (2003: 10) espouses it, may be defined "as improvement in the conditions and experience of life." This means that there is an improvement maybe in the production of goods and services which have a positive contribution towards the quality of life of the community members. According to Goodwin (2003: 10) sustainable development can only happen if "this production occurs in ways that maintains or increase all of the necessary capital stocks", including natural, human and social capital. Colantonio (2007: 10) further maintains that "participation in interactive governance and public involvement in the planning of development projects have been regarded as fundamental elements of social sustainability and the delivery of sustainable development policies."

Participation according to Colantonio (2007) is therefore essential for the social sustainability of communities because it permits community members to speak freely about their desires and objectives which is very useful when designing policy and for delivery and monitoring processes. However the writer also suggests that, "social capital is often regarded as a pre-condition, *a sine qua non,* to build community

participation" (Colantonio 2007: 12).This is accentuated by Bryceson, Mbara and Maunder (2003) when they maintain that the sustainable livelihood approach is based on the view that all communities have strengths, as well as weaknesses, and therefore development has to start by building on these strengths. These strengths can include various forms of capital, including human (knowledge, education, skills, physical and mental health, behavioural habits, levels of energy), as well as social capital (Goodwin, 2003: 5).

Bryceson *et al* (2003: 178) thus identify 'social capital' as an asset which they say is found in livelihoods, defined as comprising the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital), the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household." According to Colantonio (2007) it has developed as a critical part of social sustainability. Svendsen and Svendsen (2004) describe 'social capital' as collaboration between community members so that they can attain a specific objective. This is not something that is enforced, but it's voluntary amongst the community members who are not guided by laid rules and regulations. This is accentuated by Roseland (2000: 81 citing Coleman 1988 and Putman *et al.* 1993) when he defines social capital as a "shared knowledge, understandings, and patterns of interactions that a group of people bring to any productive activity."

Although the term 'social capital' is referred to be "definitionally elusive" by Fine (2002: 797), writers such as Rydin and Holman (2004: 117) suggest that "the concept still has considerable value if used in a careful and rigorous way" and it "has particular value when considering policy for sustainable development". Rydin and Holman (2004 citing Forrest and Kearns 2001) further argue that when using the term social capital in their study of neighbourhood-level policies it encompasses; empowerment, participation, associational activity and common purpose, support networks and reciprocity, collective norms and values, trust, safety and belonging (also see Fine 2002 and Pronyk et al., 2008). Pronyk *et al* (2008) studied whether social capital can be intentionally generated in a cluster randomized trial in rural South Africa and came to the conclusion that it can be exogenously strengthened. Their study was based on an intervention, combining group-based microfinance with

participatory gender and HIV training; and after two years the effects on social capital was compared with the baseline level before the intervention.

From the above statements it is clear that social capital is about community members working together. It is not enough for the community members to participate but there must be a way of engaging with each other which brings trust amongst them and as Rydin and Holman (2004) suggest, empowerment (which will be explained below) also takes place. The trust which develops amongst community members ensures that any conflict existing is managed and transformed responsibly. Emmet (2000) argues that lack of trust amongst community members result in them not cooperating with each other even though they share the same interests. The question is: How does one manage and transform conflict so that the social capital existing within the community members is not broken by disagreements?

As highlighted in chapter 1 conflict transformation entails 'a way of looking and seeing' (a set of lenses) so that one can be able to see different aspects of a complex reality (Lederach, 2003) to identify a different view of the causes for conflict. Auvinen and Kivimaki (2001: 68) argue that "the philosophy behind the conflict transformation approach is that in conflicts there are causes or reasons more fundamental than those expressed at the level of disputes." Conflict transformation therefore, according to Lederach (2003), involves "a positive orientation towards conflict, and …a willingness to engage in the conflict in an effort to produce constructive change or growth". The positive orientation refers to the fact that conflict makes us take notice of issues and provides a valuable opportunity to learn and increase our understanding of ourselves and others.

Lederach (2003) also suggests that conflict transformation is about eliminating violence as a way to address conflict, by addressing those issues that are visible, as well as their root-causes. It is also about increasing justice by ensuring that community members have a say in the decision making process on things affecting them. Dialogue needs to be sustained and be understood as it is essential to attain constructive change. Therefore conflict (without violence) should not be judged as a threat but as a way of better understanding ourselves and others and in the process making all of us better individuals.

This study has therefore shown that social capital forms a critical element of social sustainability. The study will now look at participation as another element of social sustainability.

2.3 PARTICIPATION

2.3.1 Background on participation

Although the World Bank's Learning Group on Participatory Development (1994) as cited above by Dalal-Clayton and Bass (2002) have tried to define what participation is, there hasn't been an exact meaning for it and as such it has been perceived and understood differently by different authors and role-players. Heeks (1999: 2, citing Musch, 1998) argues that "participation has become a 'container concept': so broad as to cover a multitude of approaches and techniques". Heeks (1999) further emphasizes that 'participation' can mean numerous things, for example, where an individual participates to provide information; or participates when a decision has to be made; or participates when a decision is to be implemented; and when those decisions that have been implemented are being evaluated. Nonetheless Dalal-Clayton and Bass (2002: 178) maintain that 'participation' is a word that is often used whenever sustainable development is mentioned.

This study will therefore attempt to unfold the importance of participation and why it is regarded as being critical in attaining sustainability, yet it will also emphasize that without social capital as its critical component and social sustainability as highlighted above participation does not guarantee sustainability.

2.3.2 Participation as a way to attain sustainability

According to Pieterse (2008: 1 citing Cornwall and Brock 2005: 1045 & 1056) "participation, poverty reduction and empowerment epitomise this feel-good character: they connote warm and nice things, conferring on their users that goodness and rightness that development agencies need to assert the legitimacy to intervene in the lives of others".

Theron (2008) noted that the theory of participation dominated most publications during the late 80s and early 90s. Moreover various initiatives on participation were

also established during this period. Theron (2008) refers to a number of publications and initiatives, including Agenda 21, mentioned in chapter 1. The writer also mentions the publication by the World Bank called the Participation Sourcebook. This indicates that participation during this period was very popular in theory, if not always in practice.

Theron (2008: 101) also argues that "the development fraternity, academia and institutions now professed that development should be "participatory"". Lyons et al (2001) concur when they suggest that community participation is still an important aspect and as such it has been provided a more distinct role within local government sphere and in the development practice. Yet, Laburn-Peart (1998) maintains that within the planning profession there is a tendency of avoiding participation as planners believe that the wider involvement may cause delays in the process. The writer however warns those avoiding it by stating that this might lead to suspicion and hostility. Theron (2008) further argues that it is quite common these days or even enforced to include the "participation" element in most development programmes or projects by government or funders. The writer maintains that there is a strong belief that there is a fundamental need to move away from the top-down planning approaches.

According to Lizarralde and Massyn (2008) community participation has more often than not been linked with the bottom-up approach. The writers maintain that the bottom-up approach has the community members as its targets for development and this assists in building self-reliant communities. Taylor (2007: 305, citing Blunktett, 2003: 43) quotes the vision of the UK government's civil renewal discourse which supports "strong, empowered and active communities, in which people increasingly do things for themselves and the state acts to facilitate, support and enable citizens to lead self-determined and fulfilled lives". This is what is also targeted by the National Development Plan (National Planning Commission, 2011) as it seeks to ensure that communities do not remain passive but rather become active role-players during the development process.

Lemanski (2008) argues that the community members should be involved in the whole process of development and should be the implementers and decision

makers[17]. According to Pieterse (2008: 2) "this objective should be realized through a *process of empowerment* which gives the poor control over their lives and increases their ability to mobilize sufficient development resources, including from the democratic government where necessary." Essama-Nssah (2004: 509 also see Lizarralde and Massyn, 2008: 1-2) therefore defines 'empowerment' as "the expansion of the assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives". Therefore empowerment reinforces the assets which create social sustainability, making it easier to attain sustainability.

However McGuirk (2001, also see Few, 2000[18] and Heeks, 1999[19]) suggests that the participatory process is sometimes clouded by inequalities amongst the stakeholders. This according to Cook and Kothari (2001, also see Auvinen and Kiimaki, 2001) results in those with less power not listened to and as such having less or no influence in the decision-making process. Nonetheless Cooke and Kothari (2001: 36) maintain that in development "participation of community members is assumed to contribute to enhanced efficiency and effectiveness of investment and to promote processes of democratization and empowerment".

In addition, Lemanski (2008) maintains that in development participation is critical because it creates independence or self-sufficiency, empowers and increases the community's ability to do things for themselves. Yet Pieterse (2008 citing Miraftab 2004) suggests that empowerment can sometimes be used as an economic gain for individuals rather than for the entire community. Lemanski (2008) then identifies what she refers to as the two key reasons[20] why those who stand to benefit from the development need to actively participate.

Cooke and Kothari (2001) suggest that there are participatory approaches to development which had been advocated and adopted to accommodate the

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[17] "in practice, the depth of beneficiary involvement varies significantly, ranging from information sharing and consultation at one end of the spectrum to full control of the development process from start to finish at the other, with involvement in implementation and decision making occupying the medium" (Lemanski, 2008: 393-394).

[18] "How power is brokered among the different sets of stakeholders in projects greatly influences the participation process itself, as well as helping shape the outcome of project planning." (Few, 2000: 402)

[19] "Outcomes of supposedly participative processes are frequently dominated by those individuals who are themselves powerful through position, knowledge, etc. or who are representatives of powerful groups or who, more prosaically, have the power of being publicly articulate." (Heeks, 1999: 3)

[20] The two reasons suggested by Lemanski (2008: 395) are that participation will "ensure the success of the development; and second, because voicelessness and powerlessness are recognized increasingly as components of poverty".

previously disadvantaged[21]. This study will briefly look at how these participatory approaches to development can be used to promote empowerment which is a term that is repeatedly mentioned when talking about participation.

Before looking at the approaches to participation it is important to note that whatever participation is, and also beside its challenges, it seems quite important. Cooke and Kothari (2001: 72) citing the president of the World Bank in his 1998 Annual Meeting's speech said "participation matters – not only as a means of improving development effectiveness, as we know from our recent studies – but as the key to long –term sustainability and leverage". From the statement by the president of the World Bank one can see that participation is critical. Nonetheless this study wants to emphasize that participation can never attain sustainability without the important aspects such as social sustainability and social capital as indicated above. This study will now focus on approaches to participation.

2.3.3 Approaches to participation

Theron (2008, citing Gaventa, 2007: xii) mentions approaches which represent different views internationally on how the communities can be involved in governance. These approaches are the neo-liberal market approach, the liberal representative approach and the most relevant for this study, namely the participatory democracy approach.

The participatory democracy approach according to Theron (2008: 102) is "increasingly referred to as the 'deepening democracy' approach". Participation in this approach goes beyond the issues of voting, democratic procedures and institutional design as suggested by other approaches. People in this approach are involved in decision making which means they have a say in whatever is taking place during the development.

Yet, Lyons et al (2001, citing De Beer, 1996) identify two different approaches to participation. According to these writers "one approach, characterised by community

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[21] "In recent years there has been widespread adoption in the development aid industry of participatory approaches to development in an espoused attempt to enable those individuals and groups previously excluded by more top-down planning processes, and who are often marginalized by their separation and isolation from the production of knowledge and the formulation of policies and practices, to be included in decisions that affect their lives". Cooke and Kothari (2001: 139)

'involvement' and prevalent in the old South Africa, is perceived more as the *co-option* of communities in the implementation of projects resulting from top-down decision-making" (Lyons et al, 2001: 279). This study however maintains that this approach is also very prevalent now. In this approach the outside forces dominate the identification of the needs and the planning process and this causes the communities to be less active with less learning taking place and this often result in them later disowning the development.

The second approach which Lyons et al (2001: 279, citing De Beer, 1996: 71) identify, is the one that is "characterised by *empowerment* and linked to the new South Africa, the RDP, and the grassroots structures on which it has been built, involves decentralizing control and decision-making to civil society through empowerment." This approach reflects a situation where community participation results in community members owning the development as learning has taken place and the communities are able to manage the development process which means that they are able to do things for themselves and the state is just the facilitator.

However, Lyons et al (2001) also identify two types of participatory development models. These two models represent the extremes. The writers suggest that "at one end of a scale, we might place the 'community agency' model characterizing De Beer's (1996) 'empowerment' paradigm" (Lyons et al 2001: 279). Nevertheless they maintain that this type is different from what is referred to as community participation, as the 'empowerment' model is entirely controlled by the members of the community from the initial stages to completion. This model can be compared to the top of Sherry Arnstein's (1969) classic ladder of participation, namely citizen control.

Conversely, Lyons et al (2001: 280) argue that "at the other end of the same scale, and representing the 'involvement' paradigm (De Beer, 1996), we might place a model of development which is initiated and managed by the state." This can also be compared to the bottom of Sherry Arnstein's ladder of participation – manipulation, therapy and informing, which she calls non-participation. Lyons et al (2001) illustrate the two 'ideal-type' models as shown in Figures 2 and 3.
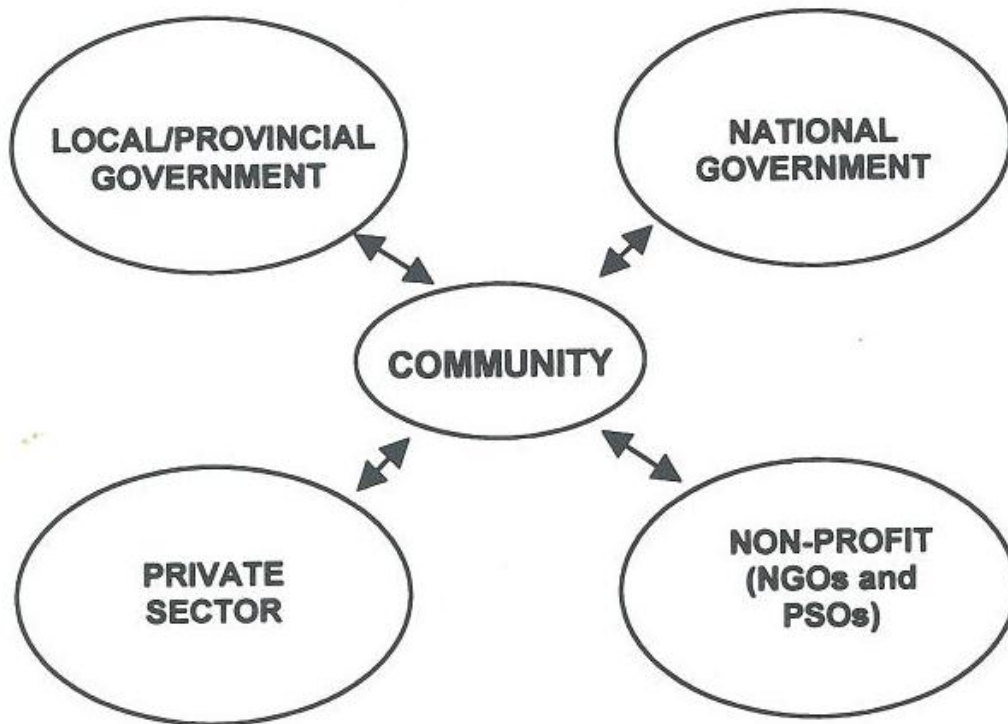
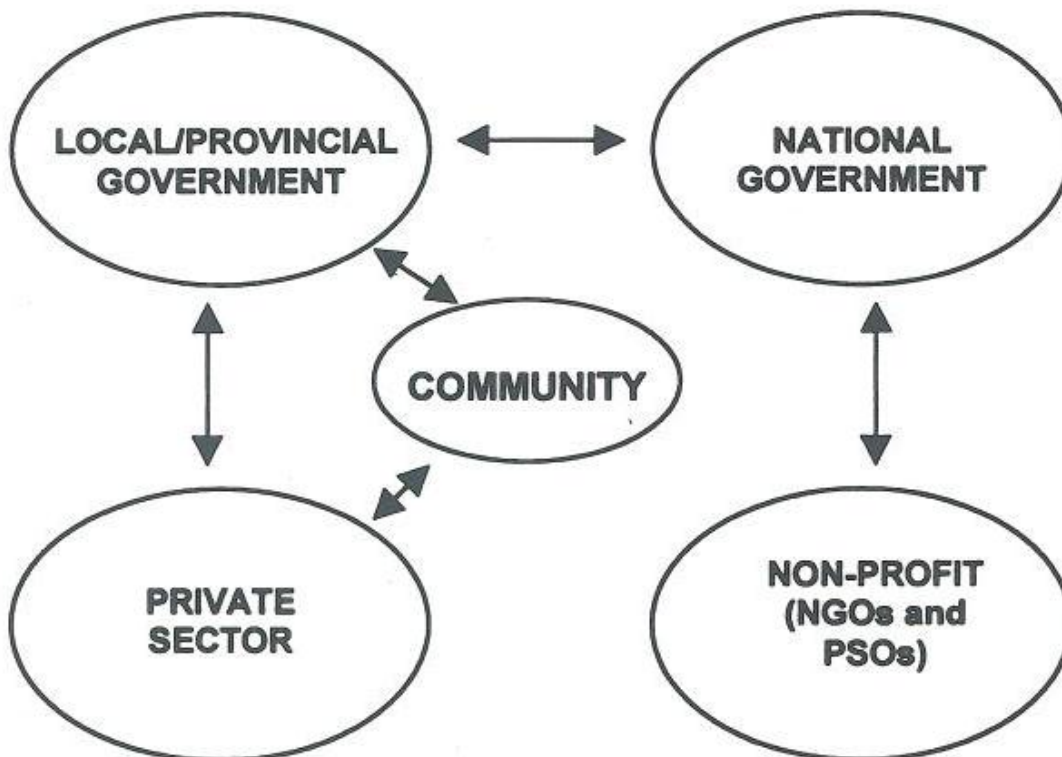**Figure 2 Empowerment paradigm (Source: Lyons et al, 2001: 280)**

Figure 3 Involvement paradigm (Source: Lyons et al, 2001: 281)

This structure or model in figure 2 reflects what the writers referred to as the 'empowerment' paradigm. This is where community members are in charge of the development process. This is so because the project is independent of the state, however, it is "bounded by state regulation". According to Lyons et al (2001: 280), "the multiplicity of pre-defined aspects of the second involvement model [figure 3], make it essentially more restricted in terms of the extent and type of influence which can be exerted on the structure, type and process development, at the local level". This structure is also known as the bureaucratic model and these writers refer to it as 'limited' participation.

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION SCHEMES

ARNSTEIN'S EIGHT RUNGS ON A LADDER OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION (ARNSTEIN, 1969: 217)		THURLINGS (1980: p136, AS CITED BY STEYN, 1996: 37- 42)	PAUL'S LEVELS OF INTENSITY OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION (KOK & GELDERBLOM, 1994)	ASCENDING LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION
1. Manipulation 2. Therapy 3. Informing	Non Participation	Know together Think together	Information sharing (one-way communication)	Lower intensity participation
4. Consultation 5. Placation	Degrees of tokenism	Talk together	Consultation (two-way communication)	↓
6. Partnership	Degrees of citizen power	Decide together	Decision making	
7. Delegated power 8. Citizen control		[Added to Thurlings] Doing together/Co-production (Mitlin, 2008)	Initiating action	Higher intensity participation

Anneke Muller (2013) Unpublished class notes, School of Public Leadership; Stellenbosch University, based on:
Arnstein, S. (1969) *A ladder of citizen participation, American Institute of Planners Journal* Vol. 35 no. 4: pp. 216- 224
Kok, P. & D. Gelderblom (1994) *Urbanisation: South Africa's Challenge*, Vol 2: Planning; Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, Chapter 2: Planning and People's Participation: pp. 45-47
Mitlin, D. (2008) With and beyond the state- co-production as a route to political influence, power and transformation for grassroots organizations, *Environment and Urbanization* no. 20: pp.339 – 360
Steyn, J.J. (1996) Publieke Deelname: 'n Tegniek, 'n Proses of 'n Geloof? *Stads- en Streekbeplanning* no. 41: pp. 37- 42

Figure 4 Public Participation Schemes (Source: Muller, 2012)

Figure 4 above illustrates a number of participation schemes, such as Sherry Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation and Paul's levels of intensity of public participation, listed according an ascending level of participation. The lower rungs of Arnstein's ladder are examples of non-participation (such as one-way communication), while the middle rungs illustrate degrees of tokenism. Only the top three rungs are examples of genuine participation or degrees of citizen power, where

power is transferred to relatively disempowered groups. Co-production or doing things together is an example of higher intensity participation.

This study will therefore now look at empowerment as highlighted above and also at two types of democracy, i.e. deliberative democracy and deepening democracy as it seems there is a relationship between these concepts.

2.3.4 Empowerment, deliberative democracy and deepening democracy

The approaches to participation indicate that there is a relationship that exists between empowerment and deliberative and deepening democracy. Although Narayan (2002) contends that there is no real definition of 'empowerment'[22] the writer suggests that "in its broadest sense, empowerment is the expansion of freedom of choice and action" (Narayan, 2002: 14). Essama-Nssah (2004) further suggests that the viewpoint of empowerment is that participation should be something that happens voluntarily. Empowerment therefore according to Pieterse (2008) takes place when people, whether individually or as a collective, participate more in the development process.

