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COMPARING MOTIVATIONS FOR COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION
IN
ORANGE FARM AND SANDTON

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Abstract

Legislation provided the broad framework for participation. The constitutional mandate of local government is to ensure basic service is delivered to the people. To achieve this, local government is obligated to involve communities in its attempts at local governance.

The framework for participation was laid, but the vehicles for participation were clearly defined. The community has different reasons for participating. The different levels of participation were highlighted. The concept of governance, as opposed to government, was also defined in the research in an attempt to find a clearer definition of participation. The research also provided insight into the difference between consultation, participation and effective participation.

The research outlines the difference between consultation, participation and effective participation.

It was confirmed that a partnership between government and civil society needs to be established in order to achieve the broad developmental objectives of both the community and government.

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Management in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

Mickey Vlesna Padiachee

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I. Abbreviations

Reconstruction Development Programme.....RDP

Integrated Development Planning.....IDP

Local Development Objective.....LDO

Local Economic Development.....LED

Municipal Infrastructural Investment Programme.....MIIP

Consolidated Municipal Infrastructural Investment Programme.....CMIIP

Municipal Local Council.....MLC

Local Development Forum.....LDF

Development Facilitation Act.....DFA

Community Based Organisations.....CBO

Non Governmental Organisations.....NGO

Southern Metropolitan Local Council.....SMLC

Eastern Metropolitan Local Council.....EMLC

South African National Civics Organization.....SANCO

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Chapter One: INTRODUCTION

> *The time has come to devote ourselves to explicit strategies for democratic structural changes that will enable people to liberate themselves from oppressive social structures which perpetuate their dependency and their powerlessness - including those of many of our public bureaucracies. Only in this way can we build societies with resilience and a capacity for autonomous creativity and continuous redefinition – the conditions essential for survival in a crowded, competitive, and rapidly changing world* (David Korten, 1986: 12).

1.1 Background

In June 1999, South Africa emerged from its second democratic election process. The African National Congress once again claimed a major victory, signaling the continuation of all the democratic processes which begun in 1994. However, the effect of apartheid continued to prevail in most areas of the country, which remained underdeveloped in terms of basic infrastructure and poverty, and where gross inequities existed. In other parts of the country well developed areas functioned, both socially and economically. President Thabo Mbeki referred to this situation more recently when he stated that South Africa is a country of two nations, (Umbelo, ANC Participation, 1997).

> *"One of these nations was white, relatively prosperous, regardless of gender or geographical dispersal. It has already a developed economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure. The second and larger nation of South Africa was black and poor, with the worst affected being women in rural areas, the black rural population and the disabled. This nation*

lives under conditions of a grossly underdeveloped economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure".
(Mbeki, Umbrelo ANC Discussion Document, 1997).

Challenges were immense at the level of local government. The challenges concerned not only a response to a vast scale of unmet needs, were relevant to the achievement of redistribution without sacrificing and marginalising affected sections of the community. Local government tried to restore a degree of legitimacy and accountability, that was lost mainly due to the slow pace of the delivery of services to the public. Many local authorities experienced the problem of a diminishing revenue base and an increase in demand for services from the newly enfranchised majority.

To meet these challenges, local government shifted its mandate traditional role as from simply carrying out the distribution and administration of services, and became more developmental in its approach.

Developmental local government comprises local government that is committed to the citizens and groups within the local community in order to create sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and to improve the quality of their lives (White Paper, 1998).

The objectives of developmental local government are as follows:

- the provision of services and infrastructure;
- the creation of habitable, integrated cities, towns and rural areas;
- local economic development; and
- community empowerment and redistribution.

The purpose of this research report was to investigate the challenges to local government and to assess the level of achievement of the objectives of the

participatory processes of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (SA, 1996), and the local government 1998 White Paper through developmental local government. A comparative case study will be presented. This case study involved the following:

- identifying the role of communities where local government creates an enabling environment for participation;
- analysing the effectiveness of vehicles of participation, given the diversity of the community structures; and
- recommendation as to how local government could build a better foundation for partnerships with communities.

Despite South Africa's transition to democracy, imbalances and economic disparities exist between communities. One example of this involves the two areas dealt with in the case study, namely Orange Farm and Sandton.

Orange Farm is situated south of Johannesburg, while Sandton is located on the northern fringes of the city. The main motivation for selecting these two communities for the case study was their representation as typical products of apartheid planning. The two areas are different economically, with one being very rich and the other being very poor. The investigation was with regard to how local government, in this case the single municipal authority of the (Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council) would deal with these disparities, and how the respective communities were being mobilised to confront their issues and problems.

Sandton, a predominately white area, had a sound infrastructure based on high income levels, high levels of employment and a high concentration of business. The area was not fully organised to deal with government issues, until the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council increased the rates in

the Sandton area increases by approximately 300% in 1997. This resulted in the expressing of disagreement from the community, and a rates boycott by

Sandton residents association was initiated. Residents used an existing ratepayer association to challenge the actions of the GJTMC. The community felt that the increase was not constitutional, and that the community was subsidising the poorer areas.

At the other side of Johannesburg Orange Farm exists. Once an informal settlement, Orange Farm was declared a township, with an approximate population of 300 000 people. The infrastructure in the area was very poor, basic services were not adequately provided for and unemployment was very high to. In contrast to Sandton, the area had a history of high levels of participation in taking on projects and development work within the community. Many organisations of civil society and groupings were involved in the task of reaching consensus on issues and projects to better the conditions of the residents.

The local government structures for Johannesburg 1995 applied various principles, policies and programmes in order to facilitate a more effective process of interaction with residents and community stakeholders. A number of these were important for the purpose of this study:

- ***Land Development Objectives (LDO's)***:
  The formulation of ldo involved a community participation process that was launched on 7 December, 1996. The intention of the process was to obtain feedback from local communities regarding their priorities for local government. This aspect will be investigated during both the redistribution and participation of the research report.

- ***Governance:***

  The country have transcended itself from government to governance as a concept, it is described as a set of principles for Government to Govern in partnership with civil society and the private sector.

  The concept of governance comprises a new ethic for government's methods of doing business - notably that dealing with citizens and stakeholders is not simply a process of applying a predetermined, regulatory framework. One of the processes of participation is the participation budget system

- ***Participative Budgeting:***

  This is a process through which communities became formally involved in determining the financial objectives of a local authority.

These principles, policies and programmes guided the Johannesburg metropolitan council, and its metropolitan local councils in their respective development efforts during the late 1990's. Each was based on the notion that participation is a valued objective. In practice, however, each deals with real conditions for participation, and these are different in different communities. There are always different histories of participation in the various communities and, different factors which encourage or discourage participation.

It is not clear whether processes such as developing LDOs, even though they were intended to allow communities to articulate their interests towards appropriate development, were always equally successful in all communities. Negative, rather than positive, motivations often seemed to offer more effective basis for participation, such as when communities attempted to defend their resources against redistribution.

Whether or not participatory approaches worked in the past has implications for the implementation of structured mechanisms and vehicles for participation which local government is choosing, or being forced, to introduce. For example, the Municipal Structures Act (1998) proposed the introduction of ward committees as a formal mechanism to allow communities to participate in the municipal decisions that affected them. The Municipal Systems Bill 1998 proposed a much more formalised process of integrated development planning, and various other mechanisms to guarantee that the community could express their views in the process of local resource allocations. Whether these mechanisms could work, on the evidence provided by recent processes of community participation, was debatable.

1.2 Research problem

In the South African context in 2000 it was assumed that participation from all sectors of society was important for the successful administration of the new democracy in South Africa.

The concept of 'participation' has to be defined in order to address the issues and understand the vehicles of participation. The composition and organisational form of structures and institutions need to be understood.

It is understood that the mechanisms of legislation and policy provide for democracy and participation: however a number of problems occur in the implementation process (Constitutional 1996, White Paper, 1998).

Some contributing factors exist towards the motivation of communities towards participating. These include the existence of effective leadership, which is accountable and transparent.

The objective of this research report was to develop a framework for communities to participate effectively in local government, and at the same time to create awareness that communities in poor areas lack capacity and resources in order to encourage meaningful participation.

The government recognised that to succeed in meeting the challenges and transforming the country, it would need to involve citizens within their respective organizations, in the development and decision making processes.

Participation is needed, and whether it would create an enablement of people to change their own lives as well as whether it would facilitate the use of groups and associations
as mechanisms in government development programme.

Local government initiated a number of legislative and policy changes to encourage participation such programmes would meet the local development objectives and participative budgeting process. These will be analysed in terms of the levels of participation and the impact of participation by the community.

1.3 Purpose of research

Analysis and evaluation the extent of community participation in local government. The context of the constitutional framework since 1994 recommended community participation, as did later legislation such as the Systems Bill (1998) and Structures Act (1998).

This study investigated the different socio-economic environments of Orange Farm and Sandton, to assess the effect of the quality and quantity of community participation. It will also investigate the level of enablement of

local government with regard to participation, particularly in comparison with legislation that often gives clear guidelines on participation levels. This report investigated the effectiveness of the local development objectives process, governance and the participatory budgetary processes as tools in the encouragement of participation by local government.

Analysis was affected on local responses with regard to the case study on Sandton and Orange Farm, on the basis of the interviews. The study also investigated whether community participation was selfishly motivated for ones own interest.

The research will investigate best practices in participation, and discuss components of participation, including leadership, accountability, structures and capacity building and participation in development.

This paper will consider the new bills and acts with regard to participation. These involve ward committees, and accountability and development issues that include participative mechanisms and structures.

The structures existing in 2000 were considered with regard to their effectiveness in the two areas of the case study. An important issue is the difference between consultation and participation.

1.3.1 A number of central questions will guide this analysis:

1. How did legislation and policy frameworks that provided for participation became translated into practice at a local level?