Deliberative democracy and deepening democracy thus provide space for the empowerment process to take place. Barnes et al (2007: 35) speak of deliberative democracy where they argue that "it is concerned not only with creating a more active participative democracy, but also a more informed citizenry who are better able to engage with the complex issues that form the substance of policy making." This is supported by Fung Archon (2004) when he suggests that deliberative democracy is about the formulation of strategies and collective decision making through debate.

Deep democracy is about further opening these spaces to ensure full engagement and seeks to attain justice and equality. Gaventa (2006: 10) argues that "while the institutional forms and procedures of democracy increasingly may be in place, the critical challenge now is how to deepen their inclusiveness and substance, especially in terms of how citizens engage within democratic spaces to create more just and

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[22] "It is almost impossible to find anyone who actually defines what they mean by empowerment except perhaps for the technical prescripts associated with economic empowerment of women and black people" (Pieterse, 2008: 1).

equitable states and societies." However, in South Africa it cannot be said that the institutional forms and procedures are already in place. Gaventa (2006) further identifies approaches which he argues can deepen democracy, i.e. 'civil society' democracy; participatory democracy, deliberative democracy and empowered participatory democracy[23].

Yet, if the institutional forms and procedures of democracy as mentioned by Gaventa (2006) do not already exist in South Africa this poses a serious challenge for empowerment. Narayan (2002) for example, identifies four elements of empowerment, which are access to information, inclusion and participation[24], accountability[25] and local organisational capacity[26]. With access to information Narayan (2002) argues that information sharing between the community members and other stakeholders be it government officials or private sector in a development is critical. According to Narayan "informed citizens are better equipped to take advantage of opportunities, access services, exercise their rights, negotiate effectively, and hold state and nonstate actors accountable" (Narayan, 2002: 19).

Narayan highlights the most important aspects that communities should be taking care of, however they all require the existence of these institutional forms and procedures of democracy. This is the biggest challenge South Africa has and as such the escalating protests that are taking place (as highlighted in chapter 1) and what has been experienced in Witsand (see chapter 4) can also be attributed to the absence of such institutional forms and procedures of democracy.

2.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter it has been explained what participation for sustainability is all about. This was done through explaining what sustainability entails, its origin and its relationship with participation. The study explained that to attain sustainability a different thinking needs to occur. It therefore outlined how to plan for sustainability

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[23]"Based on long standing ideas of the importance of 'associationalism' in democracy, a robust civil society can serve as an additional check and balance on government behaviour, through mobilising claims, advocating for special interests, playing watchdog role, and generally exercising countervailing power against the state" (Gaventa, 2006: 16).
[24]"An empowering approach to participation views poor people as co-producers with authority and control over decisions and resources – particularly financial resources – devolved to the lowest appropriate level" (Narayan, 2002: 19).
[25]"Accountability refers to the ability to call public officials, private employers, or service providers to account, requiring that they be answerable for their policies, actions, and use of funds". Narayan (2002: 20
[26] "Local organizational capacity refers to the ability of people to work together, organize themselves, and mobilize resources to solve problems of common interest". Narayan (2002: 21)

highlighting the important aspects when designing what Swilling (2006) refers to as a 'sustainable neighbourhood'. It further mentioned the importance of integrating various forms of planning such as economic, spatial, infrastructure and environmental. The study also mentioned the planning for sustainability that has been undertaken by the South African government through the development of documents such as the National Development Plan and the National Strategy for Sustainable Development and Action Plan.

Social sustainability was revealed as a concept which originates from the social issues and has been incorporated into the sustainable development discourse during the late 1990s. It described social sustainability as skills or assets within individuals or community members that can enhance the relationship within a specific community. These assets empower individuals or communities to participate in the development process.

Participation has been defined as providing an opportunity to those involved in the development process to be able to have a say with regard to the decisions and the sharing of the available resources therefore making it essential for social sustainability of communities. However, participation requires a critical asset known as 'social capital' as its prerequisite. Social capital has been explained as a way of working together of community members towards attaining a common goal, based on the existence of trust and networks within the community which can also contribute to empowering the community. Empowerment therefore is the development of the assets that are readily available to the communities which make them to participate effectively, have more influence, to take control and be able to hold those in power accountable.

Yet, disagreement and conflict in communities is unavoidable and it normally threatens the existing social capital. This disagreement however should be welcomed and not be seen as a threat, but instead be transformed to something positive through conflict transformation. Conflict transformation is about trying to get to the root cause of conflicts. This can be done by promoting more justice, which in turn builds trust amongst community members themselves and the relevant authorities resulting in better understanding and cooperation.

The study also established that in South Africa the dominant approach to development historically has been the 'top-down approach'. Yet, different approaches to participation argue that a 'bottom-up approach' is recommended for development to take place. This approach promotes the active participation of community members in their development by ensuring that they take part in decision making.

However participation has some challenges, such as power relations which might exist in the participatory process. Nonetheless participation by community members in their development has positive outcomes which may result in empowerment. Empowerment has thus been described as being ideal to create self-reliant communities and this is an ultimate goal for all communities.

Lastly, the study looked at the relationship between empowerment and deliberative and deepening democracy. It established that deliberative democracy and deepening democracy provide space for the empowerment process to take place. But, the challenge is that South Africa lacks the institutional forms and procedures of democracy, hence the escalating protests in the country and in Witsand. As much as participation has been described as important for the development process Emmet (2005 citing Dreyer, 1998) suggests that "community participation does not guarantee success…"

The following chapter will focus on the policies that inform the case study.

CHAPTER 3: RELEVANT POLICIES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the participatory approach to development has been widely supported by the 'development fraternity, academia and institutions' involved in the development process. It has also been argued that community participation still plays a distinctive role within the local government sphere and in the development practice. This chapter therefore looks at how participation, empowerment, urbanisation and housing have been accommodated within South African and provincial policies, as well local policies of Cape Town.

The policies to be looked at include the Peoples Housing Process (PHP)/Enhanced Peoples Housing Process (EPHP) and Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) as they have been applied in the Witsand Human Settlement Project (WHSP). A brief background of the South Africa's (SA) housing policies is provided, including the short history of the origin of PHP, its definition and aims, benefits and criticism and finally its review. The introduction of the EPHP, its intentions, principles and application are briefly discussed. The UISP background, implementation, benefits and challenges are also briefly looked at. Most importantly, participation and empowerment as accommodated by the PHP, EPHP and the UISP are also looked at.

3.2 POLICIES ON PARTICIPATION

In South Africa, black people have endured oppression through the apartheid system. Apartheid as a formal policy came to an end when all the people of South Africa were provided an opportunity to vote. It was the end of a long painful struggle against discrimination. However, as Pieterse (2008) puts it, this struggle was not only focussed on voting and an end to discrimination, but was to provide the marginalised to live a life where they can be respected as legitimate citizens of the country.

Lyons, Smuts and Stephens (2001: 275, citing Khan, 1998 and Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998: 133) concur when they argue that "until 1994, the majority of South Africa's population had been excluded from an official role in decision-making. The

result was a society, accustomed to top-down planning, labour exploitation and white minority domination, which lacked a tradition of democracy and public participation, particularly at the grassroots level."

The new South African government led by the African National Congress (ANC) decided to introduce a constitution and policies that will ensure that the marginalised will now be given an opportunity to participate in their development. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 has Chapter 7 that refers to the Local sphere of government. This sphere of government according to the Constitution has the responsibility to ensure that participation by community members takes place. Section 152 (1) (e) states that one of the objects of local government "is to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisation in the matters of local government." In addition section 195 (e) promotes the encouragement of the public's participation in the formulation of policies and the importance of responding to the people's needs.

Chapter 3 of the Municipal Structures Act refers to the Municipal Councils and section 19 (1) states that the Municipal Councils must strive to accomplish the 'objectives' in section 152 of the Constitution. Furthermore section 19 (2) (c) states that the "Municipal Councils must annually review its processes for involving the community" and section 19 (3) requires the creation of systems that will ensure that communities and community organisations are consulted when these councils execute their functions and implement their powers. Similarly section 44 (3) (g) requires the Executive Committee to provide a report yearly with regard to participation by communities and organisations in matters pertaining the municipality.

Chapter 4 of the Municipal Systems Act specifically refers to community participation and outlines the "development of culture of community participation; mechanisms, processes and procedures for community participation; communication of information concerning community participation; public notice of meetings of municipal councils; admission of public to meetings; communications to local community; regulations and guidelines." As indicated in the previous paragraph, there are some structures that are responsible for community participation. One other such structure is the ward committee.

According to Chapter 4, Part 4 of the Municipal Structures Act ward committees need to be established in specific metropolitan and local municipalities. Ward committees are structures that "have emerged as a key institutional mechanism intended to contribute towards bringing about people-centred, participatory and democratic local governance" (Smith 2008: 4; Smith and de Visser 2009: 2). Therefore section 72 (3) states that the objective of the ward committees is to ensure that there is increased participation within the local government sphere. Smith (2008) and Smith and de Visser (2009) maintain that ward committees have been established to assist the elected councillors by acting as a link between the people and the municipalities' political and administrative structures.

However, ward committees have been critiqued as being inadequate to promote participation and deepening participation (see Smith, 2008). Esau (2007: 26) as such maintains that because ward committees are accountable to their forums a precinct model is ideal, as it is more inclusive and provides for "the organisation of the community on the basis of geographic location; direct meetings between the precinct representatives and community members in a specific precinct and regular meetings between the ward councillor and community members within the precinct". The councillor can thus hold regular meetings with the specific area and be able to address their needs. The challenge with ward committees is that they have a tendency of being loyal to the forums they represent. Smith (2008: 50; also see Ramjee, van Donk, GGLN and Isandla Institute, 2011) also argues that "ward committees are usually viewed as highly partisan structures aligned to party political agendas."

3.3 POLICIES ON URBANISATION

It is important for this study to note that the world is engaged in what Swilling and Annecke (2012) refer to as 'resource wars'. The escalating protests in South Africa mentioned earlier in this study are but one example and has been impacted by the movement of people to where resources are located. It is therefore imperative for this study to look at this movement of people, which is referred to as 'urbanisation' and policies on urbanisation.

The world has seen rapid urban growth in the 20th century which had a great impact on urban places. The UN Habitat report of 2003, called 'The challenge of the slums' and the 2006 World Urban Forum had a major role in making the world aware on what has been labelled 'a global demographic transition'. According to Watson (2009: 160), "in 2008, for the first time in history, more than half of the world's population lived in cities, and by 2050 this will be 70%." This growth as suggested by the writer will be more noticeable in the 'global South and East'. The highlighted global trends indicate that there is an exodus from rural to urban areas.

The study by Kok and Collinson (2006) indicates that according to the United Nations report (2004)[27] the African population which resided in the urban area of South Africa in 2003 was 39 per cent, and this would increase to 54 per cent by 2030. The study further submits that "South Africa had an overall urbanisation level of 56.26% in 2001" (Kok and Collinson, 2006: 19; also see Pillay, Tomlinson and du Toit, 2006; Pillay, 2008). According to Atkinson and Marais (2006 citing StatsSA 2001: 8; also see Pillay, Tomlinson and du Toit, 2006; Pillay, 2008) the rural population in South Africa had decreased from 44.9% in 1996 to 42.5% in 2001.These statements are accentuated by Bolnick (2010) when she maintains that this country is amongst the leading countries that are urbanised in Africa.

While the urbanisation trends for the White, Indian/Asian populations have dropped and the coloured population urbanisation trends are expected to follow suit soon, the one for the African population is expected to continue increasing. Kok and Collinson (2006) suggest that the urbanisation level in the Western Cape Province is ninety per cent. The Cape Town Spatial Development Framework (SDF) supports the study by Kok and Collinson (2006) as it indicates that "Cape Town is experiencing rapid urbanisation as a result of both natural growth and in-migration. The population growth for the city was 36.4% for the period 1999 to 2007"[28]. The Cape Town population according to the SDF stands at 3.7 million and the reports indicate that it could rise to 5 million by 2030.

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[27] The United Nations (2004) indicate that Africa's urban population grew at the very high rate of 4, 4% per year between 1950 and 2000, and although this growth should slow down, it is expected to continue growing quite rapidly, at 3, 1% per annum, between 2000 and 2030, compared to the 0, 9% annual population growth expected in the rural areas of the continent.
[28] City of Cape Town Discussion Paper: Demographics Scenario. August 2010

Urbanisation, according to the Cape Town SDF, leads to overcrowding; increased crime rates; mushrooming informal settlements and poor living conditions. This is accentuated by Bocquier (2008: 1 citing the Worldwatch Institute, 2007) when he argues that "the economic uncertainties that prevail in most urban settings lead to the deterioration of living conditions in the form of congestion, insecurity, difficult access to affordable water and sanitation, environmental risks, and so on." The most affected according to the writer are the urban poor. Although people migrate to urban areas to be closer to the services they are often faced with social and economic distances and occasionally isolated from health and educational facilities and even unable to access 'good' job opportunities.

Nonetheless Bocquier (2008: 2) argues that "most economic and demographic empirical studies show the importance, if not the advantage, of urbanisation for development." The Cape Town SDF also agrees as it states that "urbanisation is a positive global phenomenon that allows for the development of productive urban-based modern economies and is associated with sustained improvements in standards of living" (Cape Town Spatial Development Framework). The Cape Town SDF further maintains that urbanisation can be able to build an economic, environmental and social sustainable city if it is planned for and managed in a responsible way.

The strategy therefore is to develop policies that will accommodate and support urbanisation.   Kok and Collinson (2006: 21 citing the United Nations 2003: *Highlights,* p. 14) suggest that:

> In developed countries, the share of Government with policies to modify this flow fell from approximately one-half to one-quarter of countries between 1996 and 2003. In contrast, developing countries are now more likely to intervene than in the past. Between 1996 and 2003, the share of developing countries with policies to influence internal migration rose from 53 per cent to almost three-fourths.

Yet Bocquier (2008) contends that it looks like the current urban management policies and practices in a majority of African cities are not ready to provide houses and an environment conducive for living in the 21st century. The writer cites

Satterhwaite (2007) who argues that to address the challenge associated with urbanisation in poor countries is to adapt local institutions to be accountable like those found in richer countries.

According to Atkinson and Marais (2006) there has been a lack of primary focus on the issue of the dynamics of urbanisation by the South African government, although some of the programmes and strategies make reference to rural or urban development. Nonetheless these writers maintain that the government institutions such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) Office, the Department of Housing, the Department of Social Development, and the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) clearly mentioned urbanisation but did so in a moderate manner. They argue that "the RDP was vague on the issue of urbanisation. Its main concern was that housing and other services should be located 'geologically, environmentally, and with respect to economic opportunities and social amenities'" (Atkinson and Marais, 2006: 23).

Urbanisation in South Africa was given attention in 1999 through the Department of Land Affair's (DLA) Green Paper on Development and Planning. The Green Paper recommended that provinces develop spatial plans. Atkinson and Marais (2006: 26 citing the DLA 1999: 48) suggest that the spatial plan aimed to "'…accomplish a greater convergence among sectors and spheres of government and decision-making about where public investment should take place'." DLA produced the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) (No. 67 of 1995) which focussed on the local level. The DFA suggested the integration of social, economic, institutional and physical features of development and also that the distance between the residential areas and employment opportunities be closer to each other.

The DFA encouraged municipalities to consider spatial issues when planning by suggesting that they compile Land Development Objectives. During this period the municipalities were increasingly focussed on integrated planning. As Watson (2009: 179) puts it:

> South Africa, since democracy in 1994, has moved to introduce a form of urban management and planning in municipalities which is intended to integrate the actions of line function departments and the different spheres of government,

including spatial planning, and links these to budgeting and to implementation. The process is termed 'Integrated Development Planning' (IDP), and is backed up by national legislation.

However Atkinson and Marais (2006) argue that the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) which was pushing the idea of IDPs could not follow up on the Land Development Objectives. As such these objectives did not become part of the IDPs as intended; with most municipalities instead focussing on infrastructure, poverty and job creation thereby completely forgetting about spatial planning. Municipalities are well positioned in terms of influencing the spatial trends because they plan the activities and as such can encourage or discourage urbanisation. Yet even those municipalities, who tried addressing urbanisation and migration issues experienced challenges with regard to macro issues. For example, they needed guidance from the national government in terms of the 'where' part of development and this was not forthcoming until 2002.

Atkinson and Marais (2006: 31) maintain that "it is clear that, for the first ten years of democracy, South Africa has had no coherent approach to urbanisation, or even an exploration of the various spatial dimensions of poverty and livelihoods." According to these writers although spatial approaches such as the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Perspective (ISRDP) and Urban Renewal Programme (URP) had been in place, it was the National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP) in 2003 that really focussed on the 'where' part of the development[29]. The Green Paper on Planning in 1999 according to Atkinson and Marais 2006 citing the Office of the President 2003, the NSDP highlighted a disjointed spatial distribution of resources in the country.

Although the NSDP was regarded as the 'first real' spatial policy to be produced by the ANC government it was not actually a policy but a perspective[30]. "Yet others, including prominent academics and consultants to government on urban policy, view the NSDP as an 'incipient urbanisation policy'" (Pillay, 2008: 125). Atkinson and Marais (2006: 34) maintain that:

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[29] "The primary purpose of the URP and the ISRDP was not spatial strategy, but a new way of organising government institutions to deliver services." (Atkinson and Marais, 2006: 36)

[30] Pillay (2008: 128) suggests that "reportedly, it was following debate within Cabinet that the NSDP was termed a perspective and not a policy."

> The NSDP's main argument is that areas with 'potential' or comparative advantage should be pinpointed, and thereafter receive priority in the allocation of resources – in particular, in the allocation of infrastructure funding ('hard investments'). Government spending on fixed investment, beyond the obligation to provide basic services to all citizens, should therefore be focused on localities of economic growth and/or economic potential in order to attract private sector investment, stimulate sustainable economic activities and/or create long-term employment opportunities.

However, it balances its spatial strategy by proposing that the government must ensure that it invests in people ('soft investments') by providing them with skills. This should be done so that individuals can be mobile and be able to seek employment opportunities in those areas that have a potential to develop.

The 2004 NSDP consultations for the province and the district levels were able to articulate clearly for the first time the 'how', 'what' and 'where' questions of the development together[31]. This gave hope that there was a possibility of seeing significant developmental initiatives in various areas. Pillay (2008) therefore suggests that the NSDP is being viewed as an emerging policy on urbanisation but will remain as such depending on the political support it gets. One of the problems of the NSDP is that it is often ignored by the investment decisions of other departments, especially as it relates to infrastructure spending in rural areas.

The Western Cape Provincial government has developed the Western Cape's Provincial Spatial Development Framework (WCPSDF) which has one of its purposes being to "guide municipal (district, local and metropolitan) Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) and Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs) and provincial and municipal Spatial Development Plans (SDPs)." It also has the responsibility of prioritising and aligning what could be the investments and infrastructural plans of the various provincial departments and those of the national departments including the parastatals. The WCPSDF acknowledges the challenges

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[31] "During this process, key questions were asked: In what way does the NSDP frame the parameters of government actions? How should developmental potential be defined? On what is potential based, and what is required to unlock or sustain it? How should the imperatives of economic developmental potential be traded off against the need to meet poverty alleviation targets? What are the nature and causes of poverty in different localities? And most significantly, how should different agencies of government, at national, provincial and municipal level, interact to achieve agreement on the 'what' and 'where' of development? (Atkinson and Marais, 2006: 37 citing Office of the President 2004)

of urbanisation and states that the Western Cape Province is almost ninety per cent urbanised and has experienced a forty seven per cent increase in its population since 1980. This has been caused by the movement of people from the Eastern Cape which only has a forty per cent urbanisation rate.

The WCPSDF identifies the City of Cape Town (CoCT) district as having the highest urbanisation levels of ninety nine percent compared to others. The CoCT has therefore developed Cape Town's Spatial Development Framework (CTSDF) which intends "to guide and manage urban growth, and balance competing land use demands, by putting in place a long-term, logical development path that will shape the spatial form and structure of Cape Town" (CTSDF). It also aligns itself with various legislations including the Municipal Systems Act which addresses the preparation of the IDP, of which the Spatial Development Framework is an essential part.

One aspect of urbanisation and squatting not yet adequately addressed in spatial and integrated planning, is the pro-active identification of land where people can legally settle, without having to resort to illegal settlements on open land, which is often not suitable for development (such as wetlands, river corridors, former rubbish dumps, buffer strips next to roads, etc), (Pienaar and Muller, 1999: 393).

3.4 BACKGROUND – the Housing Policies

Miraftab (2003: 226) argues that "in 1994, when the democratic government of National Unity led by the African National Congress (ANC) came to power, its new constitution recognised housing as a human right for all." The writer maintains that this was a way of redressing the injustices of the past by adopting a housing policy that will provide the previously disadvantaged with access to housing. Nonetheless, in order for this policy to be implemented, a new approach called the 'people-centred approach' was to be used. This requires that community members participate significantly during the housing delivery process and a partnership be created between the community as recipients, government and the private sector.

Miraftab (2003: 226) upholds that:

> At the early stages of postapartheid South Africa, two important components for successful community participation in housing development processes were in place: a democratic government that recognised the significance of communities' contributions to housing development processes and a strong grassroots movement motivated to take part in the development process.

These grassroots communities were mobilised by the actions they took against the apartheid regime in resistance to its injustices. This created a "significant social capital that could be enlisted to further the new housing directives" (Miraftab 2003: 226, citing Mayekiso, 1996). Nevertheless, despite the above progressive components which were in place, the South African studies submitted by the various writers such as Tomlinson, 1999; Jenkins, 1999; Ruiters and Bond, 1996; Bolnick, 1999 and Bond, 2000a, reflect that community participation has not flourished under the government's new housing policies (Miraftab, 2003). This study will therefore look at some of the challenges as revealed in the WHSP. However let us first interrogate these policies and see how they have accommodated participation.

Section 26 (1) of the Bill of Rights in Chapter 2 of the South African Constitution of 1996 states that "everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing". The housing policy's vision reaffirms this statement when it defines housing "as a variety of processes through which habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments are created for viable households and communities."

The above statement also identifies the environment where the houses are situated to be as important as the houses themselves, in order to satisfy the needs and requirements of those who live in them. The policy regards housing as a basic human right, where people have a right to live in dignity and in liveable conditions. The challenge the government had, was adequate resources and therefore it has to develop a strategy on how to work together with other stakeholders, for example, the private sector, to be able to deliver.

The policy also emphasises the commitment the government has in development that is people-centred. It has committed itself to supporting community initiatives and to ensure that these communities are empowered. The government sees this as an opportunity for communities to be able to empower themselves economically, be

able to build their physical environment and by doing so be able to satisfy their basic needs. However, government cannot achieve this alone but will need communities who are equally committed and active.

The policy also states that the past approaches to development are the ones which have posed a challenge today as they were top-down. The government believes that by changing these approaches and adopting a people-centred housing development it will be able to overcome the challenges from the old approaches. The government subsidy policy indicates that "meaningful and structured participation by communities in the process of needs identification, prioritisation, planning and the implementation of housing development projects will increasingly become central requirements of Government policy and subsidy assistance." The government also believes that by increasing people's involvement in decision making, you make them to be more accountable in the housing delivery process.

Part 3 of a comprehensive document which explicitly states the whole vision for housing in South Africa (known as the National Housing Code, 2009) describes various housing subsidy schemes available to the South African population; such as the Enhanced People's Housing Process (EPHP) (formerly known as the People's Housing Process (PHP)) and the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) or referred to as the Informal Settlements Upgrading Programme (ISUP). It is important for this discussion to look at these Programmes as the WHS programme is based on them. However, this study will first look at the origin of the PHP.

3.5 THE PEOPLES HOUSING PROCESS

"Of the total delivery to date less than 10% have been via PHP. This shows that despite the document evidence of the huge benefits of PHP it has been an insignificant contributor to this housing delivery" (Manie, 2004: 1).

3.5.1 The origin, definition and aims of the People's Housing Process

According to Manie (2006: 2) "Although the origins of PHP can be traced back to the Burgess/Turner debate of the 60's and 70's, the PHP framework adopted in 1998 is based on more recent examples of assisted self-housing within a capital subsidy based scheme pioneered in Chile since 1977." The writer cites Gilbert (2002) and

argues that countries like Columbia, Costa Rica and eventually South Africa in 1994 used self-housing as their subsidy scheme.

Manie (2006 citing Gilbert, 2002) suggests that according to the World Bank and United Nations perspective, developing economies which experience huge housing backlogs and income inequalities needed the self-housing subsidy scheme to overcome their challenges. In South Africa, according to Khan and Thring (2003) the national Department of Housing in its 1994 housing policy supported the importance of creating a self-housing subsidy scheme.

However, Khan and Thring (2003) maintain that it is not explicit whether South Africa was put under pressure by organisations such as the World Bank who, as mentioned earlier, advocated self-help schemes or there was pressure from within the country from non-governmental organisations (NGO's) and community based organisations (CBO's) like the South African Homeless People's Federation (SAHPF). Nonetheless, this process finally led to the tabling of the 'National Policy for Supporting the People's Housing Process' to Ministers and Members of Executive Council (MINMEC) for comment and approval on 11 May 1998.

According to the NHC (2007) the People's Housing Process (PHP) supported households who wanted to build or organise the building of their houses themselves. It was therefore described as the "housing delivery mechanism whereby beneficiary households build, or organise between themselves, the building of their own homes, make a 'sweat equity' contribution through their labour and exercise a greater choice in the application of their housing subsidy through their direct involvement in the entire process" (Incremental Interventions: People's Housing Process Delivery Mechanism, version 1, 2007: 9, also see Ogunfiditimi 2008, Oosthuizen 2003, Koukis 1990).

However, Khan and Thring (2003) argue that the People's Housing Process has been defined in many ways depending on who defines it. They maintain that there have been different definitions from the state and interest groups. This is evident when Manie (2006: 3) suggests that the PHP was overcrowded by what she called 'a range of competing agendas' of which some were either clear or concealed. The writer therefore maintains that non-governmental organisations like Development

Action Group (DAG) and the South African Homeless People's Federation (SAHPF) did establish different tactics when it came to the PHP.

Nonetheless Khan and Thring (2003: 326 citing the People's Housing Partnership Trust (PHPT), 1998) define the PHP in the following manner:

> "*While many people need houses, official housing programmes have not been able to meet the diverse needs of our various communities, and the necessary resources are not always readily available. People have consequently, over the years, been building houses for themselves. This is what is referred to as the 'People's Housing Process'. Typically it is where individuals, families or groups take the initiative to organise the planning, design and the building of, or actually build, their own homes.*"

Khan and Thring (2003), therefore insist that from the above definition it can be established that PHP is a process where individuals have the liberty to build their own houses in an informal way and not being forced to follow a particular path.

3.5.2 The benefits, criticism and review of the PHP Policy

Benefits that have been identified in the People's Housing Process are the sizes of the houses (houses are bigger than the normal RDP houses), the savings made when building the house and most importantly, the support the individuals give each other during construction (see Housing Code, 2007; Khan and Thring, 2003). Other benefits according to DAG as cited by Manie (2006) are the consciousness of the value of the house by beneficiaries, improvements and changes made to the houses by beneficiaries, establishment of savings group and micro lending and the increase on participation especially by women. This was confirmed by Patricia Matholengwe in an interview with her when she suggested that it was mostly women who were involved in the construction of houses in their project (the well-known Victoria Mxenge project in Philippi), (Interview with Patricia Matholengwe on 30 June 2010).

Yet, the PHP also has some shortcomings and as such it has been criticised a lot by those against it. According to DAG, some of the criticisms levelled against PHP are genuine whereas others are unfounded. Its slowness, labour contributions and personal savings required to qualify were highly criticised (see Khan and Thring,

2003). Bolnick (2010: 7) argues that "according to Government records the number of houses built via the PHP is 5%. This equates to 165 000 houses. Whilst official figures have not been kept for genuine PHP projects, their number has not exceeded 30 000 to 40 000." The following table illustrates the PHP houses that have been built in SA from 1994 to 2008 and the number of informal housing and formal housing.

SHELTER DELIVERY	FORMAL (SUBSIDY) HOUSING	INFORMAL HOUSING
Developer Built	2,260,000.00	0
People built	40,000.00	2,200,000.00[1]
Total	**2,300,000.00**	**2,200,000.00**

Table 1 SA housing Statistics 1994 to 2008: Formal versus informal. (Source: Bolnick, 2010: 7).

Manie (2006) cites DAG's criticisms of PHP. DAG suggests that 'traditional' PHP is best suitable for small projects rather than big community projects. It requires a high level of participation which more than often complicates the delivery process. The ill-founded criticisms include poor quality of houses, poor planning and management and a lot of corruption.

A new Comprehensive Plan referred to as "Breaking New Ground" (BNG) was made public in 2004 by the DoH. BNG aimed at developing sustainable human settlements[32] over a period of five years. BNG also aimed at embracing the People's

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[32] This means that "the present and future inhabitants of sustainable human settlements located both in urban and rural areas, live in a safe and a secure environment and have adequate access to economic opportunities, a mix of safe and secure housing and tenure types, reliable and affordable basic services, educational, entertainment and cultural activities and health, welfare and police services. Land utilization is well planned, managed and monitored to ensure the development of compact, mixed land-use, diverse, life-enhancing environments with maximum possibilities for pedestrian movement and transit via safe and efficient public transport in cases where motorized means of movement is imperative. Specific attention is paid to ensuring that low-income housing is provided in close proximity to areas of opportunity. Investment in a house becomes a crucial injection in the second economy, and a desirable asset that grows in value and acts as a generator and holder of wealth. Sustainable human settlements are supportive of the communities which reside there, thus contributing towards greater social

Contract[33] as the way of delivering. According to the People's Contract people must be organised to partner with the department so as to deliver houses. By introducing this new plan the DoH wanted to strengthen the relations with the people and other stakeholders to attain sustainable human settlements. The National Housing Code (NHC, 2009) states that:

> It is essential that communities and beneficiaries of government housing programmes be mobilised to partner in the implementation of the new human settlements plan.....*Communities and community-based organisations must be mobilised to engage more effectively with the housing programme.*

The PHP was one of the strategies that the Comprehensive Plan mentioned so as to execute the new plan. According to the plan it "called for the redirecting of the PHP by redefining the PHP, establishing a new funding mechanism for PHP and for providing sufficient institutional support for the newly defined PHP" (Social and Rental Interventions: People's Housing Process – Breaking New Ground in Housing Delivery).

The Programme of Action (PoA) introduced by the government in December 2007 prioritised the PHP programme and therefore introduced the Enhanced People's Housing Process (EPHP) programme. The PHP policy of September 2005 was then substituted by the EPHP policy framework in April 2009.

3.5.3 The Enhanced People's Housing Process

3.5.3.1 What does EPHP entail, its intentions and principles?

The PHP strategy that was the product of the PHP forums held during October 2005 and February 2006 identified that the communities should be at the centre of the decision making process within the various approaches to community development. It also mentioned community empowerment and the availability of extra resources so as to make the project viable. According to the NHC (2009), therefore EPHP "should be seen as a new housing programme, with dedicated support and funding for

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cohesion, social crime prevention, moral regeneration, support for national heritage, recognition and support of indigenous knowledge systems, and the ongoing extension of land rights". (Breaking New Ground Policy)

[33] Government's programme of action for 2003 to work in partnership with the people of South Africa, as part of a national effort to build a better life for all. (The Tide has Turned, Build A Peoples Contract for a Better South Africa)

harnessing community initiative, community empowerment and building community partnerships."

The EPHP has a wide variety of intentions; however it is paramount for this study to focus to those intentions relevant to it. The EPHP intends to provide improved human settlement results with communities playing a vital role, create stakeholder partnerships and providing extra resources. According to the NHC (2009) "this is achieved by developing livelihoods interventions which lead to outcomes such as job creation, developing a culture of savings, skills transfer, and community empowerment, building of community assets and social security and cohesion."

The EPHP intention is also to empower communities to lead the housing development process by being active and participate in these processes. It intends promoting the social capital existing within the communities instead of ignoring the contributions that the society has made towards its development. It does away with the fact that sweaty equity be the deciding aspect for the programme by valuing other contributions. The NHC (2009) suggests that, the "EPHP is based on the principles of community decision making/choice, community contribution and partnerships and leveraging additional resources."

3.5.3.2 Funding for community participation and empowerment in the EPHP

EPHP provides capital funding, capacity building funding, community/equity funding and bridging finance. For the purpose of this study let us look at the capacity building funding and community/equity funding.

Capacity building funding

The capacity building fund is critical in facilitating community participation and in pulling the needed resources. This funding speaks to various features of the housing development process:

- **Pre-project consumer education funding**: This is the funding provided by the National Department to equip people with information about housing in general and be given an opportunity to decide on the housing delivery method they want (NHC, 2009). Upon choosing EPHP they're educated on the

requirements of the programme and the 'project specific capacity building and facilitation funding' is made available to them.

- **Project specific capacity building and facilitation funding:** This fund is provided by the Province and is divided into project stage (where communities are organised to participate, formulate community structures, establish savings groups etc.; during the project stage (Community Resource Organisations (CRO's) ensure that procedures and systems are in place and lastly, project closure stage (CRO's provide training to the beneficiaries on how to maintain their houses, etc.).

Community Contributions/Equity

The NHC (2009) suggests that the project can only be deemed as qualifying for the EPHP programme if the community contributions/equity is part of the project's planning. The Code suggests several contributions of which at least four of them are required in a specific project. These are, for example, community members contributing their time; communities selecting recognised Community Resource Organisations (CRO's); create partnerships; make savings contributions etc. (see NHC, 2009). However, these need to be part of the first two stages mentioned above i.e. pre-project stage and during the project stage.

3.6 UPGRADING OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

3.6.1 The background – Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP)

A positive step towards addressing the challenge of informal settlement in the country was the establishment of the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme. Part 3 of the National Housing Code (NHC) (2009) stipulates that this Programme is "instituted in terms of section 3(4) (g) of the Housing Act, 1997 (Act No. 107 of 1997), ("The Housing Act") and is referred to as the National Housing Programme: Upgrading of Informal Settlements." The programme according to the NHC intends providing tenure security, health and security and empowerment through facilitating "the structured *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements as opposed to relocation" (NHC, 2009).

The UISP has been prompted, according to a Development Action Group Report (2007), by the post 1994 informal settlements which have significantly increased due to the increased demand for housing. National Housing Policy and Subsidy Programmes (NHPSP), (2010) stipulates that the challenge of informal settlements however, is something that is being experienced in developing countries where urbanisation fails to address the needs of the poor, resulting in them flocking to the cities in a quest for better prospects.

According to the DAG report (2007: 4):

> *Internationally, upgrading is seen as the incremental formalization of settlements in their original locations with the aim to over time improve the conditions of settlements characterized by poor quality housing and the inadequate provision of infrastructure and services. In most cases upgrading programmes tend to include the provision of basic services such as piped water, sanitation, drainage and roads or paths, with more progressive approaches aiming to provide in situ upgrading with incremental housing.*

However, various factors are taken into consideration before the upgrade takes place. According to Huchzermeyer (2009: 64) it is critical that "any geotechnical or other risk to the inhabitants can be mitigated." The writer further argues that if such elements are identified as potential threats people will have to be relocated to other areas, but that should be that final remedy to the situation after all has been considered.

This study will now look at how the UISP is implemented.

3.6.2 Implementation and benefits of the UISP

The NHC (2009) stipulates that the "programme is designed to facilitate the *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements in a structured way. It includes the possible relocation and resettlement of people on a voluntary and co-operative basis as may be appropriate." The programme according to the NHC will also not be applicable to any other projects, be it National or Provincial Housing Programmes, which are not consistent with the National Housing Policy.

According to Bolnick (2010) the UISP is to be implemented in four phases. These phases according to the NHPSP (2010: 7, also see NHC, 2009) are "community participation, planning, emergency services and housing construction as part of a final phase." Bolnick (2010: 5 citing Mark Misselhorn, April 2008) argues that the UISP is a major policy shift and "in broad terms these policies entertain approaches which are more flexible, participative, and integrated."

According to the NHPSP (2010) access to housing, basic services, secure tenure motivates the individuals to want to improve their socio-economic conditions. This is accentuated by Huchzermeyer (2006: 49) when she argues that "*in situ* upgrading is more likely to be responsive to poverty and vulnerability, and to lead to social inclusion, than a relocation process, due to the socio-economic disruption (of delicately balanced livelihoods) associated with the latter."

The NHPSP (2010: 6) suggests that "the programme therefore aims to bring social cohesion, stability and security in integrated developments and to create jobs and economic well-being for communities which did not previously have access to land and business services, formal housing and social and economic amenities." For the Witsand community the programme was quite relevant as they have occupied unused land with no basic services and amenities.

According to Huchzermeyer (2006: 52 citing the Department of Housing, 2005c: 16) "under *Project Implementation,* the following possible social facilities are added: 'early childhood development facilities, primary health clinics, recreational and community facilities [and] public open space improvements'." Whereas "economic development in turn is to be achieved through 'municipal-level economic infrastructure such as transportation hubs, workspaces and markets'" (Huchzermeyer (2006: 52 citing Department of Housing, 2005c: 5).

The DAG report (2007: 4) suggests that the UISP was much better than the ordinary housing delivery system as "housing was not resulting in integrated sustainable development, as it had not been complemented with other services which allowed for the development of integrated communities." This means that the social and economic facilities provided through this programme are able to create what we can refer to as the integrated sustainable development or integrated sustainable

communities. Therefore "upgrading is seen by DAG as creating an impetus for inclusive and integrated development, which has the potential to alleviate or in a best case scenario reduce poverty, and integrate the informal settlement into the wider city" (DAG report, 2007: 8).

3.6.3 How is participation and empowerment promoted through UISP?

It has earlier been indicated that there are three important intentions of this programme and one of them is empowerment. Empowerment according to this programme is "to address social and economic exclusion by focussing on community empowerment and the promotion of social and economic integration, building social capital through participative processes and addressing the broader social needs of communities" (NHC, 2009).

To address the above intent the programme therefore, according to Huchzermeyer, (2009: 64), "makes available funding for immediate provision of basic services, for community empowerment and participation in decision making, for the provision of basic community facilities (not only infrastructure and housing), and for assistance with relocation where this is required."

The funding is made available in accordance with the number of the qualifying people. The funding will be, amongst other things, for the facilitation of community participation and empowerment. According to the NHC (2009) the funding available to facilitate community participation and empowerment "amounts to 3% of the project cost for Phases 1 to 3." This is done "to ensure that community members assume ownership of their own development and project" (NHC, 2009).

The NHC (2009) argues that "international best practice has proved that one of the factors contributing towards the successful upgrading of informal settlements is the role of the community, targeted by the development intervention, will play in the process." The DAG report (2007: 9) suggests that:

> *Inherent in the process of people-driven development is their participation, which implies that people are actively involved in their own process of development. By empowering people to participate in their own development process they are*

able to move beyond simply being beneficiaries of development to partners in the development process.

The DAG report means that if people become partners they can easily own the development as targeted by the NHC. According to Huchermeyer (2006: 57) "an important aspect of the paradigm shift will lie in community involvement in the layout planning process." This will be caused by the fact that the UISP is "'not desirable to determine uniform or minimum stand sizes', and that 'actual stand sizes should emerge through a process of dialogue between local authorities and residents'" (Huchermeyer, 2006: 57 citing the Department of Housing, 2005c: 7).

The above statements mean that the community should be involved from the very beginning of the development and assist in determining the outcome of the layout plan, as according to the NHC (2009) "the community has deep routed knowledge of its development needs and preferences." The DAG report (2007: 9) maintains that "One of the greatest benefits of participation which enables people to form cooperative partnerships with other stakeholders - whereby they are able to identify, own and manage the outcomes of the decisions,- is that interventions have a greater likelihood of being effective, efficient and sustainable."

This study will now look at the challenges of this programme.

3.6.4 The challenges of Informal Settlements and the UISP

As indicated earlier, relocation processes can lead to socio-economic disruptions. However, according to Bolnick (2010: 10) "the 2.1 million households who still inhabit informal settlements, as well as the thousands who migrate to urban areas every year continue to face the threat of eviction, adding uncertainty to their lives." The reason for this is that there is still a "general perception by Government and private sector that informal settlements should be 'eradicated'" (Bolnick, 2010: 11). Huchzermeyer (2009: 60) agrees when she suggests that the "motivation to eradicate or eliminate informal settlements through their removal has intensified."

The DAG report (2007: 3) suggests that this attitude emanates from the "National housing targets set in 2004, optimistically aim all informal settlements to be eradicated by 2014." According to the report:

"*Most concerning, has been the response by the state to 'eradicate' (or most recently reduce) informality, either through evictions or highly technocratic and often market driven infrastructure based upgrading programmes, which often only have marginal economic benefits for the poor and do not acknowledge investments which informal dwellers had placed on their homes*" (DAG report, 2007: 2).

Huchzermeyer (2006: 44 citing Sisulu, 2004) maintains that "in her budget speech in June 2004, the newly appointed (fourth) Housing Minister, Lindiwe Sisulu, emphasised that 'this government has indicated its intention to moving towards a shack-free society'." The Minister also pointed that "the Premier of the Gauteng Province intended to 'eradicate informal settlements' in his Province in the next 10 years" (Huchzermeyer, 2006: 44 citing Sisulu, 2004). One can see the determination by government to remove informal settlements.

Huchzermeyer (2009: 61) maintains that the 'tone' the government uses against informal housing indicates that "it is dealing with a sinister, undesirable, pathological and criminal process." Huchzermeyer (2009: 61) further argues that "terminology otherwise applied to life-threatening epidemics and violent crime is officially used: 'eradication' (Palitza, 2005 quoting the Minister of Housing), 'elimination' (Provincial Government of KwaZulu-Natal, 2007) and 'zero tolerance' (City of Johannesburg, 2002:89; Spadework Consortium, 2000, cited in Huchzermeyer, 2004a)."