2. How did the process of developing LDOs, participatory budgeting, and integrated development planning differ between Sandton and Orange Farm?

3. What were the factors that supported or hindered implementation of participatory practice at local level – the two geographical locations? Example Orange Farm and Sandton.

4. Was participation more, or less, successful where there were clear implications for change in the socio-economic landscape poor communities in the process of participation.

5. What were the most effective vehicles for participation and how were they used?

1.4 Structure of research

Local government has been party to a variety of policies and legislation South Africa's attempts at transformation. Relevant legislation was aimed at transforming the local government environment to a more progressive and inclusive one. (Constitution 1998, Local Government White Paper, 1998).

The government continuously reviewed policies, and introduced new bills and acts. Legislation such as the Demarcation Act (1998), the Structures Act (1998) and the Systems Bill (1998), according to local government practitioners this new legislation will change local government appreciably. The impact of such changes on local government, particularly in the areas of Sandton and Orange Farm will be investigated.

Chapter Two deals with the legislative guidelines that encourage participation, The Constitution (1998), White Paper (1998) and the Systems and Structures Act (1998) were investigated to determine the extent to which this theoretical background was translated at a practical level.

Structures for participation such as CBOs, NGOs and other institutions will be evaluated with regard to sustainability and capacity. Issues such as the LDO/IDP, and the budgeting processes were analysed in relation to the varying degrees of participation by, local and international legislature.

International and local literature was examined in an attempt to understand the motivations for participation and the objectives and elements of participation.

Chapter Three presents the methodology used for the study. This included primary and secondary techniques, as well as qualitative research methodology, surveys and interviews.

Chapter Four presents the Sandton case study, based on interviews held with councillors, officials and community representatives. The participatory processes in the area were probed, and the problems and difficulties experienced are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Five presents the Orange Farm case study, based on interviews held with councillors, officials and community representatives.

Chapter Six contains an analysis of both the case studies in the context of motivations for participation, and what is the most effective vehicle for participation.

Chapter Seven draws conclusions with regard to participation and make the assumptions on participation. It also makes recommendations for the future on participation.

1.5 Conclusion

To date the present democratic government had experienced five years of local government involvement, and this has highlighted certain successes and weaknesses in the systems. The intention of this section of the research would be to draw out some of the problems experienced by local government, particularly around participation. In particular the shift from a service provider to a "Developmental Local Government".

This study critically analysed the theoretical aspects of participation against the practical components that drove it in the areas of study. The recommendations were intended to guide future community structures to be more effective and sustainable towards the building of a country

Chapter Two: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the legislative guidelines that encourage participation. These include the Constitution 1998, White Paper 1998 and relevant legislation such as the Structures Act 1999 and Systems Bill 2000.

The varying international views on participation, and the different motivations for participation, as well as the elements and objectives of participation are delineating.

In this chapter the literature, is reviewed and analysed with a view to understanding the key elements and objectives of participation.

2.2 Legislative Guidelines that encourage participation

The first document to offer guidelines on participation is the Constitution of South Africa (1998) this is the document that guides the law of South Africa and provides for the establishment of the many levels of government and their inter-relationship as well as delineating the most important aspects of democracy.

Local government is mandated by the Constitution to do the following:

- provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;
- ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;
- promote social and economic development; and
- encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in matters of local government.

The Constitution offers clear guidelines regarding participation: the White Paper 1998 was introduced to reinforce the developmental objective.

When the Department of Constitutional and Provincial Affairs directed the process of transformation and developed the local government White Paper, which included a policy framework for local government and pointed out concepts for the promotion of developmental local government. These include inter alia,

- maximization social development and economic growth;
- integration and co-ordination;
- democratization development; and
- leading and learning.

The White Paper encouraged participation by outlining the importance of working together with local citizens and partners. Building local democracy was considered by government. The document also subscribes to four levels of participation, as follows.

Firstly, participants were ensured maximum democratic accountability by voting for political leadership for the policies they are empowered to promote.

Secondly, citizens express, their views via different stakeholders' associations before, during and after the policy development process, in order to ensure that policies reflect community preference as far as possible.

Thirdly, consumers and 'end-users' expect value in terms of affordable services and courteous and responsive service.

Fourthly, participation was by organised partners who were involved in the mobilisation of resources for development via, non-governmental organisations and community-based institutions.

The second point that was outlined in the White Paper and that has particular relevance to this study concerned the implementation of the policy that apparently was not achieving the objectives of those who drafted it. The communities did not participate in some of the policy issues because of the technical nature of policy formulation, and because the community did not have the skills necessary to articulate views in a sufficiently technical form. Government, in fact did not frequently consult with communities on policy matters, This can be verified in the formulation of the new Municipal Structures Act (1999) and the Municipal Systems Bill (2000). When the interviews were done in the respective areas, the view was expressed by some that they were not familiar to them. According to the government needs to establish mechanisms to familiarise communities with new legislation and on where and how to make inputs.

Various other pieces of legislation were drafted to give effect to the goals and objectives of the developmental local government (Property Rates Bills, 2000).

2.3 Process for participation

Local government started a process of participation by means of the Land Development objectives in terms of the Development Facilitation Act (1995). All local authorities had to embark on developing land development objectives for their area of jurisdiction. The local development objectives included community participation process, which was launched on 7 December, 1996. The objectives of the process were to obtain feedback from local communities regarding their priorities for local government.

Certain community members attended the meetings and participated in the meetings.

The communities participated, however they did not receive what they expected. The community was despondent about future participative processes, and questions were raised by communities about the process. It was suggested that the process was merely a formality for the community to rectify the LDO process, rather than sincerely seeking a mandate from the community. After this, however, the government allowed communities access to the budgets and the processes, in order to gain an understanding then.

2.3.1 Budgetary process

The participative budgeting process that was initiated by the Johannesburg Metropolitan Council in 1997 and 1998 was part of the strategy to encourage local community participation. Communities were invited to attend meetings in their respective wards.

The sub-structure budgets of their council were explained to the people, and the resources available for capital and operating expenditure were outlined during this process. People experienced a needs identification process which formed the basis of the land development objectives of each area.

A 'community needs' was presented to the council (Planact, 1996). Both the processes raised the community's expectations. This was evident in the high level of participation in terms of interaction and attendance. During this consultative process a number of organisations were invited to contribute to the process.

2.3.2 Vehicles of participation

In South Africa a number of organisations and community structures existed in the past. Some were established to challenge the state and had specific

objectives. However, during the previous governments, communities were not allowed to participate, in policy making. The people rebelled, and consciously participated with the objective of overthrowing the oppressive state. They joined different organisations to achieve that objective.

One of the organisations in which communities participated was the South African National Civic organization (SANCO). According to Cloet (1986) the civic associations did not become political parties.

> *"These associations correspond more to ratepayers' associations operating on the municipal government level than to political parties. It is obvious though that the civic associations could influence the operations of legislative, governmental and administrative institutions on all levels of government, particularly where they unite to form regional/provincial and national confederations."*

> According to Swilling (1992), *"If civics are merely local shock troops of the liberation struggle, or of a particular movement within it, their task now would be presumably be restricted to seeing that fight to a successful conclusion and they might have a little role beyond that, but, if they are independent manifestations of grassroots interests, their role in the future might be to represent the specific concerns of their constituency".*

The South African National Civic Organisation viewed participation as part of their policy three specific ways According one view, 'civics' was part of the liberation movement, and therefore usually were linked to a liberation movement.

The other two views argue that civics' were important formations in civil society (Mayekiso 1992): Swilling (19...) notes that the function of civic societies way to address the development needs of the marginalised sections of the population. According to the other Civvic's comprised watchdog groups safeguard democratic practices

The future of the civic association depends on its ability to become more involved with developmental aspects of communications and to build capacity within the community.

The civic association could act as a type of 'agent' between the government and the people. The National President Mr Mlungisi Hlongwane, of the South African National Civic Organisation, presented a paper at a local government conference (1997) which outlines the following:

- Transparency and accountability are important ingredients in enhancing a positive image of local government.
- Projects must be guided by community priorities and needs
  - Budget processes must be community driven according to the civic association, which suggests the following actions:
  - promotion of small community contractors;
  - a Link between the private sector, labour, the community and local government in key governance key processes;
  - a report on progress periodically on projects;
  - open council proceedings, according to participatory mechanisms in order to consider external submissions in a structured form;
  - allow for criticism regarding service standards; and
  - Local government in local development forums and economic development forums, including administrative support for such forums.

Mr Hlongwane concluded by committing the South African National Civic Association to:

- to support and be an integral part of Masakhane,
- to help to rebuild a positive image of local government.
- strive for democratic governance, people centered and people driven development.

The commitment by the SANCO states their mission for the future. However, there was lack of detail for example the formulation of policy and its submission to the government.

Debates in 2000 concern the future of the civic and its function in relation to the community and the government. The civic indicated that there was a strong possibility that the association would contest the next local government elections (2000) This decision could change the views of the association sustainability, and suggests that the civic movement was becoming a political party. The civic movement was one vehicle of community participation before 1994; the new dispensation actions are guided by the RDP in order to rebuild the country according to a framework.

The RDP programme was designed as an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework. It was intended to mobilise all citizens and the country 's resources towards a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future (RDP, 1994).

One of the main aims of the RDP was to ensure that local government creates change in terms of the following actions:

- redirection of resources for the needs of the community,

- basing its programme on consultation and participation with communities, and
- Ensuring that sustainable development strategies be implemented at a local level.

The RDP outlined a broad framework for development of the LDF and CDF structures.

According to Mckenna (1995) there is a challenge for communities not to work for local government but to make sure that local government is democratised.

Local government involve communities in the identification and prioritistion of development needs. Response should address the real needs of communities, redirect local resources to meet community needs, set up accountable and transparent systems, and support communities in their attempt to participate in local development.