The challenge with this removal is that "a significant proportion of those living informally will be relocated far from the city, services and job opportunities because of land affordability" (Bolnick, 2010: 4). Another serious challenge according to Bolnick (2010: 6) is that "all the intermediary phases that allow for incremental upgrading are not approved by the State unless they lead to Phase 4." Huchezermeyer (2006: 55 – 56 citing the Department of Housing, 2005c: 29 and 2005c: 17) maintains that:

"Social inclusion, however, is limited in phase 4 of the Programme, '*Housing Consolidation'.* In this phase, the Programme reverts back to the household-linked capital subsidy mode of the national subsidy scheme through which municipalities intervened in informal settlements over the past 10 years. This

phase of the Programme appears to be poorly resolved and in contradiction with the earlier phases. Instead of treating individual ownership as one of several tenure options, and indeed not the most recommended one, it treats individual freehold ownership as the end state of the upgrading, and as the condition for application for a consolidation subsidy."

Bolnick (2010: 6) agrees when she argues that "instead of using the flexibility and space that this policy allows to find innovative solutions that translate into action on the ground many Municipalities have utilized UISP and BNG funding to fast-track subsidies for conventional projects." These are not all the challenges the informal settlements and the Programme faces (see Huchzermeyer 2006: 41 - 61) however the ones mentioned are more relevant to this study. Looking at the few challenges cited above it seems as if the government needs to adopt a different attitude towards informal settlements and also revisit the programme and effect the necessary changes and behaviours.

3.7 CONCLUSIONS

3.7.1 Conclusion on PHP and EPHP

This study has summarised the evolution of PHP and also highlighted the benefits and criticisms of the programme. PHP is based on the participation by community members in their development, which is quite important for this study. The significant difference of this programme to other housing programmes is that the community members are involved in the building of their own houses. It requires 'sweat equity' from the beneficiaries and this has been seen as the most important contributor which makes beneficiaries to take care of their own homes. Because beneficiaries are involved in the building of their own homes extra resources can be utilised, resulting in bigger houses. However the PHP has been blamed for its slowness.

As much as the participation by beneficiaries in the building of their houses was welcomed, the 'sweat equity' as the key contributing factor was rejected by international bodies as exploitation of the poor. This and other factors resulted in the review of the PHP policy hence the EPHP. Although the involvement of beneficiaries is also enforced in the EPHP through contribution of time (attending meetings);

creating partnerships; making savings contributions etc., the 'sweat equity' requirement as the major contributor has been removed. The EPHP also provides funding for the participation and empowerment of the beneficiaries through various funding ways such as capacity building funding and community contributions/equity.

3.7.2 Conclusion about Upgrading of Informal Settlements

The discussion on the UISP above has indicated that the purpose of the Programme is to implement an *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements so as to limit relocation. This has been caused by the number of informal settlements that have been established since 1994. Relocation is to be avoided as it normally puts people away from economic opportunities like jobs and also affects the social networks that had been established within the community. However, the relocation process can be undertaken as mentioned earlier 'only as a last resort'.

The relocation process will therefore be done in close cooperation with the community involved and must be in a 'voluntary and co-operative' manner. The reason is that the Programme promotes community participation and as such provides funding to facilitate community participation and empowerment. The Programme is implemented in 4 different phases and includes the provision of basic services such as water and sanitation. It is also responsible for funding social facilities like pre-schools, community centres and open spaces for children.

The Programme and Informal settlements in general however, are experiencing challenges. The social inclusion experienced during the first 3 phases of the programme is often lost in the 4th phase as this phase adopts the 'household-linked capital subsidy' method which automatically excludes some individuals. This poses a challenge to the programme and as indicated earlier this is the area that needs to be revisited. The Informal settlements on the other side have not been treated kindly by the authorities as such words like 'eradication', 'elimination' and 'zero tolerance' have been used to get rid of them. Nonetheless Informal settlements have been praised for promoting the spatial restructuring of the South African cities as many of them are well located close to these economic hubs. This therefore establishes the integrated communities we so envisage.

3.7.3 General conclusion about housing policy

It has been indicated that according to the South African Constitution every person has a right to have access to housing. However the government has a challenge in addressing this need because of the shortage of resources (funding, land, staff, skills, time). Therefore everyone has a role to play to ensure that this need is addressed. One of the strategies the government has used to address this challenge is to do away with the development approaches of the past which were top-down. According to their policy documents they have adopted a people-centred approach to address the need.

Hence, the department of human settlements has introduced various housing typologies, such the PHP/EPHP; UISP/ISUP; social housing etc, all of which provide for participation. However, problems are being experienced in these programmes. These emanate from various causes. It has been indicated that through the original PHP it has been established that the building of the houses is quite slow, resulting in the introduction of the EPHP, also called the 'managed' PHP by other authors. Other challenges are that the officials themselves have not been kind in the approach in implementing some of these policies, for example, the UISP.

Nonetheless these policies are good enough to organise and mobilise communities to participate in their development. The following chapter will explore the Witsand case study.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY: WITSAND HUMAN SETTLEMENT PROJECT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview of the Witsand Human Settlement Project (WHSP). It examines the background and history of this Witsand informal settlement. This includes the location of the area, the number of the inhabitants and the development that has taken place to date. The chapter will also focus on how participation, conflict, the role of authorities, policies, the concepts of social sustainability and social capital have affected the WHSP.

The Witsand informal settlement in Atlantis originally fell under the former Blaauwberg administration, and currently forms part of subcouncil 1[34] within the City of Cape Town municipality. The name Blaauwberg (also spelt Blouberg) originates from Dutch, meaning 'Blue Mountain'. (Battle of Blaauwberg Heritage Committee 2011). Blaauwbergstrand (also called Bloubergstrand), which is an Afrikaans word meaning "blue mountain beach", is approximately 25km to the north of Cape Town city centre. The beach at Bloubergstrand is a well-known location, attracting many visitors seeking a photographic view of Table Mountain across the bay, hence the name 'Blue Mountain'. Robben Island[35] is also located approximately 6,9km to the west of this area.

Initially the Cape Town metropolitan area was managed by several (more than 30) small municipalities or administrations. After 1996 the Cape Town metropolitan area was divided into six municipalities - Cape Town/Central, Tygerberg, South Peninsula, Blaauwberg, Oostenberg and Helderberg – along with a Metropolitan Council to oversee the administration of the whole metropolitan area. Following the 2000 municipal elections these areas were combined to establish the City of Cape Town metropolitan municipality, also occasionally referred to as the "Unicity".

Since then, the City of Cape Town metropolitan municipality has been divided into 24 subcouncils. Subcouncils consist of geographically clustered wards with proportional

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[34] Subcouncil 1 is "broadly known as Blaauwberg"(City of Cape Town website, 2011: Subcouncil 1)
[35] Robben Island is the tourist destination where former political prisoners like Nelson Mandela were kept during the Apartheid era.

councillors assigned to them and led by a subcouncil chairman who is elected by a majority vote of each subcouncil. As mentioned earlier, the former Blaauwberg administration is part of subcouncil 1 and its present chairperson is Councillor Heather Brenner. According to the City of Cape Town's website (2011) "Subcouncil 1 stretches from Milnerton along 30km of glorious coastline to Atlantis in the north"
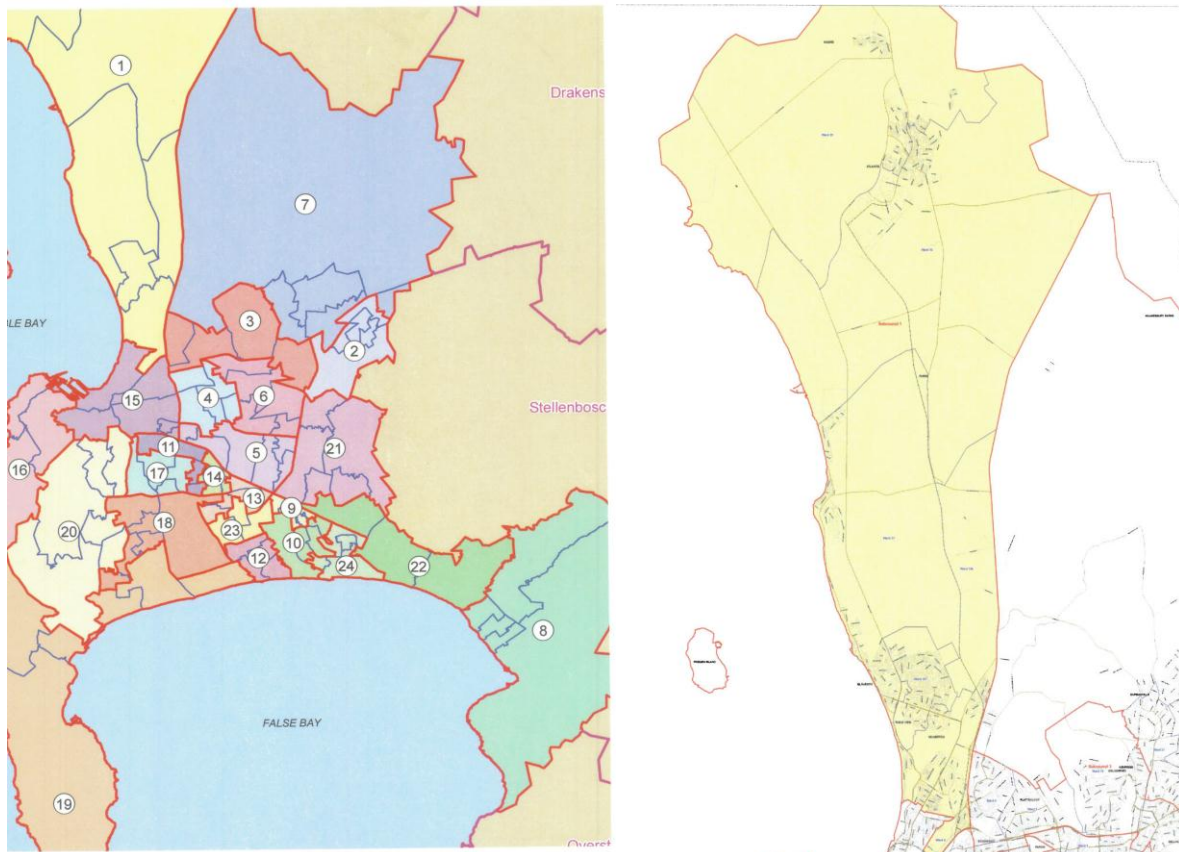
Figure 5 and 6: Maps showing the 24 Subcouncils and Subcouncil 1 – Date: 2011 (Source: City of Cape Town website: Subcouncils)

Subcouncils are responsible for providing the City of Cape Town residents with various municipal services such as health, water, sewerage systems, roads, traffic safety, and housing (including sites and services). People communicate their needs through these subcouncils. The subcouncils communicate with citizens through e-mails, newsletters and public meetings. According to the City of Cape Town website (2011: Subcouncils) "Public participation is a vital aspect of subcouncil work". Particulars of stakeholders, ratepayers, and civic organisations within a specific subcouncil are kept in the database of that particular subcouncil. They also work very closely with community organisations which exist in their areas. Conversely,

they have "to make recommendations to Council on any matter affecting its area of jurisdiction" (Section 61 Subcouncils – subcouncil by-law 2003).

As mentioned earlier, subcouncils consist of wards. The wards in each subcouncil are normally between three and seven ((City of Cape Town website, 2011: Subcouncils). The City of Cape Town municipality has 111 wards with an estimated number of 13 000 to 15 000 voters for each individual ward. Subcouncil 1 under which Witsand falls has six wards. These are ward 4, ward 23, ward 29, ward 32, ward 104 and ward 107. (City of Cape Town website, 2011: Subcouncils). The Witsand informal settlement belongs to ward 32.

Each ward is represented by a ward councillor who is elected by the community. Ward councillors are members of the respective subcouncils and also members of the portfolio committees[36]. There are various portfolio committees which include amongst others, community services, corporate services, human settlements, finance etc. The ward councillors are the ones who interact directly with the communities and represent them within the subcouncil. The ward councillors are responsible for establishing ward committees. They are chairpersons of ward committees. The present (2012) ward councillor for ward 32, of which the Witsand informal settlement forms part, is councillor Barbara Rass. She is a member of the Social Development and Early Childhood Portfolio Committee of the Council.

The ward councillors are advised by the ward committees on matters pertaining to the ward. The ward committees are supposed to be a "direct link between a community and the structures of Council" (City of Cape Town website, 2011: Subcouncils). Ward committees consist of up to 10 members "which must accurately reflect the registered CBOs in the ward in the relevant sectors including ratepayers' and civic organisations, faith-based organisations, safety and security groups, environmental groups, early education, youth organisations, arts and culture, sport, the business community and designated vulnerable groups such as the aged, gender and the disabled" (City of Cape Town website, 2011: Subcouncils). Ward committees also have various important functions. However on my interview with

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[36] Portfolio committees are responsible for formulating and monitoring the City of Cape Town Council's by-laws and policies. They are also known as 'section 79 committees'. (City of Cape Town website, 2011: About Council)

councillor Rass on 12 November 2011, she indicated that the ward committee in Witsand has yet to be established.

4.2 HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENT

Witsand is an informal settlement in Atlantis which is a town in the Western Cape province of South Africa. Atlantis is approximately 40km from central Cape Town *(See figure 7 and 8).* This town came into existence in 1975 because the so called coloured people were to be moved away from the Cape Town city centre as a result of apartheid policies, where non-whites were relocated to the periphery of the city. Atlantis presently has a population of about 210,000 residents. There is a very high level of poverty and unemployment in the town (PEER Africa/KCIHT EECO Show Case Human Settlement Project, Unknown date; Nel and Meston, 1996; Stafford, 2005; Wikipedia, 2011: Atlantis).

When Atlantis was originally created, the government of the day attempted, in anticipation of the influx of people, to provide an employment base. This was done by instituting a program to encourage industry to locate there, through subsidies and other incentives. The Atlantis Industrial Zone was established as an industrial growth point in the mid-1970s and set up with adequate infrastructure and services, in order to support future growth in the area. Industrial development was encouraged through attractive allowances to industrialists and a large investment in housing and community services.

According to Nel and Meston (1996: 90) Atlantis "was clearly planned as an ethno-city with its own economic base". The writers suggest that people were not forced to go to Atlantis, but they did move to the place as they were attracted by things such as accommodation. They say that by 1986 approximately 69 per cent of the coloured people have relocated to Atlantis. Nel and Meston (1996: 90 citing Newton 1988) argue that "the government as such exploited people's insecurity in terms of housing to force the development and occupation of the town."

Nel and Meston (1996: 92) maintain that "the national political crisis which had peaked in 1989 and the announcement that previously available government industrial incentives were to be phased out dealt a severe blow to the town and its

residents." According to the writers the firms could not stomach the risk and this resulted in 21 factories closing down and about 2000 jobs being lost within two years. Nel and Meston (1996: 92 citing Coetzee 1992; FCR 1993a) maintain that "in addition, the largest firm, the Atlantis Diesel Engine plant, retrenched 800 of its 3,000 strong labour force. By 1993, one-third of all industrial jobs had been lost."

When these subsidies were finally withdrawn, factories were themselves responsible for the payment of certain bills which originally they were not responsible for, which included the high costs for transport. Most businesses therefore decided to migrate closer to and some even moved into the Cape Town Central Business District (CBD).[37] Now, different sources indicate a decline in the business in Atlantis for example one source indicates that approximately 3% of the original companies are still running business in Atlantis (Wikipedia, 2001: Atlantis, Western Cape), whereas the Atlantis Transformation Research document indicates that in 1996 unemployment was 15.5% while in 2001, it was 20.1%. The City of Cape Town's Draft Revitalisation Framework (2011) suggests that almost 850 jobs were lost in the 18 months before the report was written. However a number of organisations are lending social and economic assistance to the people of Atlantis.

Atlantis Industrial and its adjoining residential suburb Wesfleur are located 7 km inland on the Cape West Coast. Noteworthy landmarks in the surrounding area are Eskom's Koeberg nuclear power station, which is located approximately 9 km southwest, and the settlement of Mamre[38] located more or less 3 km to the north. The main access to Atlantis is provided by the West Coast road (R27) and the N7 national roads, and locally by the R307. The Open Cycle Gas Turbine (OCGT) Power Station is located within the existing Industrial Area of Atlantis.

Witsand, together with the residential townships of Atlantis, are located 3-6 km to the northeast of the industrial area. Witsand itself is approximately 4km from Atlantis with a population of 10,000, mostly black people (Better together kindergarden, 2012). The Atlantis residential suburb closest to Witsand is Protea Park. East of Witsand runs the R304 which connects this township to the N7, the main North-South

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[37] Factories such as, Paarden Island, Killarney and Epping, and others wanted to be closer to means of transportation as well as the airport and harbour.
[38] A former Moravian Mission Station

national route linking Cape Town with the Northern Cape Province *(see figure 8 and figure 10 on following pages)*.

The Witsand settlement came into existence in the early 1990s. Fundiswa Makeleni (2011), who arrived in Witsand in 1993, remembers very well how the situation was then. She says there were only 10 shacks when she arrived. There were no roads, toilets and water. They only got water from the tank which was filled up on specific days by a white man and were to share it amongst them. The water was not enough for the people and this caused some friction between community members. They then protested to the municipality for the installation of taps. Only one tap was installed, but by then there were about 500 people in the area.

Some of the people in the Witsand informal settlement originally came from the surrounding farms. When they lost their jobs on the farms they decided to erect shacks on the nearby open space which was then a forest. However, according to Stafford (2005: 93) the people in Witsand were migrants from the Eastern Cape who came to Cape Town to look for work and then squatted in the area where they constructed shacks on the sand dunes east of Atlantis.

According to Malvern Cupido (2011) who was the project manager of the project at that stage, some people were from Atlantis, where they defaulted on their housing bonds and as such were evicted from their houses; whereas others were from the backyard shacks which they also rented in Atlantis. They were then joined by other people working for the factories. Malvern Cupido suggests that the land they occupied was privately owned. This is supported by Stafford (2005: 93) when he suggests that "the land they squatted on was privately owned but uncultivated, and in the 1990s the government had eased restrictions and ceased evictions of informal settlements."

This community originally consisted of "a dozen families in the early 1990s", but grew "to several thousand in 1994 to more than 6, 000 by 2002" (Stafford 2005: 94). This community according to this writer had no running water and electricity in their houses. This is supported by the Atlantis Transformation Research Project document which states that the area used to have no electricity and people used paraffin and

wood as the primary source of energy[39]. Their homes were one roomed shacks with some having fully furnished houses with doors constructed with cardboard. According to Stafford (2005: 94) "the vast majority (an estimated 70%) were unemployed and the average income for employed workers was only R150 per week, less than the Atlantis average. Those who were employed worked for the factories and also in the farms close by or in Cape Town.

This informal settlement is now almost 20 years old and the unemployment rate[40] is still very high, with approximately 80% of its inhabitants unemployed. The living conditions are deplorable, with one toilet for approximately every 250 persons and uncontrollable summer-time fly infestations. *(See photos 8 and 9).*The people in the informal settlement consume a lot of alcohol[41] and the crime rate also is very high. According to the Census of 2001, "the total percentage of informal dwellings[42]in Atlantis is approximately 8.3%." The percentage of informal dwellings in various sections of Witsands range between 87.2% and 100% of the total. (Atlantis Transformation Research Project, Unknown date: 15).

Photos 8 and 9: Deplorable conditions in Witsand: 25 November 2009 - (Source: Litha Magida)

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[39] Paraffin was utilised at a rate of 3.37%. (Atlantis Transformation Research Project, Unknown date: 55)
[40] The unemployment employment rate according to the 2001 Census was 20.1% in Atlantis and the highest was from Witsand with 39.4% and Witsand SP at 30.2% (Atlantis Transformation Research Project, Unknown date: 16).
[41] Census 2001 indicate that the liquor outlets were more that the churches in Witsand (i.e. 16 against 12). (Atlantis Transformation Research Project, Unknown date: 22).
[42] The official definition of Census 2001 for an informal dwelling is a combination of two dwelling types: "Informal dwelling/shack in backyard" and "Informal dwelling/shack, NOT in backyard, e.g. in an informal/squatter settlement" (StatsSA, 2002)
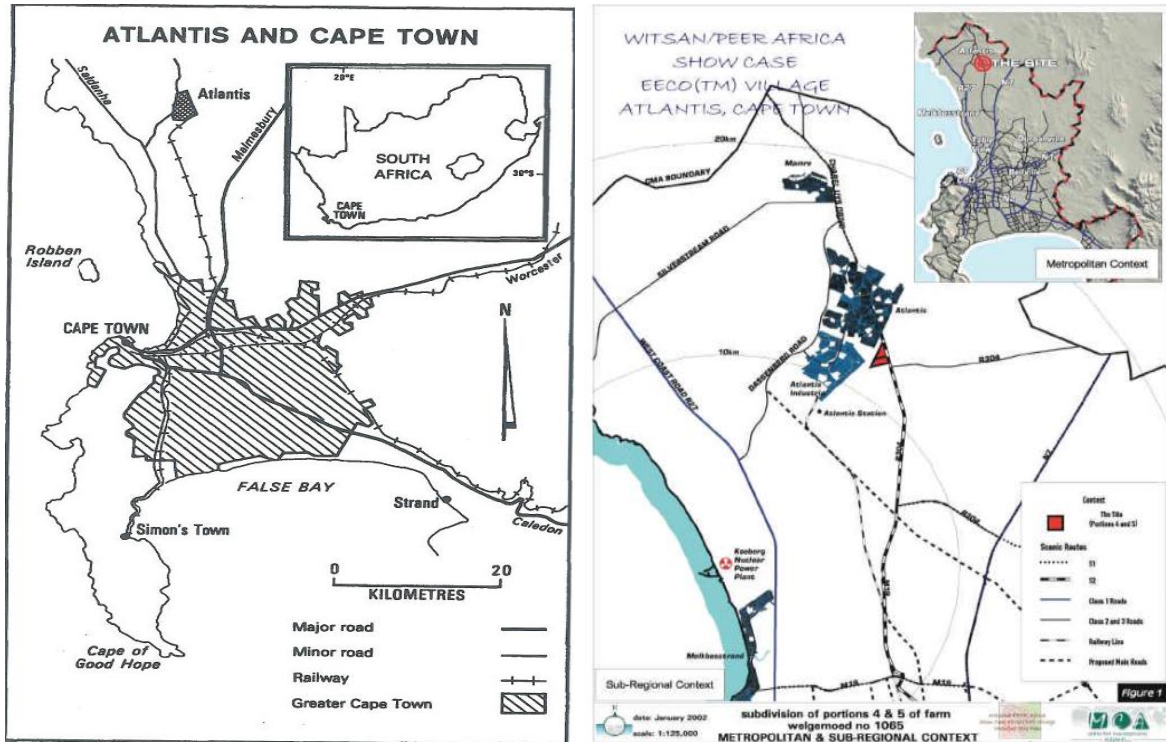
Figure 7 and 8: Maps of Atlantis, dated 1996 (Source: Nel, 1996: 2) and Witsand represented by the red triangle, dated January 2002 (Source: MCA, as cited by Mothusi, 2002)

4.3 OVERVIEW OF THE PROPOSED HOUSING PROJECT

The WHSP was started in 1999/2000 by the Blaauwberg Administration *(see figures 9 and 10* on the following pages*).* Edward Samuels, the former Executive Director of Housing in Blaauwberg decided to implement the project after attending an IIEC/Eskom Energy Advisors workshop in Johannesburg[43]. According to Guy Mothusi, who is the director of PEER Africa[44], Edward Samuels invited their company to Cape Town to become part of the Witsand project. At that stage the project was to be developed under the former policy known as the People's Housing Process (PHP). A public private partnership was forged with the Beneficiary Community, as represented by the Witsand Housing Committee (WHC), Blaauwberg Administration/municipality (the developer) and PEER Africa (PTY) Ltd (development agent).

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[43] During that workshop he saw a presentation that was done by PEER Africa on the Kutlwanong Integrated Energy Environment Empowerment Cost Optimisation (iEEECO) Village project.

[44] PEER Africa is a privately held engineering consulting firm which focuses on developing innovative sustainable communities via public private participation. Their aim is to create community based IEEECO™ competent Small and Medium Enterprises (SMMEs) or stakeholders that can carry on after the project has been completed (and there is no longer a government subsidy). They team with NGOs such as Shack Dwellers International (SDI) or others who specialise in community development via foreign donors and other non-profit organisations. They also team up with universities and research organisations to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of their campaign to develop energy-efficient solutions in the lower income sector.
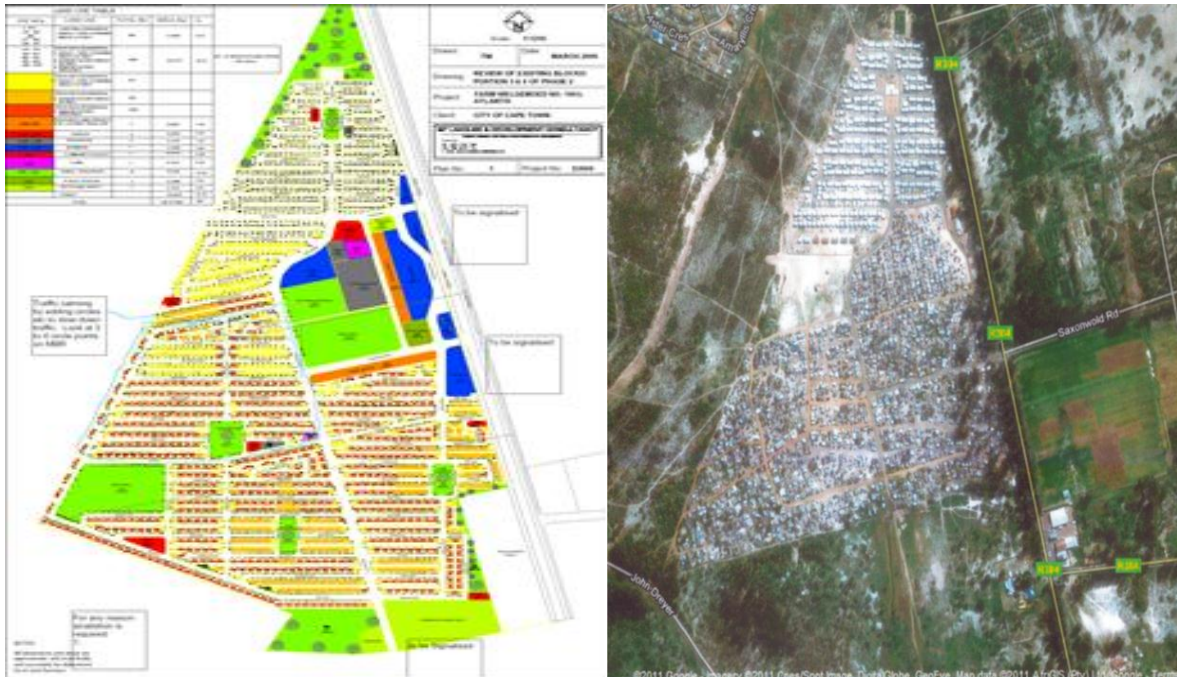
79

Figure 9 and 10: Map and Aerial Photograph of Witsand, dated 2009 (Source: MCA, cited by D. G. Mothusi, 2010) and 2011 (Source: Google Maps, 2012)

The WHSP consists of two phases. The application for Phase 1 consisted of 400 houses (52 houses from Phase 2 were added later) and was approved on the 28th February 2002. However, according to Guy Mothusi, the business plan was moved back and forth between the CoCT and the Province, delaying the start of the project.

Like Edward Samuels, I was attracted to the project by the iEEECO methodology. As highlighted earlier in this study I first visited the project in November 2009 with government officials from various provinces who were attending a 5 day course on Ecological Design for Community Building at the Sustainability Institute, where I work. I watched the community leaders (WEHBSO) representatives, Thatho Hlwili and Yvonne Willem presenting to the group and they looked passionate and knowledgeable about the project and I was quite impressed *(See photos 10, 11, 12 and 13 below).* The project looked like an example of a genuine participatory process where community members were taking a lead in their development therefore implementing the 'bottom-up' approach. It also looked like the community members were united behind the development and that real 'empowerment' was taking place. I therefore decided to use this project as a case study and to find out what this community was doing right which could be shared with other communities. However, getting to know the community and the project was like unpeeling an onion, with a

different picture emerging as each layer was removed. Let's have a closer look on the project.

Photos 10 and 11 – Presentations by Thatho Hlwili and Yvonne Wellem November 2009 (Source: Litha Magida)

Photos 12 and 13 – Government officials listening to presentations by Thatho Hlwili and Yvonne Wellem and also visiting the site: November 2010 (Source: Litha Magida)

4.4. A NEGLECTED COMMUNITY

At the beginning of the project Witsand was known as a 'no go area' for the municipality. Malvern Cupido who was the project manager at that stage, concurred, saying that he had to be protected by community leaders like Patrick Hlwili and others when attending community meetings. Thamie Eland from Kutlwanong Civic Integrated Housing Trust (KCIHT) who was invited to Witsand to convince the community leaders to speak to the municipality remembers the situation well and he said "look, at that time the conflict was between the community and the municipality, not like now where it is between the leaders themselves, where one can see that it's only about stomach issues."

The Witsand community at that time felt that they were neglected by the municipality; hence they did not allow the officials to go into Witsand. Malvern Cupido agree with this statement and in an interview he suggested that the Witsand community initially saw the municipality as favouring the coloured community when there was a development that took place in the coloured community in Atlantis. Thamie Eland insists that not allowing officials to enter their community was caused by 'lack of knowledge' and that some of the community members were gaining from the situation, because police or any other law enforcement also could not enter into Witsand. The point raised by Thamie Eland had also been alluded to by the MEC for housing in the Western Cape, Mr Madikizela on the Cape Times of 5 July 2011 when he said "those involved in illegal activities often prefer to block infrastructure development because it's not easy for law enforcement to trace them" (see Annexure A). Thamie Eland and others had to convince the community that not allowing the officials to get into Witsand was not doing them any good. As Thamie Eland puts it "the health of the kids was in a very bad state; we had to use that situation to make them see that they are just stubborn, but are also killing their own kids in the process." Eventually the municipality was allowed to enter the community and that was the start of development in the community.

4.5 PREPARATION FOR A HUMAN SETTLEMENT

When the municipality was finally allowed to enter Witsand, PEER Africa started working with Malvern Cupido who was the project manager and Rick Brosens who was the new housing director. The project had specific objectives, such as:

- Firstly, the project was to assist the community leaders to come together because the project was no-go area for municipal officials at that time due to violence. Thamie Eland was instrumental in creating an enabling environment for the community leaders to stop fighting and start working together.

- Secondly, it was to work with the CoCT to design a greenfield planning intervention that included redesign of the site the squatters were situated on as an integrated sustainable residential settlement. The intention was that it would be more than just a housing project, in order to maximise the

opportunity for passive solar and other performance oriented climate change benefits and community input in the layout.

- Thirdly, it was to investigate, at the household level, the provision of other sustainable elements including clean transport and local food gardens.

- Finally, it was to promote a culture of health and safety, self-help and local SMME formulation and participation in the project.

The Witsand Housing Committee (WHC) used a card system to manage the allocation of housing to people. People were provided with numbers on their arrival in Witsand, for example, A1 to A100; B1 to B100; C1 to C100, etc. This meant that the first family to arrive was provided with card number A1; the second family with A2; the third with A3 and so on, up to A100. Then they started with the following letter of the alphabet, namely B1, also up to B100 and thereafter continued with further letters of alphabet. The system worked well as people could identify who arrived first (*See photos 14 and 15 – Mzayifani Wellem stayed at shack no. B7, the card was signed by the WHC member on 05 June 2001. On the other side it shows the details of the card owner, for example the date of birth, Identity Document Number, number of dependants and their names, the signature of the card owner and the income per month which is indicated as being between R1, 501 - R2, 500*). The WHC established Block committees. There were about 5 blocks under WHC. The WHC later became the Witsand iEEECO Human Settlement Beneficiary Support Organisation (WEHBSO) because it incorporated the iEEECO methodology.

Photos 14 and 15: The front and the back sides of the Witsand Housing Project card, dated 05 June 2001 (Source: WEHBSO)

When the project started, the people who were given an opportunity to register as beneficiaries were card number A to E. This was done since only 400 housing units were approved. However, some of the people within this category did not qualify for houses due to the following reasons:

- Some did not have birth certificates for their kids as their wives and kids were still back home in the Eastern Cape.

- Others did not have legal dependants (which later led to some people illegally using each other's children so as to qualify for houses).

- People did not want to produce payslips, asking why they had to do that.

- People couldn't submit the two required affidavits, i.e. payslip and marriage certificate that were requested in order to qualify for the house, since these documents were with their partners in the Eastern Cape.

WEHBSO therefore decided that they must also include card numbers F to J in the project and were able to include an additional 525 people. According to an e-mail written to me by one of the respondents, there were "literally hundreds of meetings held with the community leaders, government and with individual groups and residents in public meetings" (see photos 3 and 4 in chapter 1). The respondent suggests that iEEECO required full participation as suggested by one of the objectives for the project.

However as indicated earlier there were delays with the implementation of the project.

4.6 DELAYS IN THE DELIVERY PROCESS

During Phase 1 the PHP policy required that the people build 36 square metre (m^2) units for the subsidy. The subsidy amount for each unit was R25,800. According to Guy Mothusi this could not be achieved without additional (top-up) funding from some source. The Policy therefore also required each beneficiary to pay at least R2,479, but most of them did not have the money. The beneficiaries of Phase 1 decided to set up a savings scheme to help them deposit the money needed over time.

The tender application for the building of the project attracted 33 applicants. Only 11 were actual bidders as supplier construction service providers for Phase 1. However none of the 11 bidders came within the subsidy. It was only Khaya M5 who after negotiations agreed to construct the semi-detached unit for the then subsidy amount and stand-alone houses at an additional cost of about R2,000. There were also residents in Witsand who worked in factories and did not qualify for the full subsidy. They were therefore allocated 10% of the units for people who would need outside financial assistance.

Some of the stands were made bigger to accommodate local entrepreneurs such as taxi owners who needed space. Approximately 10 stands were 4 times bigger than the average plot size of 150m^2 at the time and the smallest stand was 90m^2. Those who wanted the larger stands could choose them, but they had to deposit additional funds into the savings account. The funds were to be used to cover contingencies costs of managing the traditional PHP project.

Because of the delays PEER Africa started to build a "Show House" row in 2001[45]. There were semi-detached and standalone houses. The people did not like semi-detached houses but instead they wanted stand-alone houses with individual yards

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[45] This was requested by the Housing Committee and was financed by KCIHT and PEER Africa. The "Show House" row units were built by the community using PHP. Ten homes which were of various sizes and styles introduced the semi-detached iEEECO and stand-alone units. This can be seen as an innovation compared to the business as usual RDP units which are normally constructed. These "show houses" were started in 2001 and were completed in 2002. These passive solar designed homes are cool in summer and warm in winter without the use of external heating and cooling devices.

for free. With the subsidy amount available this could not happen and people were convinced to pay the difference. People paid and were only allowed to occupy the house if they have paid at least fifty per cent of the amount owed.

Presently the subsidy amount for Phase 2 is R55,706 which is more than double that which was available 6 years ago. This means that more money is available to build a better structure than it was 6 years ago. The size of the unit however has only grown from $36m^2$ to $40m^2$. According to Guy Mothusi "this is testimony to the point that the $36m^2$ subsidy in 2004 was not viable without top up funding from some source."

Out of the 452 houses built during the construction of Phase 1,132 were PHP. Malvern Cupido said:

> *The rest of the houses (320) in phase 1 were delivered via the "managed" PHP method where the services of a contractor were procured to build houses on behalf of beneficiaries. This approach was adopted as not all the beneficiaries were available and able to build their own houses. What, unfortunately ensued, was shoddy and below standard workmanship.*

In the original application for the PHP project, PEER Africa was the design developer. When the new municipal boundaries were created the small municipalities like the Blaauwberg municipality were amalgamated to create the CoCT. The CoCT now became the developer and PEER Africa was relegated to a Development/Implementing Agent. It was also agreed that the new Upgrading of Informal Settlement Policy (UISP) created a greater opportunity to complete the project, which first needed to be provided with infrastructure. The UISP application approval process delayed the start-up and completion of the project as envisioned in 2002. UISP was still a very new policy at that stage, and teething problems was to be expected.

The city provided interim funding for the Phase 1 infrastructure before the top structures were approved. Guy Mothusi indicated that the city collected their money back after the approval of the PHP Phase 1 contract, which came with infrastructure money of about R15,000 per unit. According to him this infrastructure money is presently R25,000 per unit. The new UISP policy provides for about 20 line items

that are funded under it and that relate to the delivery of the roads, sewers etc., as well as project management of the work.

PEER Africa also linked up with the International Finance Corporation (IFC) which was prepared to provide them with the entire amount of the funds needed to complete the project if the City and Province would sign a letter of commitment to pay for the project loan. It was another setback when PEER Africa could not get that commitment out of the Council. Managing the financial arrangements of housing projects is part of the teething problems of new policies mentioned earlier.

4.7 FURTHER DELAYS IN THE DELIVERY PROCESS CAUSE TENSIONS

According to the PEER Africa Report of November 2010 (PEER Africa, 2010) delays in obtaining approvals for the top structure business plan delayed the project. The long delays in project approval and lack of facilitation and establishment grant funding to reflect the real requirements on the ground led to a politically volatile situation where community members levelled allegations of theft against the committee members. The reason for the delay of the approvals according to Guy Mothusi was that there was "a crazy political swapping of the guard happening at the time, so the project was a political football".

The Blaauwberg Municipality was dominated by the National Party (NP) up until 1994, however during the period "1994 to 2004, the NP rapidly lost its support base."(Stafford, 2005: 97). During the project initiation, however, the NP was still in power. There was an allegation by a community member who was interviewed that the delay was caused by the fact that the Provincial Government was ruled by the New National Party (NNP) and the Witsand community was viewed as the followers of the African National Congress (ANC).

However, towards the end of 2001 there was a coalition government between the ANC and NNP. Through this coalition Ms NomaIndia Mfeketho, who was the member of the ANC, became the Mayor of Cape Town during October 2002. It is alleged that things started to move faster at this stage and the officials were more willing to help and assist with processing the approval of the application (but it could also be because many of the teething and administrative problems relating to the

new policies were solved by then). In 2004 while Lubabalo Yiba (who later became councillor) was organiser of the WHC, the bucket system was put in place and gravel roads were constructed (as part of the upgrading of the project, since there were previously no toilets). This is the period when the project was also approved. According to Guy Mothusi the unfortunate thing was that the government funding was based on the PHP facilitation grant for only 400 beneficiaries and this was only paid after the project approval in October 2004. As he puts it "we were told to do the impossible – build 400 houses for 400 people; only facilitate 400 families when there was nothing concrete on the ground."

In 2005 more roads and stand pipes were constructed. At that time Lubabalo Yiba was an ANC candidate for local government elections and was then the chairperson of the ANC branch. In the previous national elections in 2004 the ANC won in Atlantis for the first time. Lubabalo Yiba eventually became councillor in 2006 and the area he led included Robienvale, Beaconhill, Sherwood Park, Protea Park, Witsand, the Atlantis Industrial area and the surrounding farms. This is the area on the right of Charel Uys road up to the N7 and is known as Ward 32. *(See figure 11 below).*
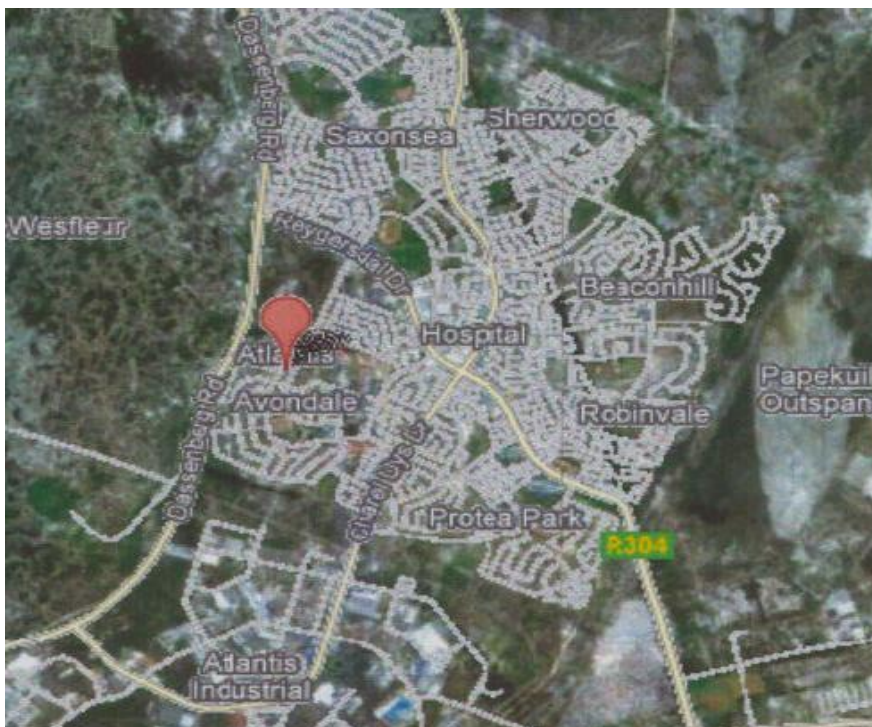

Figure 11: The map showing the different areas in Atlantis, dated 2011 (Google Maps: 2011)

However, things did not go well in the housing project as there were more delays on approval of things such as the infrastructure development. Even councillor Lubabalo Yiba admitted that things were not moving as fast as they were expected to by the community.

Other challenges experienced according to one of the persons interviewed, is that some community members started a campaign of confusion, allegation and intimidation against the current housing committee members. Some of the allegations and rumours were that PEER Africa was an American company that has come to Witsand to squander their money. They said so because Guy Mothusi, who is the lead agent for PEER Africa, has an American accent (because he studied in America).

As PEER Africa/KCIHT were leading the development according to the agreement between themselves and the Blaauwberg municipality, at some stage they had to engage the national and regional South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) officials and politicians to come and help stop the infighting on site and to provide a platform for dialog. SANCO is the civic organisation responsible to ensure that there is harmony within the community, i.e. there is unity/peace within family members, neighbours and the community as a whole; people have services such as electricity and water; people work closely with the police and generally looking after the welfare of the community, and that people work closely with the elected councillor. SANCO regional leaders were very helpful in bringing some of the local "leaders" to order and reprimanded them for using the name of SANCO for their own interest without officially being sanctioned as a SANCO branch.