The challenge to the community is appreciable , and assistance is needed by them to implement systems for accountability according to the document. The paper also queries the methods by which communities could address this challenge (White Paper, 1998).

Suggests that communities need to become organised and find ways to participate in their own development. They need to develop their own capacity and become involved in structures that facilitate their participation in local development. One way of organising is to set up institutions such as the CDF.

The purpose of this structure is to represent community interest, and to encourage transparency and accountability in the community as a whole.

The CDF needs to develop an environment where ideas can be discussed and information shared.

Normally forums existed by 2000, and many became despondent about the issues of the RDP. The government created an environment for participation, but the community development forums were not sustainable. This caused demotivation in various communities, and people were discouraged from participating in different structures.

Individuals joined these structures for various reasons. An investigation of the civic associations was carried out since they challenged the state with regard to the need for basic services, and led the community in a rent boycott and other successful community issues based campaigns.

People joined the civics because the organization reflected their opinions at a time when they were raising consciousness regarding people's involvement against an unjust system. The civic was not a banned organisation and people were allowed to participate in such a structure.

The functions of the civic association and the CDF, in terms of organising and developing communities, had to be defined in terms of the present situation.

Local government adopted a developmental role, as follows the concept of development is a broad one, however the structures for the enhancement of participation are central to it. What structure will champion the development in communities?

The many institutions that exist within communities had the potential to create confusion and indecision. In some instances this situation became so complex that it discouraged participation.

The unbundling of the functions of the civic association and the CDF suggests that both structures were important in allowing participation by the community.

The civic association was intended to help to organise communities to deal with the issues of local government in the following aspects:

- information dissemination to the communities;
- input into policy formulation;
- capacity building in the communities;
- encourage much of communities to pay for services; and
- encourage much of communities to participate in local government issues

The civic association needs to continue in the role of interacting with communities and mobilising communities on certain issues that affect the lives of the members

.

A CDF showed an interest within civil society until the imbalances and inequities of the past were corrected. This would be likely to take many years, during which the structure would need to do the following:

- ensure that development takes place in an integrated way;
- develop programme that would build local communities and create jobs; and
- create a partnership with government on development.

Some ideas for the functioning of these two structures. Whatever issues emerged from this, and irrespective of what structure were to drive the participatory process, it was important to establish the former process of participation.

2.4 Differing views on participation.

Participation has many definitions. According to four South Asian social scientist's, Haque, Mehta, Rahman and Wignaraja (1977) "*Participation is the true form of democracy and the only way in which the individual can become truly integrated with the collective fellowship*".

The White Paper series 1997/98 states that, "*building and deepening democracy means ensuring that communities - and in particular, those communities which were historically disadvantaged and excluded from power and decision-making are able to participate fully on choosing and planning the development programs that will meet their needs.: participation is about giving people a real 'say' in decisions that effect their lives, this means that they must have access to decision making structures in order to exercise this "say". When this happens, the legitimacy of local government is improved*"

There are two inter related ways in which the new democratic local government systems could facilitate participation. The first would be by improving and maintaining channels of communication, and the second by forming strong partnerships between the municipality and relevant stakeholders.

The Walt Whitman Center in the USA outlined some of the key issues on participation and democracy, given that Democracies are not an alternative to other principals of associated life. It is the idea of community life itself.
The Center assumed that participation in society was disintergrating. The need for both private and public individuals to strengthen civil society and reinvigorate community participation was considered important could be brought about, and it also questioned how civic renewal discussed the responsibilities of the government rebuilding of civil society. The points will

be considered in the context of the enabling environment that local government creates through policies and structures.

2.5 International view on participation

It is important to acknowledge that community participation is a good thing. It is nothing new. It is not an end on itself, but a means (UNICEF, 1997):
"Participation is a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them."(The World Bank Resource book Page 3 no date Vaclav Havel).

The issue of taking control is an important aspect of participation, (Isaac & Frank, 2000). This illustrates the South African problems through the example of how, in India, Karela power was developed to local level institutions, and created the necessary conditions for the genuine empowerment and participation of the people in decision making.

Main features participation in a decentralised campaign
In Karela, a decision was made by the state not to wait for the right conditions to materialize. One of the first decisions by the left was democratic front government was to budget 35 to 40 percent of state outlay to the Local Self Government Institutions (LSGIs).

The LSGIs were afforded maximum autonomy to formulate local plans. Millions of citizens met in specific localities to discuss their problems, consider solutions and agree on the actions needed. This formed a genuine movement to deepen democracy and transfer power to colloq. All the expertise and support with regard to technical aspects was provided by volunteers, and not a single consultant was paid for work.

Creation of a new civic culture

The single biggest aim of the decentralisation campaign was to maximise opportunities for the direct involvement of people in decision making .For participatory democracy involving the citizen to be affected a new set of civic values, attitudes needed to be inculcated and a development culture that upheld democratic values had to be nurtured.

Grama Sabhas (GS)

GS, or 'peoples' assemblies, were fundamental to the democratic decentralisation campaign. These groups identified the needs of the people in the wards, and discussed these, and deciding on the local provisions of public goods and service. The GS were considered to have such importance that their relationship to the council was seen as cabinet is to its assembly .

The Karela experience was characterised as a new democratic initiative in defence of the exploited, weaker sections of society. Democratic reforms which created opportunities for participatory initiatives were part of a larger political strategy by which the state could become more responsive and effective. This contrasted with the conservative and bureaucratic notions of decentralization of the bank. For the WB, decentralisation was a rational response to a over extended central state that was in a crisis. The central state had to reform and delegate the responsibilities of service provision to local bodies. The local bodies, in turn, needed to shift from being direct providers of services to being facilitators.

Karela offered an alternative method according to which people were central to the development processes.

Another example was evidenced in Porto Alegre, in Brazil, that involved 16 area assemblies which were (decentralised units) for the participative budget.

The task of the assemblies was to hear the communities' needs and to discuss the income and expenditure of the municipal budgets. Inputs from these assemblies were included in the discussions of the budget council which included delegates from each of the area's assemblies, as well as representatives of the city administration. The participative budget council decided on the priorities of the budget, Services needed to be provided, and work and improvements needed to be carried out. The link to a formal municipal budget process was strengthened by the establishment of a municipal department this was the co-ordination of the relationship with the community (CRC) and was dedicated to managing and co-ordinating the participatory budget process. The Budget Department of the city hall's planning department (CHPO) was also involved. The CHPO was responsible for developing the political process of the participatory budget. Both the CRC and the CHPO were directly connected to the mayor's office, which gives strong political and administrative authority to the process.

In the example given public participation was integrated as an important and formal political and administrative function of the municipality. The job of the municipality was to facilitate the process, and to establish and co-ordinate access by the community structures into the municipal structures. This should not be effected an intrusive, commanding or overbearing intervention. The Karela Experience (India), framework and guidelines for community participation (1997).

There have probably been few periods in recent history without the occurrence of change of some; defining characteristics of modern society. Yet the 1980's seemed to be marked by transformations of a very different order, which in a variety of ways and with different times bearing affected many aspects of society (Cochran Anderson, 1998)

A study was conducted by the Widdicombe Committee, (committee which was established to investigate the issue of co-option of parties that lost in elections). This concerned pressure groups, and was to encourage parties that lost elections to continue to participate at various levels of Government.

And councillors who were interviewed indicated that the pressure from more numerous and better organised local interest groups was a cause of the increased demands on member's time. For some this was a positive development, since they attached much importance to representing the views of particular groups within the community (Gyford, 1991).

Councillors expressed different views with regard to pressure groups, such as that were too many, on how the local government would deal with the groups to facilitate democracy. When do the pressure groups stop organising them selves, in my view their will always be these group: around to keep government on their toes, will government blame the pressure groups for stifling progress and will government draw up a criteria for participation?
It is evident in different situations, participation can be progressive and some stages it can be disruptive.

The need for responsive local government and for people to participate was a constant theme from the 1960s.
The more general point regarding relations between public authorities and the public vary all the way from keeping them happy uninformed to allowing them an active share in decision making.

In the context of British local government Hampton (1987) describes participation in the following way:

> Participation in service provision can be seen as a means by which individuals may protect their rigt as consumers of public goods and services; it can be described as the right to consultation; or it can involve the full concept of people sharing in the process of policy-making and service provision".

In the South African context participation, a number of legislative policies were t into place regarding participation. The ward committee is an exa ile of a specialised participatory structure. The objective of a ward committee is to enhance participatory democracy in local government. It provides a structured channel of communication between the community and the political representative at ward and council level. Ward committees function as critical structures in such processes as integrated development planning and local economic development planning (White Paper, Series1999).

The following points illustrate methods by which ward committees have enhanced participation and accountability (In Tembisa, 1997).

- The committee of ward 16 in Tembisa met every Wednesday (1997) evening at the community communication and development centre.
- The committee comprised of elected representatives from the seven sections of the ward as well as interest groups. The committee metts on a weekly basis.
- The meetings were run strictly to an agenda and were facilitated by a chairperson.
- These meetings comprised of a forum for councilors to report to communities regarding problems and progress on specific issues raised by the community.

The committee meetings also served as:

- a forum to organise and discuss labour issues for capital projects in the ward,
- an opportunity for the ward councillor to distribute pamphlets or report back,
- an opportunity to share information and discuss strategies between the different section leaders, and
- a forum to give information about other projects and programme in the broader area.

Problems that often exist:
Representation,
Sustainability, and
Power.

The Constitution of the country needs to be adhered to in order for these structures to exist. However, questions need to be addressed regarding the function and purpose of the participative process. The assumption is that some structures can cause major confusion in communities, and can spoil the objective of development.

Assessments are given regarding when projects needs to be done in a particular community. The government enables a process of consultation, and this results in certain problems. Many cases have problems that even consultation can be harmful to a project.