4.8 ECOLOGICAL DESIGN AND EMPOWERMENT AS A STRATEGY FOR THE PROJECT

When the houses were finally built the intention was that it would be more than just a housing project, but to also maximise the opportunity for passive solar and other performance oriented climate change benefits and community input in the layout. After a lot of engagement with the municipality it was finally agreed that the houses would face the north direction and have big windows for maximum passive solar use

and other performance oriented climate change benefits. Guy Mothusi insists that under the iEEECO methodology the entire site is the focus, not just the unit.

Klunne (2002: 27) argues that passive solar design "implies that houses in the Southern Hemisphere should face towards geographic north in order to obtain optimal solar benefit." These houses according to the writer "would have most windows facing north, would have the least heat gain in summer and the least heat loss in winter, keeping the indoor air temperature comfortable" (Klunne 2002: 27). The writer insists that it is therefore critical that the orientation of the house becomes an essential part of planning and design as Guy Mothusi suggests.

Each unit has 600mm overhangs to protect from the sun in summer. The houses have ceiling and insulation which helps them to be warm in winter and ~~be~~ cool in summer. Klunne (2002) indicates that things like the roof overhangs are important so as to give shade to the windows during summer. He suggests that the size should be approximately half a metre in length. The writer also maintains that the installation of ceilings is vital for thermal efficiency. Klunne (2002: 29) argues that "with the ability to trap air, ceilings ensure a reduction of heat flow into or out of the house." The house is therefore warm in winter and cool in summer.

There are also semi-detached houses although people are not in favour of them as they believe that these houses do not provide privacy. Other important components of thermal efficiency are flooring and shared walls. Klunne (2002) suggests that concrete floors are good in trapping heat and solar radiation which gets through the windows. Shared walls such as in semi-detached houses are energy efficient. "When units share walls, they provide more insulation against heat loss in winter and heat gain in summer than single housing units" (Klunne 2002: 29). However Klunne (2002: 29) indicates that "some communities do not accept shared walls and argue that 'one must be able to walk around one's house, otherwise it is not a house'."

According to Guy Mothusi, the term "Eco" was the general description of any house that was not "normal" at the time. PEER Africa started by using Energy Environment Cost Optimisation (EECO) methodology in the Kutlwanong Project because the site was already laid out by the municipality and as such was not a fully integrated

human settlement. Their idea is to include social and economic amenities, since these were left out of the municipality model at that time.

Guy says PEER Africa believes that:

> *Empowerment must be a project management "mind-set" or conscious of the project leadership. This is the first step to get Empowerment to be part of the conceptual design of the business approach. It also has to be measurable. So in our mind, this means that communities are able to do more after we touch them and we learn more having completed the engagement together. Empowerment is a two way process and it never ends.*

Through the Sustainable Communities Support Programme (SCSP) a video which showcase the Witsand integrated sustainable human settlement was developed. In the video Guy Mothusi explains how the community had been involved from the initial stages of the project. The community members according to him were involved in the planning and layout of the development. The committee members had been part of the negotiating team with the CoCT in convincing the city to understand the logic behind the north orientation of the houses to which the city initially objected. The spatial planning section was concerned about the safety issues if the houses aren't facing the public streets. However after comparing the benefits for houses facing north and their concerns they finally agreed to the proposal.

Through this project, according to Guy Mothusi, various features which are important to sustainable human settlement design were implemented. These were energy and water saving programmes and also empowerment through safe stoves[46] and lighting campaigns which were mainly facilitated by the ladies. This led to the project team winning an Eskom eta Award (1st runner up) in 2009 for energy efficiency and demand side management at the Eskom event held in Johannesburg (*see photo 16 below*).

Guy Mothusi insists that "the WEHBSO PHP project team led by Thato Hlwili has a long standing partnership with Eskom and is to our knowledge the first government housing project to achieve an energy efficiency award."

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[46] These were called parasafe stoves which were safe to use because they did not pose danger to the users as they automatically go off if one shakes it or you bump it by mistake. This ensured that the shacks did not catch fire.

Photo 16: WEHBSO Team receiving an award from ESKOM, dated 2009 (Source: WEHBSO)

Veliswa Mtululu,[47] who is the executive member of WEHBSO, mentioned that ever since she was involved in the project, she has gained the skill of addressing people as she used to be a very shy person. She is now confident and can explain things to people clearly with confidence. I had a privilege of listening to her explaining various things to people who visited the office in my presence and what I also noticed is that she's a good listener. Fundiswa Makeleni who is the former executive member of WEHBSO had been part of the women who were empowered by PEER Africa. She said they were first trained about leadership issues and then were involved in the drafting of WEHBSO constitution. They also received training on how to run a business. She ended up being Coordinator for Energy and Empowerment responsible to educate the community on energy and water efficiency. She is now running her own catering business and was employed by the SCSP (mentioned in chapter 1) to cater for participants during the training period.

In December 2009 Yvonne Wellem was even part of a delegation that travelled to Germany in connection with the German/SA Mega Cities project called EnerKey (Energy is Key). She went on to Copenhagen where she participated in a series of

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[47] The lady wearing green attire on the front row on photo 23, who used to be a Block Committee member and now is a WEHBSO committee member.

meetings with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), Eskom, EnerKey and other delegations representing women and the need for sustainable self-help interventions at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) held in Denmark.

4.9 FAILURE TO MANAGE URBANISATION AND THE COMMUNITY MARCHES

Despite the positive aspects mentioned above, the WHSP community continued to experience problems. More people continued to arrive in Witsand and the number of houses that were to be built were much less than the settlement dwellers. The increase in numbers was due to some people like Elizabeth Nqampleni, who is the executive member of Masiphumle (housing support organisation), subsequently arriving from the Eastern Cape. These people were brought to Atlantis by the relocation of a factory they used to work for in the Eastern Cape.

The company Mowberg (later known as Waverley Blanket) in East London in the Eastern Cape closed down and moved to Atlantis in the Western Cape in 2001 and was renamed Alecia Blankets. Elizabeth and others moved with the company and on their arrival they stayed in the factory for a while before moving into the Witsand informal settlement in 2002 to stay in shacks. They then applied for subsidies with the WHC. It is alleged that this also created tensions as some people claimed that people like Elizabeth already had houses in the Eastern Cape.

As part of urbanisation management by the municipality, people were also not allowed to build new shacks or extend their shacks without getting approval from the former Blaauberg Municipality. The Blaauberg Municipality had appointed field workers from the community to monitor the illegal extensions and to report to the municipality. When the Blaauberg Municipality demolished the illegally constructed shacks, people blamed the field workers who were responsible for monitoring illegal extensions, as well as the WHC, who were sharing office space with the field workers, who did not have their own office.

When this demolition happened, it led to a lot of violence caused by a clash between the people and the police. People who were toy-toying went to the office demanding the WHC members vacate the office. The office was burnt down, as well as the

houses of three out of four field workers. The houses of Patrick Hlwili (who was the WHC chairman) and Lubabalo Yiba (who was a councillor) were also stoned *(See annexure B).* The incident increased the tensions already existing within the community and after this Lubabalo Yiba subsequently resigned as the councillor.

The tensions between community members themselves and the municipality continued to exist; however the frustration was more due to the municipality's failure to deliver. This eventually led to a march on 5th August 2009 where the community members went to table their grievances to the Mayor for the CoCT, Dan Plato (*See photos 17, 18 and 19).* Some of the posters stated the following:

> *"Property Control must stop treating us like dogs"*

> *"We demand clinic for the Community of Witsand"*

> *"We demand appointment of contractor for infrastructure services"*

> *"Town Planning has blocked Witsand Development"*

> *"City of Cape Town must stop racism"*

This resulted in the then Mayor Dan Plato visiting Witsand on the 27th of August 2009 to investigate for himself the complaints from the community. The community felt that after this visit, things became much better, as the CoCT and the province started to respond to their grievances.

Photos 17, 18 and 19: 05 August 2009 – Witsand protestors handing over a petition to the Mayor: (Source: WEHBSO)

4.10 THE SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES SUPPORT PROGRAMME

The Sustainability Institute which is the organisation I work for, conducted a six months training in Witsand as part of the Sustainable Communities Support Programme (SCSP). The SCSP had five courses, i.e. Introduction to Sustainable Development; Sustainable Community Housing; Financial Lifeskills; Integrated Sustainable Human Settlements and Sustainable Construction. I was the facilitator for the 3 day Introduction to Sustainable Development course. The course speaks to social, economic and environmental issues pertaining to the communities in general what sustainability strategies can be used to mitigate the challenges. It therefore provides space for the participants to share their experiences around these issues with specific reference to their community. It was an opportunity for me to understand the community better.

Various issues were highlighted as problems, such as not having a school and that the children had to travel long distances to nearby Atlantis, especially when no transport was available and as such, children were exposed to sexual assault by criminals. The racism issue was also high on the agenda for debate as the

community believed that they were marginalised by the local authority, which they saw as being dominated by whites and coloureds. They even claimed that the adverts for jobs in public offices were placed in Afrikaans, which most of them could not understand. However I realised that the literacy levels of the community were low and as such it would have been difficult for some to understand even if the adverts were in English. Another thing that featured prominently in the debate was the tension within the community. There were serious tensions between the two housing support organisations that existed, i.e. WEHBSO and Masiphumle and as such the community was torn apart. I could see that this was another challenge responsible for the delays in housing development as community members were sometimes registering with both organisations to make sure that they would be beneficiaries of a housing project.

Through the SCSP participants gained skills which amongst others included how to become responsible homeowners, how to start their own businesses, taking care of the environment and also how to build their own houses *(See photos 20, 21, 22 and 23 below)*. During the training Fundiswa Makeleni did not only cater but was also a participant.

Photos 20, 21, 22 and 23 – The SCSP participants, dated June 2011 (Source: Litha Magida)

These were accredited modules and the participants have since received their certificates of attendance from the SI acknowledging their commitment to the programme until the end. They are still awaiting their accredited certificates from the Construction Seta (CETA). During the certification ceremony held in SI on 29 September 2011 one of the participants Nokuthula Mkhizwana said:

> We praise the programme as we believe we've learnt a lot from it. We were given a chance to air our views and we talked about the community issues and the things that are bothering us within the community and how to come up with solutions. We know a lot about safety issues, what you need to have to own a house, your responsibilities as a homeowner and what to do if you experience problems. We can now educate the community members on how to take care of their homes and teach them to appreciate these homes. We now really appreciate what the government has done for us (providing us with houses).

I'm also negotiating with the relevant parties[48] so that they can be involved in the construction of houses taking place in Witsand to enhance their skills.

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[48] PEER Africa; City of Cape Town; Provincial Government, Melon Housing and WEHBSO.

Witsand also has a tunnel food garden that was initiated by the City, Green Communities and the community after WEHBSO won the greening tender. The tunnels "were also part of an integrated iEEECO™ agri-greening plan that included roof top rain water harvesting and the proposed community food production project to be developed along the western border of the site along the Eskom power line reserve area."

However the project had since been stalled and Fundiswa Makeleni and others are busy reviving the project. They were motivated by their involvement in the SCSP (see photos below). She was also preparing to present the Witsand project to the COP 17 to be held in South Africa, Durban from the 28 November to 09 December 2011 where they presented the iEEECO methodology to world leaders.

Photos 24 and 25 – The food garden, dated June 2011 (Source: Litha Magida)

4.11 FORMATION OF THE BREAKAWAY GROUP

The tension between some of the community members and the WHC/WEHBSO increased and some of the things that contributed to this were the following:

- Some community members claimed that the houses that were being built were not the same as the show houses. It was an open plan unlike the show houses which had walls dividing the rooms.

- Community members also complained that the houses that were built had no foundations; they had only a slab, which means no trenches were dug to strengthen the walls.

- They argued that the quality of the bricks used was not the same as that of the show houses.

- People had to pay R360 to R9,000 before getting a house. Respondent B argued that it varied depending on the type of house you wanted. For example, for a stand-alone house you had to pay between R3,500 to R9,000.

- The WHC/WEHBSO opened an account where people were made to deposit the money into and were to show their receipts to the committee before getting a house. This group then became suspicious, arguing that they were initially told that the houses were free.

- Some community members were against the iEEECO methodology and when I interviewed some they said that they felt the method was being imposed on them, but that they were not necessarily against it in principle.

I tried to get to the bottom of these allegations by interviewing a number of individuals. The allegations were reiterated by respondent Y. He even showed me a list of people and the amounts they paid before occupying these houses. Although while we were talking he said some paid up to R9,000, this amount did not reflect on the list, but only someone who had paid R8,000. When I asked him about this he was adamant that there is someone who paid that amount but he could not find the receipts.

I visited the houses for people who allegedly paid big amounts according to the list. However, one of the owners, who allegedly paid R7,000, is said to be in the Eastern Cape. Another interviewee who has a standalone and has a spacious yard and was also alleged to have paid R7,000, said he never paid such an amount, but only paid R3,500. I have not yet found any person who has paid more than R5,000.

SANCO claims that people approached them for assistance so that they can claim their money back. In a meeting on 17 September 2010 which a representative claims was fully attended by people, people voiced their dissatisfaction and mandated SANCO to take the matter further. According to documents I saw SANCO had

contacted various bodies for assistance, including the public protector (I have a copy of a letter which SANCO wrote).

An interviewee claimed that the Atlantis/Witsand fraud unit was busy conducting an investigation whether there was misuse of money. This interviewee maintains that this is done because WEHBSO and the department did not provide the community and the complainants with adequate answers when asked to explain about the amounts that were paid and where the money went. An official confirmed being made to answer questions from various investigators. This official was concerned as this consumed a lot of their time, but said they were prepared to answer to anyone as they believe that proper explanation was given to people. The official sees these fraud allegations as part of the power struggle existing within the Witsand community.

In my interview with respondent J the interviewee suggested that some of the community members or leaders are creating confusion or misleading people because they know they do not qualify for the subsidy as they had owned houses before. This was alluded to by the MEC for housing in the Western Cape, Madikizela in an article in the Cape Times of 5 July 2011 (*see Annexure A*). The MEC mentioned the reasons why the developments in other areas are blocked and one of the reasons cited is that "some people received a state-subsidised house; then sold it and went back to informal settlements. They know that if an area is developed they will not benefit [again], so they disrupt the development" *(see annexure A).*

On one of my visits to Witsand I randomly chose a house and met respondent D (who was not listed on the list I got from SANCO). Respondent D said she had paid R1,400 of the R2,200 required (her house is a standalone). When I asked about what happened about the balance she said no one asked for it after she had occupied the house.

Respondent E (who was with respondent D at the time in her house and also not on the list) said she paid R360 (her house is a semi-detached). I asked if they knew what the money they paid was for - they both said it had to do with the payment of electricity, keys and water but they were both not quite sure and couldn't remember. However they remember being told that those who will be occupying standalone

houses will have to pay but were not told exactly how much. They were only informed when the houses were finished.

Respondent D and respondent E also said that they were told that the amounts differed according to the sizes of the plots. Yet on my interview with respondent X she disagreed:

> "hayi sacaciselwa kwaye saxelelwa ukuba abafuna izindlu ezizimeleyo imali izakuhamba ngokomhlaba, saboniswa nakwi map saza sakhetha indawo apho sifuna zime khona izindlu zethu , ndaza nangona kunjalo mna nabanye safuna izindlu ezizimeleyo kuba sifuna i privacy, ndabhatala ngezavenge imali engange R2 570."

(Translated as: No, it was clearly explained to us that people with standalone houses will pay according to the size of the plot and we were even showed the map to point the site where you want your house to be, nonetheless myself and others chose standalone houses because we wanted privacy and I paid in instalments an amount of R2,570).

Respondent D and respondent E complained a lot about the conditions of the houses, stating that they were not properly plastered and because they don't have foundations, the dogs dig and sleep underneath the slab. This posed a serious threat and the houses had developed cracks. Respondent X agreed with respondent D and respondent E and she showed me these challenges. The condition of the houses has been echoed by other interviewees who were very frustrated with the situation.

Another interviewee, respondent Z even said "what's the need for me to tell you how much I paid because you're not going to do anything about it, and I'm tired of repeating the same thing over again, it's a pain to me." Respondent Z ultimately showed me different receipts for the deposits amounting to R4,100. His house is a standalone and has a large plot. Respondent T was also complaining about the condition of the houses. Their frustration was also due to the condition of the new houses they see being built for Phase 2 where people did not have to pay top-up funds (due to the change in the housing policy).

Respondent E also showed me her TITLE DEED which she says differ from what they were told the cost for the house was and was questioning that. The amount on

the TITLE DEED was R38,765. This was also raised by Respondent Y in our interview and to him this suggests that it is untrue that the subsidy for Phase 1 was R25,800.

Respondent F who is a representative from WEHBSO and has been conducting workshops in educating people on how to apply for houses, said the workshops with the people and CoCT started in October 2000. Respondent F admitted that the houses that were built were different from the show houses. However, unlike what is being claimed by the disgruntled group (namely, that there wasn't any explanation from the WHC/WEHBSO why the situation was like that), the interviewee said people were informed. The interviewee said when the houses were constructed the subsidy was only about R24,000 and could not match the amount required to build houses similar to the show houses. This resulted in people required to pay additional amounts.

Respondent F said for the semi-detached houses people were required to pay R180 for water connection plus an additional R180 if an individual wanted an upgrade in his/her electricity facility, since Eskom only provided 10mp electricity per unit (that was for lights only and one could not cook or use other appliances). This resulted in most people upgrading their electricity to 20mp and therefore needing to pay extra costs. Those who wanted stand-alone houses were required to pay an extra R2,000 on the smaller plots and for slightly bigger plots they had to pay R3,413 and for big plots they paid R7,000. The plots varied from 90m^2 to 150m^2 for an average size plot, with bigger plots up to 360m$^{2.}$

With all the complaints sitting in this community, the group of disgruntled community members had already decided to break away and establish another Community Based Organisation (housing support organisation) in 2005 called Masiphumelele, which means "we must succeed" or "let's succeed". Nonetheless, from 2005 to 2009 they could not register as a Community Based Organisation, allegedly because the ANC councillor was not favouring them and therefore official's refused to register their organisation *(see annexure A)*. In 2009 there were by-elections as councillor Lubabalo Yiba resigned and the Democratic Alliance (DA) councillor Barbara Rass won the elections.

Masiphumelele contacted the councillor and she met the project managers and requested them to register the organisation. 'Masiphumelele' was approved in September 2010 and has 600 beneficiaries. However the CoCT approved the building of only 200 houses and Chaphane Construction was appointed as the supplier for the Masiphumelele project. The reason why 'Masiphumelele' was given 200 houses to build is that it was their first project and the CoCT wanted to see if they'll deliver in good time.

On the 22nd of September 2010 they started to build and on the 9th of December 2010, seventy houses were handed over to the owners. The second group, consisting of one hundred people occupied their houses in February 2011, and the last group of thirty people occupied their houses in March 2011. 'Masiphumelele' has already submitted the business plan for an additional 228 houses and is waiting for the approval from the CoCT.

When I was shown the houses built through the PHP, I could spot the difference. The houses are solid and have foundations. Those who were built via the so called 'managed' PHP did not have a foundation and have problems as mentioned above. The houses had problems because according to respondent F there was a reluctance by the CoCT building inspectors to get involved with quality control as this was low cost housing where the National Building regulations could not be strongly enforced. This has been echoed by respondent J who said the disadvantage of PHP is that "the current PHP policy does not address building regulation enforcement and the contractor's responsibilities."

PEER Africa and WEHBSO had since blocked the final payments for the contractors' submitted invoices until they come back and fix the problems that had been uncovered. They had also requested legal advice on how to fire the contractors and terminate their contract. On the other hand, the contractor argued that people were happy with the project since they have occupied the houses and that it was PEER Africa who was keeping their money back for no reason. They brought in an independent arbitrator (third party) to decide on the case.

The contractor had hired lawyers to file a claim for all the remaining payments. PEER Africa was defending them against this claim for payment on the grounds that

the people are not happy with the work and they brought in experts to back their decision not to pay the contractor until the work is certified to be completed and safe. The CoCT and the province also supported PEER Africa and instructed them not to pay the contractor until the work has been completed.

Mothusi also believes that the conflict was caused by the fact that "Witsand has a lot of different subgroups from different parts of the Eastern Cape, as well as from the surrounding local areas." At the beginning of the project according to him they were basically all ANC supporters, so there was no real party political infighting. When the delays started, the "community leaders" not officially holding office in the then integrated development committee, created a forceful and violent opposition group linked to their clan and village in the Eastern Cape.

Even now, the leaders from these various groups and the community members in general are basically ANC supporters although some leaders do not come up front with their party political views because of their leadership roles within the community. However the 'Masiphumelele' leader, Elizabeth Nqampleni was outspoken about it on the 'Times' of the 8th May 2011 when she said it was "true that the DA had changed our lives, but she and others would still vote for the ANC" *(See annexure C).* The statement has created a tension between 'Masiphumelele' and the councillor as she felt used by the group whom she claimed approached her under false pretences (the story of Masiphumelele and the councillor is narrated below).

In the same article a community member Nokwakha-Mhlawuli, referred to as an 'ardent' ANC supporter, is shown wearing a DA T-shirt. As a first time home owner, she states that she appreciates that she is out of the shack which she has lived in it since 1999 and that she lost one of her children in a shack fire. Yet she insists that she's wearing the T-shirt because she's doing washing. The conflict therefore cannot be linked to party politically differences, but it is related to the differences within existing subgroups in the community.

However through my interviews I've established that the conflict is no longer emanating from the same subgroups as indicated by the interviewee. Even those who originally came from the same area can be in different camps. For example, WEHBSO leaders are from East London and the former Transkei, as are

Masiphumelele and Sanco leaders. So the original subgroups based on areas of origin have merged and what is evident now are power struggles between new subgroups linked to different issues and different leaders.

The situation remained tense politically in Witsand as the two main political parties, the ANC and Democratic Alliance (DA) occasionally engaged in public spats over who had brought changes to this community. The articles of the 8th May 2011 from the Times newspaper, entitled "ANC stakes its claim to housing success" and "DA delivers, and ANC gets vote" are testimony to that. In the previous article the ANC accused the DA of "frustrating the ANC's endeavours to complete what it started." It accused the DA of dragging its feet when it came to power *(see annexure C).* In the latter article DA "hails Witsand as its success story, where its interventions helped reduce crime, improve healthcare and extend housing" *(see annexure D).*

4.12 PROGRESS DESPITE CHALLENGES

The WHS project consists of two phases. The first phase consisted of 400 pilot houses. An additional 52 houses which belong to Phase 2 were also built. The breakdown for the construction of houses is as follows:

PHASES	TOTAL NO. OF HOUSES	ZONES	NUMBER OF HOUSES
Phase 1	400 (Pilot Houses)	-	400
Phase 2	1,878	Zone 1	143
		Zone 2	241
		Zone 3	367
		Zone 4	241
		Zone 5	146
		Zone 6	296
		Zone 7	444
TOTAL	**2,278**	**7**	**2,278**

Table 2 (Source: WEHBSO)

As indicated above, Witsand's Phase 2 is divided into seven zones[49]. The present construction is taking place in zones 1, 2 and 3. The 200 'managed' PHP units that Masiphumelele are responsible for form part of the Phase 2 development of the project which will consist of 1,878 units when completed. WEHBSO is responsible for 500 PHP units of which 330 have already been constructed. The 1,178 units remaining will be contractor driven.

However as indicated earlier, Masiphumelele thinks they'll be given more houses to build and plan to continue with business as usual and will not be implementing the IEECO methodology that WEHBSO is implementing when building houses, because they have been successful in building the 200 houses allocated to them. This means that the contractor driven houses may be less. In a meeting between the CoCT and the Witsand community members on 30 June 2011, the community resolved that people were against the contractor driven housing and wanted the remaining houses to be built as a 'managed' PHP.

WEHBSO has been holding workshops as required by the PHP policy (see pictures 26, 27, 28 and 29). Unfortunately I never attended any Masiphumelele workshops as I was not originally informed that there are two groups in the community. However they did say that they also had PHP workshops. The WEHBSO workshops can be summarised as follows:

The 1st workshop, on the 19th of June 2010, focussed on mobilisation and preparing the beneficiaries for the coming workshops. The 2nd workshop was on the 26th of June 2010 and it focussed on PHP delivery mechanism. This workshop explained the PHP methodology, as well as concepts such as sweat equity, and the roles played by various stakeholders, for example the National Department of Human Settlements, the Provincial Housing Department, the Municipality, Support Organisation and the beneficiaries. The outcomes were positive as WEHBSO was endorsed as the support organisation. The 3rd workshop on the 3rd of July 2010 had people discussing the kinds of houses they'd like to have. They were divided into

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[49] Zone 1 will have 143 units; zone 2 = 241 units; zone 3 = 367 units; zone 4 = 241 units; zone 5 = 146 units; zone 6 = 296 units and zone 7 = 444 units. 200 houses from Phase 2 have been built by Masiphumelele and out of 500 houses to be built by WEHBSO 330 houses have already been built. The houses have been built on zones 1 to 3.

groups and discussed amongst each other. People indicated that they were more interested in stand-alone houses and not in semi-detached houses.

The 4th workshop on the 10th of July 2010 was the presentation by the service providers who wanted to be nominated by the project to build houses. Nkume Construction and Services; K.H.D. and Mellon Housing made presentations. People asked questions and were really involved in the discussions. Questions varied from the experience of the service providers in building houses to the percentage of community members who will be involved during the construction of the houses. The community members were demanding that at least 80% of the construction workers be selected from the Witsand community members. The 5th workshop on the 16th of July 2010 was cancelled due to technical problems. The service providers which were expected to present were Atlec Development Tawana; Sizisa Ukhanyo 1110 Construction and Mark Metcalfe Construction. The workshop was again held on the 20th of July 2010. The 6th workshop was on the 17th of July 2010 and was also a presentation by service providers who wanted to be involved in the construction of houses in Witsand. They were Imison; Lukholo TDS and SBB Properties. The 7th and the final workshop was on the 24th of July 2010 and the beneficiaries nominated the supplier who will build their houses. They nominated Mellon Housing.

Photos 26 and 27: 03 July 2010 – Workshop: Beneficiaries discussing the kind of houses they'd like to have: (Source: Litha Magida)

According to Duke Gumede who is the project manager for the WHSP, a steering committee has been established to facilitate coordination between the various stakeholders involved in the development and to accelerate delivery. However, I've learnt that SANCO has since pulled out of the committee and has established a Development forum. Luvuyo said the purpose of the Development forum is to

negotiate for the community's needs with the municipality, as SANCO felt they were not listened to because of their political association with the ANC.

Photos 28 and 29: 10 July 2010 – Workshop: Presentations by different suppliers (Source: Litha Magida)

4.13 Assessment

It has been noted that the conflict initially was between the community and the Western Cape government, as the Witsand area was once a 'no go area' for the officials. Through various interventions including convincing by various people such as Thamie Eland from KHCT, the officials were eventually allowed to get into Witsand. As mentioned earlier, the original tactic of the community to view the government as an enemy because services were not brought to the community, rather than engaging with them, was really counterproductive.

Although it might have been a deliberate move from the government to frustrate the community (as the community believes, since it was a NP/NNP government and the community were seen as staunch supporters of the ANC), if the community was more knowledgeable they could have tried other means to break the barriers rather than resorting to the non-cooperation stance which ended up negatively affecting the community.

After the officials were allowed into Witsand and the community was provided an opportunity to participate meaningfully in their development, another challenge emanated. The new challenge was that the community started to divide themselves according to their clan groups from the Eastern Cape, making it difficult to work with them. This created a lot of tension within the community as those coming from some

clans decided not to cooperate with community leaders from different clans. Mistrust started to emerge, creating further divisions within the community.

However as time went by there was a shift and the groups started to mix. Further conflict developed between those who are leaders and those who do not have leadership positions. Allegations of theft and corruption were levelled against the leaders and at some stage violent incidents took place. This showed the complete lack of trust within the community. According to some of the community members interviewed, there was no tolerance and there were many rumours floating around, often with baseless allegations without proper investigations from the accusers.

This led to the development of various groupings which now were not according to clan groups from the Eastern Cape but were more about power struggles. A breakaway group established 'Masiphumelele'. This group believed that they have been obstructed by some community members and the councillor by not being allowed to establish their own CBO and believed that they could do better than the existing CBO.

SANCO on the other hand was also seen as seeking to gain an upper hand within the community by instituting investigations on allegations of theft and corruption against officials and some community members who were leaders. This has left animosity between SANCO and the officials and community members implicated. The further establishment of a Development forum alongside the steering committee also suggests mistrust and power struggles, which has negatively affected participation. The views of many community members are that those who are hungry for power are abusing these spaces. As respondent J puts it:

> "Certain individuals want to be in leadership in organisations where they can compete with other organisations for dominance. The fact that all organisations must be invited to participate in processes is being exploited by certain individuals who want to promote their own agenda. If things don't go their way, they then attempt to cause conflict by misleading sectors of the community."

Most interviewees agree with this statement and the answer of respondent H, when I asked him about the cause of the conflict and if community members understand what participation is all about, was as follows:

> "Its greed, not everybody is sincere on process embarked upon for service delivery. Yes the overwhelming majority understands participation, however community leadership tends to hijack the participation process and confuse the community they represent for their own interest."

The public spat by the political parties is also a concern. Political parties are fighting about the delivery to the community. Each party wants to claim that they've done better than the other. This is quite unhealthy for the participatory process because the communities are being drawn into those debates and find themselves discussing the present one-upmanship of party politics rather than focussing on their substance, livelihood and development struggles. When I asked one respondent K if he does attend community development meetings, he said "not anymore, these people discuss politics in these meetings and I'm not interested in those things". Respondent E said "Siyaxakekela kuSanco", meaning we only attend Sanco meetings when we have problems.

It seems as if the changing housing and subsidy policies have also played an important role in bringing further tensions to the community, relating to the perceived unfairness of some people having to pay and others not. As mentioned earlier, the subsidy of R25,800 in 2004 for a 36m^2 house, which became R55,706 for a 40m^2 house in 2009/2010, was seen as a giant leap. The communities felt they have not been adequately informed about these changes and as such those who received houses earlier feel that they have been robbed. The handling of the destruction of shacks by the municipality (in what they perceive as part of their 'management' of urbanisation) was also a cause for concern. The municipality (and other spheres of government) try to keep existing informal sites from growing in size and therefore make local leaders and community members responsible for monitoring the growth of additional shacks. On the other hand, little is done to provide alternative land for the newly urbanised on erect homes on, making existing sites the only option for settlement. In this case study, as in the Hangberg case study by Fieuw (2011), the

destruction of shacks led to the burning and stoning of properties, which could have been handled much better. The community blamed the local people who were appointed to monitor this situation for the destruction, although they had no power to stop this.

Empowerment still needs to be promoted in the WHSP. People still require skills so that they can be empowered and make better decisions. The iEEECO methodology is a good methodology which has done a lot of empowerment work within the community. However this empowerment has only benefitted a few individuals within the community. This is because of the conflict that exists within the community, but also because there is never adequate funding to include all members of the community in training courses. As a result only a few interested individuals benefitted and the rest of the community members did not receive adequate training in important issues.

This empowerment process needs to benefit as many as possible of the community and those who have been empowered must share their knowledge with the rest of the community. It is understandable that there are some who are against this; nonetheless those empowered must find ways of encouraging everyone, especially those who have an interest in the project, to understand the importance of the development taking place within the community and how it can benefit them. They must also try to find a common ground with those they perceive as being against the development process.

Yet, positive things have also taken place within the project where some of the community members that have been part of the implementation of the iEEECO methodology have gained various skills, like presenting the project to various people around the world as mentioned above. The SCSP also assisted in providing the skills to a group of individuals who now see themselves as being able to bring change within the community. A lot of confidence (for the groups mentioned above) and a positive attitude about their future and that of the community has been generated.

4.14 Conclusion

The WHS project started at a very slow pace with many challenges facing the project. It has been highlighted that the challenges included infighting among community members, often due to changing policies and lack of transparency and information, leading to often untrue rumours circulating within the community. Mistrust and lack of social capital seems to be the major challenge in the project and have resulted in breakaway groups within the community. The community is now represented by two housing CBOs and community members applying for housing; exploit this fact (by placing their names on the waiting lists of both organisations).

However there have also been very positive things happening in the project. This project has been able to incorporate ecological aspects into its design which makes it very different from other projects. Some community members, especially those in leadership positions, have been involved in projects which are empowering. Many in the community learnt that sustainability issues also relate to survivalist and livelihood issues, which are important to all. However, the housing project only dealt with certain sustainability issues, and not with issues such as the importance of biodiversity.

The last chapter will provide concluding remarks and also make recommendations for similar projects.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to establish what role participation played in developing a sustainable human settlement in the Witsand Human Settlement Project (WHSP). The study explored how participation was promoted in the Witsand Human Settlement Project (WHSP) through the housing programme called the People's Housing Process (PHP). This included the implementation of other policies such as the Upgrading of Informal Settlement Programme (UISP), as well as urbanisation and participation policies. As part of this, the study investigated various issues such as the effectiveness of the People's Housing Process and the public-private partnership in the WHSP and the role played by different policies as it relates to conflict.

The study also enquired into the relationships between the various stakeholders of the project and how this affected the progress. It looked at issues of social capital, and how it had been built or destroyed during the development process. The study further looked at the ecological design methods that had been implemented in the WHSP and how these have been received by the community members and finally, how the community has been empowered, if it was at all.

The previous chapter raised several challenges which existed in the WHSP. It mentioned how the party political situation negatively affected the development; the role changes in policies played; the conflict between subgroups and the mistrust and power struggles that exist within the community, and which has on occasion lead to violence. However it also showed positive changes happening within the community, for example, some of the community members benefited through various programmes taking place within the community and have gained various skills.

This chapter will therefore draw conclusions from the case study, and make recommendations to improve the project, as well as recommendations to improve policies within the Cape Municipal Area.

5.2 Aims of the study

The following sections discuss the various aims of the study as set out in chapter 1. It will also consider whether or not these aims have been met, or not.

5.1.1 To establish what role participation played in developing a sustainable human settlement in the WHSP

At the beginning of the WHSP the situation in Witsand was quite volatile and municipality officials were not allowed to enter the informal settlement as indicated in chapter 4. This indicates that there already existed a lack of positive social capital within the community, as well as a lack of trust between the community and the local government. Miltin (2008) refers to a similar case in Monterrey (Mexico), where the community consciously decided to withdraw engaging with the state and refused its assistance during the first stage of development so that they could remain autonomous. Rydin and Holman (2004: 119) refer to this as an example of the potential dark side of social capital, or 'anti-social' capital, where people bond over their opposition towards another party, in this case the local authority. However in the WHSP, PEER Africa with the assistance of a representative from the Kutlwanong Civic Integrated Housing Trust (KCIHT), Thamie Eland tried to calm the situation down by helping to make the community leaders understand that they needed to work with the municipality to change their plight. The push for development and participation therefore came from outside the community, and not from inside.

PEER Africa introduced an IEEECO Sustainable Human Settlement Development methodology which entailed a people driven bottom-up approach to human settlement design and implementation. In theory the IEEECO methodology valued the community as the most important element of the sustainability process and created an enabling environment and opportunities for community participation and ownership throughout the lifecycle of the project. The development and certainly the bottom-up approach brought some hope to the community members and as such they were willing to cooperate with the government.

As Miltin (2008) puts it, a degree of collective self-help is required for most low-income and informal settlements, since communities cannot on their own afford to

install infrastructure like water supply, improve drainage systems or develop new sites, plan layouts for the settlement to facilitate services, or build schools and community centres, amongst other things. The writer refers to this arrangement of working together as co-production and suggests that it entails a strategy where the state (or NGOs) and the community work together to provide basic services.

The Witsand community eventually agreed to work with the municipality and became part of the initial meetings for the construction of houses as we've seen on photos in chapter 1 and as discussed in chapter 4. Nonetheless, despite a number of community meetings, it seemed to be more a process of consultation than of real participation (on Arnstein's ladder of participation (see figure 4) this is indicated as degrees of tokenism). It is also clear that real participation is not linked to the number of meetings, but to the depth of engagement and the transfer of power. This was revealed through the interviews conducted with community members, as some claimed not to be sure why they were made to pay for the houses or what the differences were in the amounts they were required to pay. Those who had a better understanding of what really took place are those who had been or presently are executive members of community organisations.

Secondly, the passion about the project one senses when listening to WEHBSO executive members (which is also what attracted me to the project as mentioned in chapter 4) is not shared by all the community members as revealed through the interviews and focus groups. From the interviews, it became clear that many homeowners felt like they've been let down by either the WEHBSO executive or by the municipality. Their involvement therefore can be compared to the approach that Lyons et al (2001) had referred to in chapter 2 as 'co-option' so as to implement the project, which the writers say was prevalent in the former South Africa system. However one can argue that it is still happening as at present there still are not adequate policies and strategies in place to ensure genuine participation. As mentioned by Pieterse (2008) communities often have no power to engage at the level of underlying policies, and in this case the underlying policies were a source of conflict within the community.

5.2.2 To establish the effectiveness of the People's Housing Process and of the public-private partnership in WHSP

Chapter 4 of this study indicated that a Public-Private Partnership between the community beneficiaries, PEER Africa and the Blaauwberg municipality was forged when the project was initiated. This can be seen as a form of 'bridging' social capital, as defined earlier in the study. It looked like a relationship that would work for all the parties involved. The early engagements proved fruitful when WEHBSO and PEER Africa convinced the municipality to allow the houses to face north, despite an initial disagreement from the municipality's spatial planning department.

However, when the small municipalities were amalgamated to form the City of Cape Town (CoCT), the relegation of PEER Africa from being a developer to an implementing agent did not go down well with the organisation. They saw themselves as less effective in the development process. When there were delays during the project implementation, PEER Africa made suggestions that they use the funds that were available as a loan from the International Finance Corporation. The municipality and the province were required to commit by signing a letter which stipulated that they would pay back the loan; however PEER Africa was very disappointed when they declined. These kinds of problems, due to a lack of detail policy elements, are to be expected in new policies, but can be very disruptive and can contribute to conflict within the project, and also diminished the bridging social capital that existed.

The first challenge for the PHP was that people were not always available to build their own homes, hence the changing over to a 'managed' PHP according to the municipality. This process resulted in houses that were badly constructed and this is still a bone of contention within the WHSP. The people were therefore not actually involved in the building of their homes as the policy suggests, which means it was not really a PHP.

The government thought they did an honourable thing by increasing the subsidy amount and changing the policy so that people no longer had to pay before getting houses. However, this change has also brought tensions within the Witsand community. Those who received houses when the policy required them to put down

savings, feel that they have been robbed. The complex policies and changes in policies were not adequately explained to the community, as suggested by the conflicting statements of the interviewees. This lead to rumour mongering about possible corruption, which created tension in the community as indicated in chapter 4. There needs to be more transparency in policy-making processes, also in a manner that can be understood by illiterate communities.

Although the UISP was brought in to assist in the project to fast track the construction of the infrastructure so that the houses can be built, it took a long time for the approvals to be made, as it was a relatively new policy. An additional challenge with the UISP, as cited by Huchzermeyer (2006; 2009 and DAG, 2007) is the lack of understanding by government what 'upgrading of informal settlements' means. To them it still seems to be about the eradication of these settlements.

In general the PHP process cannot be called a success and the public-private partnership was also disappointing in many respects.

5.2.3 To determine the benefits and challenges of participation with regard to the poor in the WHSP, and how the development has assisted in empowering the community, or not, as the case may be,

Participation at the WHSP seemed to have benefitted the few who were committee members as they had a better understanding of what was going on by virtue of working close with PEER Africa who was the Implementing Agent. However the rest of the community seems to have not benefitted as much in the so called 'participation process'. Colantonio (2007 citing Omann and Spangenberg, 2002) therefore argue that social sustainability is about each and every community member's right to be actively participating in whatever is taking place in the community as he or she is an important part of the community. The challenge of not getting involved in the project by some community members in the WHSP resulted in tensions between the community members themselves where there was a complete lack of trust amongst them. The lack of trust resulted in them not co-operating with each other, similar to what Emmet (2000) alluded to in chapter 2. This lack of trust and tolerance is also referred to as the lack of 'social capital' which is quite critical for communities, as it brings the community members together and creates the space

which makes it possible to try to manage any conflict existing within a specific community. Social capital is frequently viewed as a pre-condition to build community participation. The problem with participation is that it requires more representation or more involvement by community members in the development process. That is why the system of mainly using ward committees in South Africa as mentioned in chapter 3 is a challenge.

In this case study, a ward committee has also not yet been set up. On the other hand, ward committees are also not always representative enough and as such many a times they are judged as being very biased structures and therefore not democratic. Esau (2007) has thus suggested earlier in this study that other methods of organising the community could be that of geographical location where meetings can be held directly between community members staying within that specific area and their representatives. The councillor can therefore hold regular meetings with the specific area and be able to address their needs.

Deliberative democracy and deepening democracy are also concepts based on the idea to open up these spaces for participation so that more people get involved in the development process. Theron (2008) in chapter 2 suggests that participatory democracy approach is becoming better known as deepening democracy as it makes people be the decision makers in the development process. This involvement and being part of decision making creates as Barnes et al (2007) in chapter 2 argues; communities that are better informed which ultimately leads to empowerment.

The involvement of WEHBSO committee members during the planning and layout of the project helped them to become more empowered. As suggested in chapter 2 by Pieterse (2008) one method of empowerment taking place is when someone actively participates more in the development process. This can be seen from the committee members who presented the project, their involvement in overseas visits and COP 17 where they also made presentations about the project and also by participating in various programmes like the safe stoves as indicated in chapter 4. They are empowered because they are more knowledgeable than the rest of the community members. It was through the Sustainable Communities Support Programme as

indicated in chapter 4 that some community members also felt really empowered. On the other hand, community members, who were only involved or co-opted, later disowned elements of the project.

In this case study it was also clear that the community did not have the power to influence or control underlying policies which they saw as unfair, such as the policy to manage the inflow of people into the informal settlement and policies relating to contributory payments for housing. They also did not have the power to hold accountable institutions that they blamed for delays and the quality of housing. The power to influence, control and hold accountable are all elements of the definition of empowerment.