This aspect of participation needs to be clarified in order to ensure that achievement occurs without marginalising any sector of society, so that systems can be implemented that will not allow the objective of development

to be lost in problems in political and personal power and individualism need to be managed in the new democracy.

2.6 Conclusions

In this chapter investigation occurred into the policy framework that local government proposed to encourage participation. An attempt was made to analyse the theoretical views within a context of a more practical approach.

The purpose of the civic associations regarding the running of the development forums in the context of the past, present and future will also be assessed.

Different views on participation locally and internationally will also be compared regarding the different levels of participation.

The next chapter detailing of the types and means of participation used, for example, local development objectives, participatory budgeting, and local economic development. This will be discussed in the context of a policy framework that encourages participation compared with what was actually done. In this way, the relative success of the methods used will be measured.

Issues of partnerships will also be investigated, as well as what seems to facilitate true democracy, including of accountability and transparency.

Chapter Three: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Case Study method

The research methodology followed a qualitative approach. A qualitative method the case study, was used in order to explore inter-connections between what was investigated. Two cases were studied, involving the situations at Orange Farm and Sandton, both in Johannesburg.
(Sandton is a separate municipality).

The areas of the two case studies both form part of the Southern and Eastern Metropolitan local council. The different levels of participation were investigated, as well as people regarding participations.

The techniques used to gather data consist of both primary and secondary data.

3.2 Primary research data

The primary research data comprised data from semi-structured interviews held with councillors and officials of the EMLC and the SMLC.

The chairperson of the executive committee and a councillor from the SMLC were interviewed. In the eastern EMLC, interviews were conducted with the senior communication officer and a councillor. Interviews were carried out with community representatives from organisations including SANFED and SANCO, from each of the local areas.

A list of all community representatives who were interviewed appears as Appendix A. The interviews with representatives from both community

organisations and councils were based on the schedule which appears as Appendix B.

Orange Farm and Sandton have been chosen because they depict in South Africa a true reflection of the socio-economic backgrounds. The situation in each area influenced the objectives and reasons for participation.

3.3 Secondary information

Secondary research was obtained from documentation received from both councils, such as the LDO reports. Newspaper clippings were also used to develop the case studies.

3.4 Data analysis

The methodology analysis was analytical induction, whereby general principals or concepts are developed from specific observations which were determined in the two areas, in interviews and the literature. In the final stage of the research value based judgements were made around the following:

- the existence of a guiding vision and clear political aims based on the social and economic environment that sets the parameters for building consensus around effective participation;
- the vehicles used for participation, and the structures established to promote community participation at all levels from planning to implementation;
- the management dimensions of and co-ordination that were created to maintain, support and sustain the process of participation, including the provision of capacity to organisations and leaders; and

- the mechanisms created for monitoring and evaluation as a means for the promoting of learning and for measuring performance in terms of quality and quantity.

3.5 Limitations

South Africa has a new democracy (1994), and local government is affected by this dispensation. A democratic, non-racial local government was in place from 1995. Community participation approaches were therefore still at an early stage of development created both a limitation and a motivation for this research. The limitation concerns for the fact that experiences on the subject were scattered, underdeveloped and none so that it would be difficult to draw conclusive results and effective lessons from local experiences.

The study was biased towards the poor because of their circumstances of lack of resources and minimal capacity to participate effectively. It is also difficult to be neutral on the issue of participation.
This research document outlines the research methods used.

In order to ascertain resident's views, this will take on a structured and defined format. The intention of the study was to ascertain the local views of residents in the studied areas. Opinion was sought on the impact of local government on their lives. In addition, questions were asked to investigate the extent of participation by residents in the studied areas, on matters of local governance. The investigation attempted to find out whether or not residents in the studied areas believed distribution as a positive or a negative intervention by local government in terms of dealing with the disparities, and to find out residents' understanding of legislation. Interviews were conducted with members of the ratepayers association and the community development forum in the two areas.

Interviews: were conducted with ward councillors in the case study areas. The aim of the interviews was to establish the level of interaction by local government in terms of aiding community participation and redistribution of each area.

The interviews were conducted with senior management officials of the GJTMC as well as with civic, ratepayers associations and community based organisations in the respective areas of concern. The intention was to uncover different perspectives on what local government had done in the areas of the case studies.

Relevant council documents and policies were evaluated, including LDOs, and participative budgeting process. Whether policy was implemented and an enabling environment created for participation in Sandton and was investigated. This document also discusses the impact of some of the policies on both the areas, includes the effects of the old and new Acts and Bills, according to those in their jurisdiction.

A comparative study of different concepts of participation is included which summarises the meaning of local democracy. Factors that motivated communities to participate are delineated, as the finding of the study.

Chapter Four: SANDTON CITY CASE STUDY

Most of the of the area wished to live out of the city of Johannesburg in a peaceful, country environment. Gradually, farms were subdivided and the peri-urban suburbs that developed in the 1950's and 1960's needed a town, Sandton was proclaimed a municipality in 1969.

4.1 History

The name 'Sandton' known as 'Sandton City' emerged from an amalgamation of Bryanston and Sandown. Since 1970 Sandton was most influencial area in the country in attracting office development. In 2000 more than one million square metres of office space existed there. Sandton was well served by access routes linking up with the Johannesburg - Pretoria M1 and the Krugersdorp - Roodepoort M2. The town itself has over 1 000 km of roads and streets. The residents of Sandton have a strong desire to maintain the high quality of its residential areas.

Sandton's numerous shopping centres renders it the ultimate shopping area in South Africa. The town was divided into four nodal business districts: Sandton City and Sandton Square, the Civic Centre precinct, Rivonia, and Sunninghill and Fourways.

While Sandton was acknowledged as the major area of corporate headquarters, with attractive office parks that housed many leading companies in the country, its parks, open spaces and sports clubs rendered it an attractive and desirable place of residence. In 2000 there were approximately 150 000 residents, the majority of whom were white. (Carruthers, 1993).

The Sandton city area resides in the EMLC area, at the eastern side of Johannesburg.

4.2 The politics of participation

The local government White Paper and the Constitution explicitly encourage participation and provide a framework for participation by various communities. It is argued in the White Paper that the task of local government is to transform and encourage participation, to redistribute without marginalising any community, and to govern effectively. During the first five years of governing, since 1994, the foundations for local government policy have been laid.

Sandton was chosen for a case study because of the impact of apartheid planning, its long history regarding participation issues and self-governance was long desired. Sandton residents continuously challenged the state on issues that affected them such as the issue of rates increases and maintenance of a high level of services.

The Sandton ratepayers boycott which took place in 1996 was a process of community and government engagements designed to find solutions to the problems. The role of the ratepayers association in Sandton had significance to the case study. Issues such as representative, accountability and capacity were investigated to understand the reasons that the ratepayers association was so effective in dealing with the issues.

Other structures, mechanisms and policy frameworks such as the local development objective, participative budgeting, local economic development and integrated development planning process are also discussed.

4.3 Rates boycott as a form of participation

According to The Star (November, 1996) at least 20000 dissatisfied Sandton homeowners objected to the evaluations on their properties. Increased valuations resulted in an automatic increase in property rates.

4.3.1 Background to rates boycott

Some of the key points highlighted by the ratepayers association as an organised structure that is represented by the community were that Sandton residents did not object to cross subsidisation, but did object to subsidising the entire Metro. The ratepayers association indicated that residents were comfortable with subsidising areas within the EMLC, such as the informal settlement of Alexandra.

The Chairperson of SANFED, Mr John Lambson, indicated that Sandton was not boycotting rates but rather the 300% increase in rates: indicated that rates were still being paid, but not the increase. As representative of the community, the ratepayers association demanded that they should be included in the budgetary process and that the council should meet with communities and ratepayers associations to discuss budgets before they were implemented.

The council contested the contention that the community was not consulted about the increase in rates when the 1996/7 budgets were drafted. According to the council, a number of public meetings were held to discuss the increase and the budget, and that these were processes that were carried out unilaterally. The ratepayers association commented on consultation as follows: There was no consultation. But it also depends on what you mean by

consultation. If by consultation you mean getting a lot of people together and say to them look this is what we have decided to do, that is not consultation.

Mr John Lambson (Chairperson of SANFED) noted "There was no genuine consultation. Who is the council consulting? We have five councils, which have different political parties. But the Committee of Ten (appointed by the MEC for local government to look at the financial crises that face the GJTMC) which seems to have taken over everything, consists of members of one political party.

This view of the association surfaced, a second issue was raised, which related to whether the rates boycott was politically motivated and was in fact a political party supporting the ratepayers association.

The assumption by members of the public that was circumstantial evidence existed that a political party was supporting the association: strong possibilities however there was no factual evidence to continue this. SANFED (Lambson, 2000) was an umbrella body of all rates payers associations in and around Johannesburg.
The aims of the organisation were to represent all ratepayers and to deal with issues that affected them.

The highest level of community participation was in 1996, at the time of the rate boycott in Sandton. At that time there was an office with almost 10 employees as well as a number of volunteers from the community. The community was motivated by the issue of high rates; residents felt passionate about the matter, and therefore the level of participation was high in comparison to attendance on other issues that affected the community.

4.3.2 The Legal Process

The Johannesburg High Court dismissed the case brought by residents of Sandton against the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council (GJTMC). The reasons for that decision were that the GJTMC budget was illegal since was is not a separate substructure budget but a consolidated Metro budget.

The increase in rates was declared unlawful and invalid, and the levy unconstitutional and inequitable. The court however, approved the GJTMC conception of 'equity' as involving a transfer of the resources. The deficiencies of local government law as it currently stands, were noted, and a need for serious changes was implied. The court refused to uphold the applicant's procedural objections to the Eastern Metropolitan Council (EMC) budget, holding that although it was true that the EMC had failed to apply its mind to the approval of the budget, there was no requirement in the law that it must do so.