5.2.4 To explore how sustainability was brought into the project, how ecological features (such as for example, energy efficiency) were implemented, and how this contributed to sustainable human settlements

The project has been quite successful in terms of incorporating certain ecological design principles when building the houses. It was able to overcome the 'business as usual' approach. Although the project possesses some of the features which should be part of an integrated sustainable human settlement according to the National Housing Code (2009); it falls short to be labelled as such because of the missing features as referred to in the definition in chapter 1 and also in chapter 3. The project has managed to include sustainability aspects such as energy efficiency, and in some cases people were trained to be water efficient or to start food gardens. However the project is not well located with regard to economic opportunities and lacks access to jobs and adequate livelihoods, as well as easy access to social facilities such as schools and clinics. The children of the community are still subjected to travelling long distances to attend school under unsafe conditions and health services are provided only on particular days, without proper facilities. Public transport is also not adequate enough. The community does not have access to trains and according to interviews I had with community members, buses are more expensive than taxis. The issue of waste recycling did not come up as part of the project.

In Chapter 1 it was mentioned that sustainable communities have active involvement of all members, are inclusive and safe, well run; fair to everyone (including future inhabitants); environmentally sensitive; well designed and built; well connected (with transport, jobs, schools, health and other services and well served with services (Bristol Accord, 2005; Colantonio, 2007: 11) These issues are quite critical in formulating sustainable human settlements or sustainable communities as suggested in chapter 1 and chapter 3 of this study and for the sustainability debate in general. Some of these are also more strategic issues, which need to be resolved for the whole of Cape Town, and not just for one project such as Witsand.

The project however also had people who actively opposed the ecological features being implemented and as such would like to follow the 'business as usual' approach, such as the housing support group known as Masiphumelele. They did not support the ecological aspects in the building of the houses, since their main focus was on just getting housing and service delivery and they felt that the ecological aspects were being imposed on them. They also did not seem to be aware of the possibility of energy and cost savings that this methodology could lead to. This study did highlight in chapter 1 that it seems that many, including the poor, do not understand sustainability and the long term benefits it could bring. What this also illustrates, is that participation in any development project needs to be balanced with sustainability content and increased knowledge about sustainability issues within communities. Many of the issues also need to be addressed at city-wide level.

This project therefore cannot be defined as sustainable in the context of the holistic concept of sustainability as explained in chapter 2 and therefore cannot yet be regarded as an integrated sustainable human settlement, community or neighbourhood. It is however an example of a positive step in the right direction, especially if sustained and built on.

5.2.5 To investigate the role played by the different policies in the WHSP (i.e. Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme and urbanisation).

As indicated above, the UISP did not help much in speeding up the development as this policy was still in its teething stages. While the policy itself was a step in the right direction, politicians and officials need to be educated more in understanding it so

that it can yield the intended results. This also speaks to Miltin (2007: 349) when she argues that "low-income organised communities have a capacity to collaborate effectively with the state to address common problems, and that policy making should be open to influence by citizens, rather than simply being seen as the prerogative of politicians and professionals".

Urbanisation is one aspect that has a great impact on this project, as people moved from their original areas to Atlantis. Some came looking for jobs, whereas others followed the factories which relocated to the area. This has caused a lot of stress to the limited resources in the area such as water, sanitation and housing as these had to be made available to a growing population. People thus came in and constructed shacks so that they can have a roof over their heads.

However instead of trying to manage the process by itself and making available additional land, the municipality used some of the community members as gatekeepers to try and limit the growth of the community. This led to a violent situation where the houses of the people monitoring the expansion of shacks and WEHBSO committee members were stoned or burnt. A similar case occurred in Hangberg (see Fieuw, 2011) where some of the residents reported the illegal construction of shacks to the Hout Bay Residents Association and the issue was then forwarded to the ward councillor, the city officials and the local police. This led to a violent clash between community members and the Metropolitan Police when they demolished these 'illegal' structures and a distrust of the community leaders. These are examples of how policies can destroy social capital within a community and between a community and municipality, as leaders are blamed for policies perceived as unfair, but which they have no power to change.

In both cases this might have been prevented if the idea of co-production as suggested by Miltin (2008) was implemented in these projects. The writer makes an example of how for example, the South African Homeless People's Federation and the South African government engaged and agreed to allow the federation to develop its own People's Housing Process.

More importantly, a better understanding of the illegal occupation of land and the issues that give rise to it should have been pursued. The experiences in Witsand and

Hangberg indicate a need to ensure that poor people who move to cities are provided with legal land to build their own shacks without being intimidated by the authorities who have a problem of solving the current predicament. Bolnick (2010: 12) suggests that "urbanisation must shift from a top-down subsidy driven system towards a bottom-up 'people centred' incremental approach with in-situ upgrading of informal settlements being the bedrock of all delivery".

5.3 Recommendations

The following should be considered and promoted within the WHSP:

- Underlying much of the conflict is the problem of the shortage of land and resources and the lack of adequate urbanisation and land identification policies. The CoCT must therefore create spaces where people can legally build their own shacks since they are desperate to get accommodation in pursuit of employment opportunities. Therefore a budget should also be made available to buy private land.

- The municipality should also not use local leaders or community members as gatekeepers to enforce policies that are perceived as unfair (such as controlling urbanisation and the inflow of informal settlers) as this creates tensions between community members, destroys social capital and at times resulted in violence.

- To be considered an integrated sustainable human settlement, community or neighbourhood, the WHSP must ensure that all other aspects such as being environmentally sensitive, protecting biodiversity, managing wastes through recycling, the building of schools, and clinics are taken into consideration, as well as access to economic opportunities, livelihoods and adequate connections to the city network through public transport.

- To promote sustainability, more training and discussion of other sustainability issues, such as water saving, waste management, and biodiversity protection, would also be required. Participation in development projects need to be balanced with sustainability content and increased knowledge about sustainability issues within communities.

- With regard to promoting more authentic public participation, it is critical for the WHSP to not only explore the route of ward committees to communicate with community members for the benefit of those who are not represented in these spaces.

- It is also critical that the government develop better techniques on how to share information and promote transparency, and empower people to participate in policy-making, so that everyone is able to acquire information, since many people - especially those who normally occupy informal settlements are illiterate.

- The CoCT for example, needs to ensure that the language policy is enforced in terms of the distribution of information using the local language of the residents which in this case is Xhosa.

- There is no clear empowerment policy and the CoCT has a responsibility to therefore create such a policy.

- Government needs to take into consideration that changes in policies might create tensions and may lead to potential conflict. People judge policies in terms of fairness and justice as far as it relates to them. If according to their judgement the situation doesn't reflect fairness and justice, they tend to withdraw their participation.

- The CoCT should invest time and money in conflict transformation to try and address the root causes or structural reasons that lead to conflict within communities (some of which have been identified above as part of this study, such as lack of adequate space for the inevitable growth of settlements, lack of policies on land identification and urbanisation, changes in policies, delays in development (often due to trying to make new policies work on the ground), as well as competition between leaders and of political parties, leading to disagreements and one-upmanship behaviour).

5.4 Summary

It might be difficult to explain what exactly the concept of 'participation' means, however it is quite critical in sustainable development and has been provided space within the legislative framework of this country and therefore should be utilised to benefit the community members in general. However, the challenges that have been

experienced in the WHSP suggest that different strategies to that presently being used should be employed. This means that to acquire sustainability more and higher intensity participation (such as co-production) is required and transparency must be intensified in policy making.

The UISP should be commended as the step in the right direction; however officials and politicians should be educated more around the programme so that it can be implemented properly, therefore yielding the intended results. Changes in policies (like it happened with the housing policies) are inevitable. However this should be done in such a way that it includes communities in the policy-making process and promotes fairness, justice, and the building of social capital. Colantonio (2007: 12 citing Middleton, 2005) therefore argued that "social capital is increasingly being deemed an essential ingredient of sustainability and a tool capable of improving the situation of deprived communities in social, economic and political terms to the extent that it is often considered the distinguishing element between successful and unsuccessful communities".

The lessons that this case study teaches us about sustainability, is that it is a complex process, which requires a bigger focus on social sustainability and conflict transformation. Co-production, where state and citizens work together to provide basic services, has much to offer as a form of participation, especially if initiated and run by grassroots organisations.

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ANNEXURES

ANNEXURE A: An article by Minister Bonginkosi Madikizela

CAPE TIMES
5 JULY 2011, P.9

NO WAY TO MATCH DEMAND

Housing policy needs new foundations

Bonginkosi Madikizela

THE housing challenge presents an opportunity for us to take a fresh look at housing policy. We need to take a conscious and well-considered decision on this matter and provide guidance on what is in the best long-term interests of the country.

The housing needs are alarming; there is no way we could match this demand with the available resources, both in terms of land and finance. The backlog is around 500 000 provincially, with migration to this province estimated at 1.7 percent annually. With the current allocation of just over R2 billion from the national Treasury, we can only build 16 000 units and 16 000 serviced sites.

We also need about 9 000 hectares of land, and at this rate it will take no less than 28 years to clear the backlog. Unfortunately the backlog is not static; it is a moving target due to migration. Factor in the current economic crisis which affects the revenue collection and means less budget allocation in the following financial years, then it becomes clear we have a crisis.

One cannot deal with this issue in isolation from the general socio-economic conditions of our people. We need to find a sustainable way of delivering houses by ensuring partnerships in which people share responsibility with the government to either contribute to or build their own houses.

A number of countries have adopted this approach and we should certainly learn from them. The most pressing need is to ensure that everyone has access to basic services like water, sanitation, electricity, roads and refuse removal. It will take us a long time to deal with the housing backlog so we must ensure that people are waiting under acceptable conditions. We need to spend more money to accelerate access to basic services.

We must also look seriously at some housing policies which have become an albatross around our necks because they are stalling the process of speedy housing delivery.

Planning processes need to be streamlined to ensure quick and effective service delivery. It makes absolutely no sense, for instance, to have 11 different grants to put together a single housing unit.

Again it doesn't make sense to have a Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG) separate from a housing grant because you can't build any houses without infrastructure.

Another serious problem is land invasion. The requirement by the Prevention of Illegal Eviction Act (PIE Act) that people must be provided with alternative accommodation before they can be moved off invaded land encourages this practice.

This makes the housing demand database or waiting list impossible to manage.

As a result of the PIE Act, people are holding government to ransom by invading any land that is earmarked for development because they know that they will be moved to alternative accommodation.

The sad part about this is that those people living in backyards that have been on the waiting list for years become compromised by this act. This cannot be right and surely needs to be revisited. In this case it's usually individuals that hold us at ransom and delay the development for thousands of people. People cannot demand their rights at the expense of others, which is why we must act immediately to remove people who are illegally occupying land before the stipulated time in the PIE Act has lapsed.

We will never succeed in dealing with the housing crisis if we continue like this. The current approach of housing delivery is further entrenching and deepening poverty among our people.

Free houses will never be a substitute for a job and a solution to poverty. We must change our policy so we can respond to most vulnerable groups of our society (like elderly and disabled people, child-headed households etc), inculcate and encourage people who work to play a more active role and to take more responsibility in the provision of their homes. While we understand that people have rights we must ensure that we balance those rights with responsibilities.

We must change our criteria for people who qualify for our subsidised state housing. It doesn't make sense, for instance, that because a person is 18 years old and has a baby that they qualify for a house. This policy inevitably has unintended consequences encouraging teenagers to have babies and promoting dependency.

We also know that people get subsidised state houses and often sell them for next to nothing. They then go back to shacks, thereby increasing the demand and the spread of informal settlements.

I did a door-to-door survey with my department officials in some areas and discovered that many of the state-subsidised houses have been either sold or rented out to people who do not qualify for subsidised housing.

This means that even though we are boasting about having built close to 2.8 million houses over the last 16 years, this has not really changed the quality of life for many people.

In addition, the obsession with chasing numbers has compromised the quality of these houses.

According to a report by the National Human Settlements Department to Parliament's portfolio committee, we'll need more than R30 billion to rectify and do the remedial work to a number of houses built over the years that are now falling apart. We must pay more attention to the "affordable" or "GAP" market (people earning between R3 501 and R15 000 who do not qualify for state-subsidised house and a mortgage bond from the bank) in order to deal with unintended consequences as a result of neglecting that market.

These are the people who are buying state-subsidised houses from the poor because they have no recourse. Not that I blame them, we can't neglect people who are contributing to our economy by prioritising the poor only.

It is very clear to me that most of the commentators have no clue what they are talking about when criticising housing problems. To some of them delivering a house is a simple exercise that must be done by the government. Unfortunately it's not as simple as that. Often the development in these areas is blocked or hijacked by people who would do anything to delay or prevent it for the following reasons;

● Some people received a state-subsidised house then sold it and went back to informal settlements. They know that if an area is developed they will not benefit, so they disrupt the development.

● Those involved in illegal activities often prefer to block infrastructure development because it's not easy for law enforcement to trace them.

● Some earn too much to qualify for a subsidised house and prefer to live in an informal area where they will not pay for services.

● Some instigate communities deliberately to fight their political battles in order to oust the incumbent leaders or councillors.

● Some trade their formal houses for informal areas where they can conduct business because there are no laws and zoning regulations there.

● In most cases we also get entangled in community leaders fighting over which is the legitimate group to engage with.

● There is almost always conflict over access to limited resources in poor communities.

As the provincial government, we have spoken to the national government about the negative impact these issues and much legislation has in service delivery. The national government is the competent authority to deal with these issues in terms of the constitution, yet so far we have received no response.

I'm raising these issues because I get disturbed when people make sweeping statements without understanding the problems. We acknowledge that we have many shortcomings. We are committed to dealing with these where we can, yet we also need the support of the national government and communities to deal with some of the legal issues and community dynamics that prevent us from executing our mandate of service delivery. Housing development is not possible without functional partnerships.

● *Madikizela is the provincial minister of Human Settlements in the Western Cape*

NO SOLUTION: The current approach to housing delivery is further entrenching and deepening poverty, says the writer.

ANNEXURE B: An article on the violence that took place in Witsand

Witsand woman forced to flee home

October 21 2008 at 12:12pm

By Ziyanda Sidumo

A resident of Witsand in Atlantis claims she was forced to flee her home when a group of weapon-wielding people, allegedly from a nearby informal settlement, trashed her house. Noluvo Tsule, 42, who uses her Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) house as both a home and a church, said her home had been trashed with bricks that destroyed furniture, walls and all the windows. She had been inside when a crowd gathered and damaged her house.

"I was so shocked I did not know what to do. I ran out to the freeway and I just wanted to die. "I thought they were going to kill me with the weapons they had," said Tsule. The attack followed the demolition of shacks in the informal settlement by officials from the city's property control department on Wednesday. The shacks were destroyed after the settlement's residents allegedly reneged on a deal with local councillors to stop building more shacks so land could be kept to build proper houses on. An official from property control, who did not want to be named, said they had destroyed about 20 shacks last Wednesday. "Those were illegal extensions and we assigned people to destroy the shacks," he said. Now the Witsand residents in RDP homes say they are living in fear as the shack dwellers have vowed to cause more damage. The residents claimed that the shack dwellers said they would come at night to demolish their houses. Last week the same crowd that trashed Tsule's home allegedly also burnt down a house used by the ward councillor, Lubabalo Yiba, as an office and targeted houses owned by residents who worked closely with the ward councillor. The shack dwellers had allegedly claimed that Yiba had invited officials from Property Control to destroy their shacks. Two houses were burnt down and five were damaged with bricks. Except for Tsule, who has returned home, all the other residents whose houses were damaged fled in fear that the attackers might return. Thobinceba Tshabiso, a relative of a man who works for Property Control and whose house also came under attack, said it was better if his cousin left Witsand because it was too dangerous. "He is in hiding because I just knew he would die here because these people are violent and nothing stops them, not even the police," said the 37-year old. A firm believer in God, Tsule said she had now given up everything to her faith and could not keep on asking neighbours for a place to sleep. "This is my house. I did nothing to them (the shack dwellers) and I know I'm not guilty of anything," said Tsule.

ANNEXURE C and D: Media reports on Witsand

DA delivers, ANC gets vote

Thirty minutes' drive from the grandeur of Table Mountain lies Atlantis, built by the apartheid government as an industrial city for coloureds.

Factories around the area, 50km north of Cape Town, also attracted black workers and their families, who moved into nearby informal settlements such as Witsand, 5km from the town centre.

However, many employers, including textile factories, have shut in recent years because of surging Chinese imports and the global economic crisis. As a result, poverty and crime have surged.

Deserted factories in the industrial area create an eerie atmosphere, and chimney smoke from those still operating adds a hazy effect to the ghostly gloom. In town, there are rows of old houses and dilapidated municipal flats with laundry flapping from balconies and windows.

Atlantis had always been an ANC stronghold but, in 2009, the tide turned when the ANC councillor for ward 32 - which includes Atlantis Industrial, Beaconhill and Koeberg - resigned .

Enter DA councillor Barbara Rass, who won the by-election.

With a wave of the DA wand, Rass and her party turned the crumbling informal settlement into a sparkling township with comfortable homes, tarred roads, pavements and streetlighting.

In a statement in 2009, Zille, said the murder rate in Atlantis was "thought to be among the highest in the country. Tik is everywhere".

But now residents say the crime rate has dropped due to increased police visibility.

Neighbourhoods in ward 32 have had floodlights installed, their parks revamped and many overgrown bushy areas once used by criminals have been cleared.

Despite this, many residents say they will vote for the ANC.

The DA hails Witsand as its success story, where its "interventions helped reduce crime, improve healthcare and extend housing".

In Witsand, the shacks are next to new tarred roads sporting shiny street signs with names such as Lebo Mathosa, after the late kwaito star.

Despite several illegal electricity connections dangling dangerously overhead, development is evident everywhere. Most noticeable is the Witsand housing project of 200 two-bedroom eco-friendly homes, with energy-efficient tiled roofs and, in many cases, solar-powered geysers.

DA mayoral candidate for Cape Town Patricia de Lille recently told Atlantis residents that the Witsand housing project was a model of how the city, working with the provincial government and business, can create sustainable housing.

"Not only will it provide people with a place to live, this project is also geared towards the city's drive to create green, environmentally friendly and sustainable communities," she said.

The homes were handed over in January and the province has approved the construction of 500 more houses.

Witsand resident Nokwakakha- Mhlawuli is now a first-time home owner.

"I have been staying in a shack since 1999. Life was tough in the shacks; they burned most of the time. I lost my home to fire twice and one of my children died in a shack fire. But now I can sleep properly with no fear of fire burning down my home and, since the rains started, we've seen no leaks," said the ardent ANC supporter wearing a DA T-shirt.

"I'm just wearing it because I'm doing washing," she said.

The city spent R40-million on servicing 1835 plots, as well as on roads and drainage. R14-million was spent on building the 200 houses over the past two years. Rass credits herself for turning the housing situation around.

"Witsand informal settlement is the DA's greatest achievement. People came to me and said they wanted to build houses and their subsidies had been approved but they could not move forward. I started calling the housing officials in the city and province," she said

But despite the success, many residents say they will vote for the ANC.

"Joining the DA was just a strategy to get the development going. Some individuals among us decided to support the DA at the time because our councillor had failed us. We are now going to win this ward for the ANC come the elections," said resident Gcobani Limane.

Witsand resident Elizabeth Nqampleni said it was "true that the DA had changed our lives" but she and others would vote for the ANC.

"We are all ANC in this area but we had a problem with our councillor. But on the 18th we will vote for the ANC.

"Yes, the DA built us the best houses ever built in the Western Cape," she said.

ANC stakes its claim to housing success

PHILANI NOMBEMBE | 08 May, 2011 22:46

WE DID IT: ANC Western Cape secretary Songezo Mjongile

Though the ANC agrees that the Witsand housing project is a "success", it claims that the project was its brainchild and not the DA's.

ANC Western Cape secretary Songezo Mjongile accused the DA of taking credit for an ANC project. He also claimed that the DA frustrated the ANC's endeavours to complete what it had started.

"Anyone who knows the history of the Witsand project knows that it was in the pipeline and was signed off during the ANC's tenure on the provincial and local level.

"When the DA came to power, they really dragged their feet and up to now what they have only done is to launch the project. Most things were supposed to have been done, but change in government created a difficult situation."

Peer Africa, a company the city appointed to implement the project, is embroiled in a court battle with the contractor that built the first phase of the Witsand project over "substandard work".

These homes were built when the ANC was running Cape Town.

"The contractor was not delivering," Mjongile said. "When he was cut, he took us to court. These were part of the teething problems that we went through, but for the DA to come now and say that it is their project, that is far from the truth."

ANC ward councillor for the area Lubabalo Yiba resigned in 2009 amid claims that he was obstructing the housing project. Some ANC supporters joined the DA to "get the project going".

The ANC lost the by-election to DA candidate Barbara Rass.

"The DA projected itself in Cape Town as a party that is concerned about the needs of the poor people. Some were lured by such messages from the DA. The reality has been different," Mjonggile said.

"The DA has not prioritised our communities and I think our communities have seen the light. There are those who did not vote, there are those who went to COPE. All of them are coming back to the ANC. The DA has very strong PR and the ANC has got strong development politics."