This finding decided that finance committees of municipalities have the duty of compiling a budget but are not required to give thought to this process or to the resulting budget. The litigation illuminated two crucial issues. It highlighted the poor state of local government legislation and emphasised the need for comprehensive laws by which cities could be governed; and it re-affirmed the need for a highly efficient property tax administration and the provision of good quality, political leadership in local government.
The following proposals were made:

- Proper consultation should be carried out with communities. In its daily functioning, government generally is required to consult with the community. This is crucial to local and all spheres of government. In

convening meetings with communities municipalities should not only inform the community of decisions, but also to listen and allow for community input before implementing decisions that affect the lives residents in the community.

- Legislation needed to be more specific regarding cross subsidisation and other matters pertaining to local government (Planact research document, 1998). The metropolitan council comprised of four sub-structures with their own budgets. It was evident that the Eastern Metropolitan Substructure was wealthier than the Southern Metropolitan Council, which had a much smaller budget. However, the ratepayers association continued publicly to challenge local government. Lambson stated "the council was seemingly nothing but a bureaucratic monster which serves very little discernible purpose; superfluous the very existence of the council is an expensive luxury."

  He continues to say "*hopefully ratepayers in the four sub-structures, especially those in the Sandton area of the Eastern Metropolitan Substructure, will demand the abolition of the GJTMC as an urgent reform in municipal government, failing which the Sandton community should consider going it alone to run their own affairs economically*".

This statement suggested that Sandton residence wished to be isolated from the GJTM economically.

A number of factors need to be considered in this regard, including whether government should allow participation of the ratepayers association to represent the people. The direction of the statement indicates an isolation of some sort. The general trend of government was to unify communities, and not divide them.

The Development Facilitation Act (DFA) (1995) was proclaimed in December that year as a legislative mechanism for the implementing the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of the Government of National Unity. In terms of Chapter 4 of the DFA, municipalities have to prepare LDOs for their areas of jurisdiction.

The GJTMC newsletter (1997) explains a number of issues relevant to the procedures of the LDO, as follows:

> The overall aim of the LDOs is for local government to become more proactive and sensitive in its approach to service delivery and ultimately manage the urban environment in terms of the needs identified by residents, business person, community organisation, tradesman, politician, or public servant, within the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan area.

- What are the roles of metropolitan and local councils?
- What does urban management mean for various stakeholders?
- Why do people need to participate? How will this benefit all?

The council responded with the following decisions:

- The Metropolitan Council was established to co-ordinate development and ensure sustainable urban management, through the redistribution of resources, in terms of identified needs. It also had functions which included public safety and security, transportation and bulk infrastructure.
- Local councils, (that is the northern, westerns, southern and eastern metropolitan substructures) delivered services in terms of community needs at localised level, including social and community facilities.

- Metropolitan and local councils together. They must work together to achieve good governance.

The methodology used for participation during the LDO process in Sandton has the following objectives:

- to identify all relevant sectors per ward and to inform them of the process for the preparation of land development objectives;
- to advertise widely in the local and national press distributed in the area, as well as in radio programmes, poster displays in clinics, libraries, recreation centres and other public places. Information leaflets describing the process and the place, time and date of the participation workshops were also involved in the communication strategy;
- to conduct a plenary meeting to launch the process of formulating LDOs in the east, which approximately 100 people from the community attended;
- to develop a capacitating programme for all councillors and officials regarding the process in order to engage with stakeholders; and
- to hold meetings with stakeholders on different dates, which were held in three segments.

4.4 Stakeholders LDO submissions from residents

Numerous written submissions from residents of Sandton were received by various organisations in the Eastern MLC. The issues and proposals received have been included, where applicable, in the relevant sectoral LDOs.

The council consulted the communities and various stakeholders on the LDO process in newsletters, local newspapers and notices.

Participation in the true sense was necessary from the process to ensure that people made meaningful contributions to the transfor . .ion that affected their lives. Whether such participation was evident remained questionable, due to the following indications.

According to Lambson, "participation in this process was good representatives from residents associations attended. Other groups were not present for example social clubs and welfare institutions.

During the LDO process consultants were appointed in some areas, such as Bryanston to guide the community on some priority areas for development.

Lambson noted concern that the LDO had disappeared and council no longer mention this.

Besides the LDO process, other participatory processes were embarked upon by the EMLC. These included participation by the community in the budgetary process.

4.4.1 Participative budgeting

The past regime had minimal accountability to the people in all aspects of government, in particular finance and budgeting. The 1995 democratic government emphasised the importance of participation and accountability in policy and as expressed in the White Paper, which explicitly outlines the public's rights to information.

> The local government white paper (1998 p112) under the title, Accountability, Transparency and Good Governance: Municipalities should be held responsible and accountable to taxpayers for the use of public funds. Elected representatives should be required to justify their expenditure decisions and explain why and how the revenue necessary to sustain those expenditure decisions is raised. The fiscal system should be designed to encourage accountability.

Key mechanisms to ensure accountability and public participation were as follows:

- Municipal budgeting and financial affairs should be open to public scrutiny, and communities should have a greater power in verifying decisions about how revenue may be raised and spent. Community participation budgeting should aim to incorporate groups in the community who have particular constraints in participating such as women.

- It should also include a capacity – building programme to ensure that people understood the process of prioritisation and reasons for resources, which were allocated.

- Accounting and financial reporting procedures should minimise opportunities for corruption and malpractice.

The (GJTMC) together with its four substructures placed particular emphasis on participation in the budgetary process and put the following aspects forward:

- a description of the processes which the sub-structures embarked upon to draw up their respective budgets;

- a description of the involvement of the community during the budgetary process, including the problems which were experienced, and how they were dealt with; and
- the nature of the budgetary relationship between the four substructures and the GJTMC.

In the Southern Metropolitan Sub Structure, meetings were held in most of the wards which were facilitated by the ward Councillors and advertisements were placed in the various newspapers. However, time constraints were a major problem for all of the Sub Structures to ensure that a proper community participation programme was implemented.

Lambson pointed out that people were informed, and that they did attend the meetings but that SANFED believed the budgetary process to 'window dressing'. Therefore the task team that was established by the council to deal with the budgetary process, was not taken seriously.

Lambson also indicated the weakness of the community in their lack of full participation, and expressed the view apathy exist in Sandton. In the other MSSs, advertisements were placed in the various local newspapers and on radio stations.

Submissions received from the community of Sandton re-emphasised the basic needs in the communities, such as water, street lighting, sewage and estate matters. However, this reflected a narrow view of only what affected residents in their immediate areas.

The GJTMC were unable to identify the overall needs of the entire MSS or Greater Johannesburg Metro. This kind of approach would have offered the Councils an opportunity to allocate resources to more specific projects, rather

than spreading the limited financial resources over a wide range of projects. The impact of such an exercise would also be more noticeable because people wanted change and development.

On the question of resources being secured by local government for future community participation programmes, the response was unanimous that there was a definite need for government to consider this. It was further emphasised that the design of the programme should result in meaningful consultation.

The conflict continued between the council and the ratepayers association, whereby the Association continued to deny participation in the budgetary process, and the council to reiterated that communication was sent to residents regarding the budget process.

An interview with Phil Machitela from SANCO regarding community participation in the budget process (Jabulani Maekwane Planact, 1998) indicated that people remained confused. He noted, "We need to look at how councilors are operating whether they do broad or proper consultation. You will find them calling meetings during working hours where only twenty people attend, and then the Council will say we have consulted the community. People attending the workshop do not understand or know what the budget is. The Councilors themselves do not understand the budgets".

In an interview with Cliffee Coet from the communications office of Sandton municipality he stated that, "during the budgetary process in 1998 a questionnaire was sent to the residents' regarding the budgetary process.

The questionnaire particularly addressed the residents' priorities and needs in the area. The ratepayers associations were invited to attend council

meetings. The council meetings were open to the public who were requested to attend, particularly when the discussion about the budgets was held". Coet indicated that in the information office there was a lack of capacity to advertise events of the council in an effective manner.

The government continued to pursue the issue of participation through policy, other tools and vehicles of participation, even though an evaluation of past participative processes was not evaluated. Other aspect of the governments' development programme was an integrated development planning process.

4.4.2 Integrated development planning

The notion of integrated development planning (IDP) became fairly common in the development of South Africa since 1994. It refers to a process of planning which considers a range of sectors, development activities and actors. It also adopted an holistic approach regarding the tools available to undertake such a process of planning, and on this basis, attempted to construct links between financial planning, infrastructure investment planning and service delivery (Planact, 1997).

Coet explained of the LDO process as follows:

> All ratespayers associations were invited, as well as welfare organisations and other sectors of civil society. The turnout was not very good but I think it was reasonable. More representation was from the ratepayers associations was expected. The councillors were supposed to put in the effort to ensure that people in their respective wards attended these meetings.

It was acknowledged by Cloet that the council did not have the capacity to market these events in a broad enough manner to ensure that every citizen was informed of events: "The process was such a big rush, if we did the proper advertising more people would have attended".

Sandton had to be a part of the plan, and also play a developmental role. Participation by residents in all areas was very important for the GJTMC in order to develop a well managed city.

4.5 Spontaneous participation in Sandton

Sandton had a long history of responding to issues that affect the lives of residents, and this resulted in participation. One example concerned the highway project, which took place in 1990 (Hull, 1990). Thousands of Sandton residents joined together to stop a proposed four-lane highway project, which threatened to increase traffic 500 percent through a quiet residential area. The Grosvenor/Bally Clar group was formed to deal with the issue. A petition with 3 287 signatures from the residents of Sandton, Randburg and Midrand was presented to the government. This pressure group ensured that the council consulted before the project could be started.

There are so many serious issues hereafter to affect Sandton residents; and roads, population density, and crime, were the three top priorities. Other illustrates of encouragement of participation in Sandton was the "know Your Neighbours" campaign (Chronicle 17 February 1991). This campaign aimed to facilitate the development of an environment whereby people, acquainted themselves with their neighbours in order to communicate strategies to live and improve the area. The first idea was for boom gates in one of the areas for proper access control in the area.

The establishment of co-operate system in Sandton was a mechanism whereby organised residents could be in a structured way do deal with the problems of the area. The co-operate was established to represent the residents' views. The group met regularly with the city manager, Ketso Gordhan to address the issue of the high levels of crime in Sandton. Eventually permission for boom gates was granted, and the residents were satisfied with the collective manner they organised themselves to find a solution to their problem.

4.6 Conclusion

The challenge for local government was integrating the rich and poor areas to ensure that one country was being maintained.

Leadership, accountability and transparency, were considered very important factors for the framework of participation, and through these factors good governance could be assured. The issue of whether the council consulted residents or allowed participation in the Sandton area is in question.

Also of importance was the monitoring of the issue of resistance participation and constructive participation, even though both are important to the development of the country.

A number of issues concerning participants such as high crime, and the building of a highway, were raised by Sandton, residents one of which was that participation became much more intense when major issues unfolded.

Although apathy existed amongst residents, the financial infrastructure of Sandton through its ratepayers' association, enabled to sound technical advice be sought so that they could state their views.

The hiring of consultants in Bryans. during the LDO process suggested a sound economic base of some of the residents. However, it could be assumed by not the economic situation that all residents in Sandton were wealthy.

The Sandton area arguments were based on the fact that the council maintaining the same high standard of service delivery to the area. Residents believed their money was used to subsidise the poor areas in and around Johannesburg.

The establishment of the ratepayers' association to represent people allowed them to engage with the council on various issues. This structure was effective during the rates boycott.

The residents were reported back to on a monthly basis. The assumption was that the participation level was not high, and residents did not truly participate in many of the other structures in order to bring about changes in the area.

Chapter Five: ORANGE FARM CASE STUDY

5.1 Introduction

"*Necessity is the mother of invention. An ideal situation Orange Farm is not. Still, it is home to the many homeless who are displaying amazing creativity in their battle for survival*" (Metropolitan 30 July 1993 Gert Coetzee).

Orange Farm is situated in the south of Johannesburg and is within the jurisdiction of the Southern Metropolitan Council (SMC). The following case study was based on the expressed experiences of the council and the community of Orange Farm.

The motivation for selecting Orange Farm was its features of poverty, and the very poor conditions in which people lived. Nevertheless, the residents were highly motivated to participate in the development of the area.

In this chapter the background and current situation at Orange Farm in 2000 were outlined. Firstly the roles of the various organisations in the development of the area are examined, secondly it examined various participatory processes are discussed, and finally an assessment of some of the weaknesses and strengths will be highlighted.

5.2 Background

The rapid growth of Soweto alarmed the past regime and, through the old Soweto Council an alternative place was identified to house the growth. A new area, which was to be named Norweto was identified.

According to the town planning ordinance anything that was not registered as a township, needed to be registered as a farm. When homeless Sofasonke party members living in old Mshenguville , Soweto, complained to the late mayor and party leader, Ephraim Tshabalala, that they could no longer live under those conditions, Tshabalala promised to relocate them to a better place (The Star, 10/9/1997).

Tshabalala and the apartheid Regime provided land and shack dwellers were repatriated in 1989. In 1990 the first 50 Mshenguville residents made the long trek, in hired trucks and by other modes of transport, to what has become known as the Orange Farm informal settlement. Orange Farm is situated 4km south of Johannesburg. The semi-informal township of Orange Farm, emerged as one of the fastest growing informal settlements in Gauteng.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA), later disbanded was responsible for the administration of Orange Farm until June 1993. The consultants, namely Municipal Management (MMS) (Pty) Ltd, provided town management services in Orange Farm and the surrounding areas from July 1993.

In November 1995, after the interim transitional municipal elections, Orange Farm was handed over to the Vaal Metropolitan Substructure (VMSS), which again persuaded MMS. to assist with the management of Orange Farm.

At the end of August 1996, the MMS withdrew from Orange Farm. The SMLC effectively took over the administration of Orange Farm from September 1996, even though the land was still in the control of the Provincial Government (Gauteng).

The area comprised 42 000 residences, 158 businesses, and 104 industrial units. Orange Farm was mainly residential, and was largely underdeveloped in terms of infrastructure. The population of the area was between 400 000 and 600 000 people, and the rate of unemployment was very high. This area was the fastest developing area in the south of Johannesburg. (Star 19/9/97 Adam Cook and SAPA)

5.2.1 Orange Farm: from Shackland to Township

Large stands were sectioned off for the former Mshenguville people at R200 a plot. Despite their abject poverty, most of the dwellers said they had not realised that democracy would result in new structures and programmes of human development that would draw public attention to the informal settlement.

The new inhabitants installed new roads and built spaza shops, install water tanks, makeshift clinics, pre-schools and sports fields in a short space of time. People from the informal settlements of Evaton, Weillers Farm and other parts of Soweto came to Orange Farm.

The former MEC for housing, Dan Mofokeng, outlined the government's programme. This was expected to provide the people in the area with clean water and sanitation, and improved conditions for health. But residents were expected to pay for services rendered to them after they have been allocated low-cost houses.

In essence, the provision of secure tenure would give the community of Orange Farm the means to determine their own destiny. They would enjoy the right to own and develop their property.

Eugene Ngwane (75) years of age pointed out that, "the proclamation signified the beginning of the end of a long struggle to acquire and own a piece of land" (Star 19/9/97, Adam Cooke and Sapa).

5.3 Participation of Orange Farm residents

Orange Farm had an abundance of leaders to take on issues and projects. Olga Lutu was leader of the shack-dwelling community who worked for development in the community.

Lutu led a delegation to Pretoria asking for the reinstallation of electricity and water supplies after it had been disconnected. The government later granted permission to dig boreholes.

One particular company in Johannesburg raised money for water pumping equipment. By then a residential committee was established to represent the community, and Lutu was chairperson. She was instrumental in the formation of community projects that included a school, a self-help sewing scheme for unemployed women, and a preschool.

The aspirations of the people of South Africa were expressed in the freedom charter in that "people shall share in the country wealth". The RDP was set up by the democratically elected government. The aims of the RDP were to meet people's the basic needs, to build the economy, develop human resources, build the nation, and democratise the state and civil society (Planact, 1994).

The RDP used LDPs as vehicles to implement programmes that were developed, through a process of consultation. These forums were to be all

inclusive of the various stakeholders to ensure that the broader community were represented.

Ever since its inception at national level, the LDF structure was established in Orange Farm with Lawrence as chairperson.

The LDF committee included no representative from political parties. Lawrence implied that at times political parties could hinder progress, and that they were interested only in political 'points scoring', rather than with what was beneficial to the community.

The committee comprised of 13 members, including wide representation from the church groups, business and sports groups. The people of Orange Farm elected the committee democratically.

The committee met once a month to discuss issues on development and other issues of interest. The LDF employed a full time secretary who was funded by the project, established by the LDF and was self-sustaining. The committee sought funds from outside sources for this purpose.

The committee met with church groups on a regular basis to discuss the issue of land allocation in a co-coordinated way to ensure that all religious bodies were aware of the policy and procedures of re-zoning and land. The builders associations were also consulted to look at the development and quality of the houses; and the networking of the association for future development was also placed on the agenda.

The development of the area took precedence, and the LDF members tried to ensure that the community was is kept informed. All representatives reported back to their respective constituencies to ensure that accountability

takes place. In 2000 the LDF was involved in negotiating a R3 million investment project in Orange Farm.

The Act that most inspired the committee was the building of the Local Economic Centre. This center comprised a partnership between the Council, BP South Africa, and LDF. The council gave the land, and BP funded the project in the amount of approximately R500 000. The project was self-sustaining because the local businesses paid the rental, water and electricity. The partnership was a success due to the effort and commitment of the members from the LDF.

The success of the LDF contributed towards the participatory processes by which some of the objectives that were outlined (RDP Core Group, 1994). The objectives were as follows:

- the creation of self-awareness and a conscious understanding of their own situation by the poor, individually and collectively. Such awareness and understanding should lead to an ongoing analysis directed towards the improvement of their own situation;

- the creation of self-reliant groups or associations that had a strong sense of self-identification and group responsibility, and were capable, through their own organisation and leadership, of setting priorities, planning, implementing and assessing their own projects. This was done by mobilising their own and external resources for the ultimate benefit of the individual members.

- the establishment of viable, self–sustaining income-generating activities owned and operated by individuals, families or small groups that possessed the managerial and technical skills needed to maintain profitability, independence and ecological soundness;

- the establishment of viable, fair political systems and processes which promoted human and individual rights, and an equitable distribution of resources, as well as distribution of the benefits from the use of these resources; and

- the establishment and maintenance of community supported social service activities in the areas of health, education, water and sanitation co-operation wherever possible.

Having met the above objectives of the RPD process, the community placed their confidence in this forum to continue development in the area.

The LDF encountered some problems with SANCO, a civic structure. These problems emerged when members of SANCO felt that they were being excluded from the process and attempted to ban people from attending the meetings that were convened by the LDF forum.

The LDF structure attempted to deal with the problem by inviting SANCO to appoint one person as a representative to serve on the structure. SANCO did not appoint a representative which resulted in SANCO's non-participation in development issues.

This situation highlighted the roles and function of civic structures, and the relationship between newly developed community structures and civic structures such as SANCO.

Another problem that the LDF had to contend with was that the LDF started with 25 to 28 organisations. Many dissolved, and in 2000 the LDF had only six organisations affiliated to the forum. A number of factors could be attributed to the decline of participation in the forum. One was that many

organisations only existed by name only and had only one or two people serving on that structure, who usually were family members.

To address this problem the LDF made the following decisions.

- The organisation must be community based.
- The organisation must have an executive body.
- It must have a constitution.
- The membership must be shown to the CDF. (The CDF visited the proclaimed members to verify membership).

5.4 Process of participation

For the LDO process, Planact was consulted to assist the SMC to develop a framework on the LDO based on the DFA (, 1998).

Consultative meetings were held in most of the wards, which were facilitated by ward councillors. Advertisements were placed in various local newspapers and leaflets and posters were distributed.

The submissions received at these meetings comprised of requirement that the communities wanted. These reflected a very narrow view of what affected the people in their immediate area. They were unable to identify with the overall development and needs of the entire MLC and that of Greater Johannesburg.

T here were also problems of representivity. It was difficult for the council to determine to what extent the various stakeholders represented the community. Even though, according to the council attendance was good, some comments suggested that certain community representatives felt that they were excluded from the process.

Criteria used to decide which stakeholders should be invited were as follows:

An individual could form a group and regard him or herself stakeholder. The council could invite the individual without checking the validity of the organisation. To begin to address this problem criteria needed to be developed by general consensus on the framework for participation and representatior

The SMLC held the community workshops for the LDO process throughout the South of Johannesburg. These workshops formed part of the public participation process required in terms of the DFA. They were a continuation of the public participation process which began with the budget workshops held from March 1996.

According to a report back from one of the community workshops for the LDO process in January/February 1997 the objectives of these workshops as part of the public participation process the purpose of these workshops was,

- to identify development issues, not just land related issues, and
- to provide for a new system of development planning which is participative, integrated and sustainable.

Orange Farm and Poortjie informal settlement close to Orange Farm were placed into Zone 7. and held their workshop was held on the February 1997 on the 9/2/97. Two hundred delegates attended this workshop, from the Zone 7 area. This zone was identified as having the greatest number of basic needs in the SMLC area.

The workshop, which lasted for over five hours, , and despite the size of the workshop, most delegates provided information on basic services likw water and sanitation.

Through a process of group discussions and a plenary session, at the workshop, the following key issues for development were identified.

- The financial and economic situation needed to be taken into consideration.
- Other important factors were raised, such as social, technical, and environment and institutional planning.
- Suggestions were made, and the community outlined issues that were important to them.

These issues were:

- communication between the local authority and the community;
- the need for communication channels to be improved between all institutional bodies and the local authority;
- the need for agriculture co-operatives to be introduced;
- the need to empower Community Based Organisations (CBO) to aid with the provision of services (for example, refuse removal);
- the need for transparency in the local authority and other community structures;
- a representative forum for small business, and
- the need for clear policies the local authority regarding the availability of land.

The community raised the issue of the councillors and their standard of delivery, as follows

- Councillors should meet with the community on a regular basis, and the community should receive feedback on matters affecting them.
- The local authority should provide information on relevant technical information to the communities.

- The introduction of financial support for small businesses was needed.

The second process was a combined venture between the LDO and the budgetary processes which, according to the council, was extremely successful. Workshops were held in each area, and these culminated in a mass meeting at the city hall where approximately 700 people attended.

These meetings were open to all members of the community, and invitations were sent out to organisations that were identified by the council. The meetings were advertised through advertisements placed in the newspapers, and in leaflets and posters. In order to cover the entire SMLC, the area was grouped into seven sub areas. The problem with this process, however, was that some people who lived a distance away from the respective venues did not have access to transport, and could not attend these meetings.

At the meetings held in the various areas, councillors explained the outcome of the 1996/1997 budget to the people, including what was available as capital and operating expenditure for the 1997/98 budget.

The link between the LDO and budget processes is such that the outcome of development planning informs or indicates key focus areas of the budget. This forced the council to change from short term budgeting plans (one year) to medium term budgeting plans (three years).

The successes that could be drawn from the above experiences were as follows.

- The council was able to learn from experiences.
- There was relatively good level of participation and understanding of issues.

- Meetings showed the commonality priorities within different communities in terms of water source.
- The meetings showed the council the importance of consultation (user friendly terms);
- The importance of changing the presentation and terminology used when presenting budgets was highlighted so that people could understand and question the allocation of the expenditure.
- Participation made people feel that they own the process.

5.5 Spontaneous participation in Orange Farm

According to architect, Shirley Zar, in the Town Planning Department at Technicon Witwatersrand, Orange Farm is developing into a model community where people are not simply waiting for 'hand-outs'. They are all taking initiative in developing the area (The Star, 10 September 1991).

An example of leadership and participation was shown by Mrs Marry Pule who implemented structures for knitting and sewing groups, and to teach those who did not have any craft skills. Under her guidance, about 100 women learned to make school uniforms and clothes for their children, and to sell. Those who learned the skills then taught others to be self-sufficient. (Star 10 Sep 1991 by Julienne du Toit).

According to Mdhlela, (1994) CBO called Arekopangeng was established to assist in alleviating poverty at Orange Farm. The CBO ran job creation programmes to help the community to help itself. The organisation provided essential resources to the community.

The organisation ensures that community members were trained in specific skills for capacity building and self-reliance. Local economic activity at

Orange Farm involved about 120 women and men participating in a brick manufacturing project which was initiated by Kagiso Trust.

As indicated, a number of projects were initiated by communities and the trend continued with the new structures that were initiated.

By 2000 the Orange Farm community had approximately 15 different organisations that exist as civic movements, (NGOs and CBOs).

One of the organisations the South African Loafers Association (SALOFA) organised the unemployed people of the area. As projects became available for development, this organisation made representation to the management of the project with the request that its members be employed on the project. This particular group organised themselves to seek employment for its members in a collective manner.

Street committees were established to deal with some of the housing issues and to help people to register, as to well as to communicate with each other in a much more organised manner. Street committees at Orange Farm had a long cultural history.

During the apartheid era many people in the townships organised themselves in a decentralised way in order to communicate with each other, and this particular structure was very effective. Regular meetings were arranged and people became committed in their attendance at these meetings.

At national level, the street committees ceased to exist in the same way as in the past. There were many contributing factors for this.

In the past people believed in an ideal which was deeply rooted for many people, which encouraged them to fight for freedom and justice. Therefore participated with more vigor communities to day need to change their attitude regarding the need for community development, if they are to maintain the vibrant manner in which communities participated in the past.

The community of Orange Farm, from the start participated in their own upliftment, and offered a significant and meaningful contribution to the development of the area.

5.6 Conclusion

Orange Farm has started in a humble way and later developed at a very fast pace. The community showed signs of commitment to developing the area. A number of NGOs, CBOs and religious organisations encouraged communities to take control of their lives.

The Orange Farm community encouraged participation through project development, although the communities lacked the skills and capacity to participate effectively in local government.

The functions of the structures that existed in the area were not clear, which resulted in conflict in the area. This showed certain weaknesses within the organisational structures, and sustainability.
Women at Orange Farm took participation very seriously and summarised their role in the area of development as follows.

"There is no single orange fruit tree in Orange Farm. As women we have to initiate projects that would uplift ourselves and our communities" (Lutu, 1991)

Chapter Six: ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDIES

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter the legislative and policy framework, the processes of participation, the case studies, and as well international views on participation are analyzed.

It is hoped through this study to develop an understanding of why the 'rich areas' participate in different ways from the 'poor areas'. An analysis of the difference in definitions of the concepts of consultation, participatic .d effective participation is included in this chapter.

The analysis take account of elements that contribute to the sustainability of the vehicle of participation. Solutions and best practice are then considered with regard to the achievement of the developmental role.

6.2 The legislative and policy framework

In 2000, local government acknowledged the disparities that existed in the different areas; the different living standards of the very rich and the very poor were enormous.

The government was greatly challenged in dealing with these disparities. Their approach needs to be more strategically focused. It would not benefit the government to make decisions that would marginalise any section of society, because the constitution demands democracy and equal opportunity for all. The understanding must be emphasised that the wheels of transformation does not rotate in one day.

A typical example was the ratepayers' boycott in Sandton, when the government attempted to redistribute resources and to equalise the situation. Sandton residents paid less rates, and the government increased the rates, which led to a revolt against the government and residents collectively participated in dealing with the issue of the increase.

A number of legislative and policy changes transformed local government in different ways. One of these transformations was a shift from government making unilateral decisions to governance as a process of co-operation between stakeholders.

Officials and government use the term governance very loosely. According to Coovadia director of Community Bank, "*Government*" is runned by politicians who are elected every five years, and to whom the running of the country – is entrusted until it is time for new 'ections. While he distinguishes government from Governance.

The term g*overnance places* greater responsibility on the electorate It entails participation beyond elections to ensure that elected officials are accountable and that ordinary people participate in developing the policies that will affect their daily lives. Governance is a partnership between the government, civil society and the private sector.

The concept of governance does not appear to have became popular with all the people in the country. It can also be assumed that the differences between the government and the people has grown. The following points need to be considered.

- It was questionable whether the government actively abide by the principals of co-operation, public accountability and transparency, and

built the developmental skills and capacities of local communities for effective participation

- The government attempted to create an enabling environment through policy and legislative changes, and to implement programmes that would deal with local government and the transformation process. One of these programmes was the local government transformation programme.
- Which was launched on 29 March 1999.

This national programme had a clear, three pronged approach for supporting local government through the following:

- enhancement of co-ordination whereby the program we include the compilation of a database of the various support and capacity building programmes run by government departments;

- facilitation of information exchange and learning, and the development of information and outreach programme, and the dissemination of information from local level 'pilot' programmes; and

- enablement of access to technical assistance, capacity-building and institutional support.

The LGTPs strategies rely on the active participation of institutions and individuals who are involved in supporting local government (Voice, 1998).

The strategy again highlights the issue of participation and the importance of building capacity.

The commitment of government via the legislative processes and policy formulation, to transform local government has been very positive because of

the. However there was a belief by that the legislation and the policy were highly theoretical and lacked the practicality necessary for implementation.

Previously, the constitution and the local government White Paper comprised the local government transition act. This impacted in terms of transforming local government. The white paper, however merely frames the second phase of the Municipal Structures Act, Municipal Systems bill. The following is an evaluation of what was achieved, and relates to the case study.

In the Constitution four important mandates for local government are pointed out. ***Annexure 2*** links the mandate tc what government achieved, and to the case study. This facilitates evaluating of the impact of the policy changes.

The government continued the process of change and introduced the following bills and acts.

6.3 Local Government Municipal Structures Act

The Structures Act, 1998, provided the following:

The method of establishment of municipalities in accordance with requirements relating to categories and types of municipalities;
The criteria for determining the category of municipality that may be established in each area;
A definition of the type of municipality that may be established in an area;
An appropriate division of power and functions in various categories of a municipality; and
Appropriate electoral systems.

Chapter Four of the Act deals with the internal structures and functions, as well as structures to enable participation, such as the establishment of ward committees. According to the legislation, only metropolitan and certain types of local municipalities may have ward committees.

These are outlined in detail in Sections 8 (c), (d), (g), and (h), and 9 (b), (d) and (f). The legislation around council as well as the term of office of members and the filling of vacancies, intended to regulate the election processes of ward committee members. The powers and functions of the ward committee members delivered in the Act. According to the Act, members will not receive remuneration, and the council may dissolve a committee if the committee fails to fulfil its objectives.

6.3.1 Analysis:

Even though the bill attempts to facilitate a process of effective participation there are a number of areas which need to be addressed. Some are listed below, as they contain case studies.

a) The Act is not clear about the status of existing structures within communities. The meaning of the establishment of ward committees for existing structures such as the CDF in Orange Farm is not clear. It could mean that these structures no longer have any status and therefore cannot interact with and question government on decisions taken.

b) During the interviews with people within both communities, the issue was raised that they do not receive any allowance for the time and work which they put into the participatory process. The Structures Act (1998) clearly stipulates that members will not receive remuneration. According to the interviews, people indicated that they performed functions similar to those

of Councillors by interacting with communities and reporting to councillors on the needs of communities. Certain implications pertain to this lack of remuneration, and this raises further issues regarding the status of elected political representatives, that is, the councillors.

c) An important issue in relation to participation is the issue of representivity. This problem is not experienced only within the South African context, but according to international literature this problem has been experienced in most countries including South America. The Structures Act (1998) does not include detail on the issues of election processes and representation; the metropolitan or local council is expected to deal with the election. However, the Act is prescriptive on the maximum number of committee members involved, which could have implications for participation criteria for representivity need to be delineated.

d) As stated, the Act prescribes that the Metropolitan or Council regulates election processes, and terms of office of members. Again this raises issues of concern specifically around representation. During their term of office, members might not report to their communities as often as they should. Other problem, such as the articulation of their own needs rather than those of the community could occur. It is therefore important that elections take place as often as reasonable and that clear lines of accountability and reporting mechanisms are set in place.

e) The powers and functions as delineated in the Act, such as Sections 32 and 74, are sufficiently clear. However, within a participatory structure councillors could be faced with problems relating to conflict in cases where they are unable to agree on a common approach or find a solution to a problem. The Act does not make any recommendations on how to deal with problems of this nature.

6.4 The Systems Bill, 1999

The Systems Bill aims to give effect to the country's vision of 'developmental local government'. The bill establishes a simple and enabling framework for the core processes of integrated planning, performance management, resource mobilisation and organisational change, which underpin the notion of developmental government. The Bill extends the definition of 'municipality' to include residents and communities within the municipal area, who work in partnership with the municipality's political and administrative structures. The Systems Bill deals with mechanisms, processes and procedures which local government could adhere to in order to achieve its objectives. Issues relating to integrated development planning, and performance management such as developing indicators, human resource development and institutional arrangements are issues, which the Bill addresses. Chapter 3 of the Act deals with public participation and addresses some issues which need to be considered when developing a participatory process. The council should take into account the special needs of for example:

- people who cannot read or write;
- people with disabilities; and
- other disadvantaged groups.

The bill also prescribes that council must build the capacity of residents and communities, in order to assist them in participating in the local affairs of the municipality.

Finally, the bill deals with the rights of the public in terms of access to council meetings and media, with the exception of the following:

- executive committee meetings mentioned in Section 42 of the Municipal Structures Act (1998); and

- a mayoral committee as mentioned in Section 60 of the Act.

6.4.1 Analysis

The bill does not address these issues in detail, and therefore council has to be innovative in finding options or processes to implement participatory process. The council would need to ensure that these systems were developed within a framework, which takes into account the financial and administrative capacity of the council.

Both international and national literature notes that, within any structure, part of the success depends on the development and improvement of the capacity of members. The Bill includes reference to the need for the development of capacity, but the details of this need to be provided by the councils. They would have to asses the levels of financial and human resource available to help with the training members within participatory structures.

The interviews conducted with various communities on this issue revealed that this structure would not sustain itself, because people felt that since the councillors were paid, they should also be paid for such work.

The Act does not address the issue of the other structures that presently exist in the various communities, and therefore may imply that the structures should be disbanded, and that the ward committee is the most effective vehicle to represent the community.

It may be necessary to revisit chapter four of this Act because it does not adequately explain how the ward committee will be effective.

The Systems Bill prescribes capacity building by the council of residents and communities, in order to assist them to participate in the local affairs of the municipality.

A similar mandate was noted in the Constitution in 1996, but very little was done in this regard. It is evident that local government did not put the necessary programmes in place to implement its legislation and policy (Plummer, 1999). Plummer (1999) notes that while both India and South Africa enacted laws to enable municipal action towards increased participation, neither managed to put effective local government structures in place, nor did either provide support for agencies that were obliged to implement this legislation.

6.5 Participatory process

The participatory processes were similar to the local development objectives, in that participatory budgetary process were followed by both substructures, and the interviews conducted resulted in differing views on the process.

At Orange Farm, particularly, the response was positive in terms of attendance: however, the interpretations of attendance and participation may be very different.

In the Sandton area, the response was negative because the ratepayers' association stated that the process was just 'window dressing' and the council's plans were finalised without community participation.

6.5.1 Findings from the process

The study created a realisation that a lack of clarity exists with regards to consultation, participation and effective participation, still exists, and the research no clarity on this particular matter

Consultation: The unbundling of consultation needs to be defined before it can be addressed. Consultation appears to be a process whereby communities are requested to endorse the government plans, or debate and find collective solutions in a meaningful way.

Arnstein (1969) defines consultation as being at a level that allows the community to interact at the planning stage. Feedback and opinions are encouraged, and may be taken into account in the later stages of the project. There is no guarantee that the input of communities will be considered in the planning process, which supports the idea that during the LDO process the community's input 'wish lists' will not be considered.

Participation: This may be defined in different ways, and many people try to update their own meaning on it. Participation is a process in which the community shares their views, and these are considered seriously, and implemented. It is a process of planning, managing and implementation.

Effective participation: this occurs when communities design and produce new ideas, policies and processes through which to articulate their views it occurs such that the technical and focused way in which it occurs results in the implementation of the ideas.

This legislation has created a broad perspective on the intention of government in the future. The government created a framework for

participation, but left out some important components, regarding the effective ways that the community should participate. The government did not address the issue of the difference between participation, effective participation, and just consultation.

It appears that too many policy and legislation changes can be confusing and discourage communities from participating. An example of this is involved in the different terms used, such as LDO, DFA, RDP, IDP

6.5.2 Process for participation

Clarity on local development objectives and the participative budgeting process was enlightening to the communities. In both the case studies the participation levels were hig... One problematic view was that people felt that their inputs would not be taken seriously because the process was just to consult rather than to allow meaningful participation.

Local government needs to address this problem. Its misinterpretation could lead to assumption within community that government is acting dishonestly, which could deter people from participating.

6.6 Participation

The different reasons given for participation resulted in an understanding as to why some communities participated more than others. The much wealthier community (Sandton) participated on issues that affected the community, and, because of their financial background and skills, they were able to participate more effectively. Those in the poorer area (Orange Farm) participated more because they needed to survive, and their participation was more focused on development participation.

6.7 Vehicles for participation

The table shows the differences between the organisations that contributed to different levels of participation in the two areas.

Table 1:

Participation in Sandton	Participation in Orange Farm
Sandton : ingredients for right vehicles of participation	Orange Farm: issues that effect participation
Accountability	Power struggles
Transparency	Lack of clear roles and functions of organizations
Capacity	Lack of capacity
Good leadership	Non sustainability of organisations

Other factors that contributed towards the effective or ineffective ways of participation were outlined in the following way.

6.7.1 Factors that prevent people from participating in government

These included:

- local government's confusing policy;
- bad publicity for meetings that were convened by government;
- poor communication;
- the slow pace of delivery; and
- accumulation of promises (which can discourage participation).

6.7.2 Factors that prevent people from participating in community structures

These included:

- too many organisations discussing the same issue;
- political in-fighting;
- conflicting report backs;
- individual power struggle's.

One of the problems to be rectified is that of capacity building, as stated in the Provincial Framework on Approaches to Community Participation (1997). The imperative of building the capacity of CBOs and NGOs to a critical mass of their members, is important in order to engage effective participation and collaboration. Local government, with the assistance of provincial and training NGOs should actively develop customised training programmes for the leaders of community organisations.

Participation has been recognised as being a very important aspect of government and the community. The policy frameworks are in place, but the impact is lacking.

Local Government attempted to redistribute power in Johannesburg area resulted in repercussions for the council. The community of Sandton were marginalised. At the same time, the perceived lack of delivery at Orange Farm could also be considered as marginalisation of their community.

Chapter Seven: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Findings

The reality of two nations in one country exists in South Africa. This was illustrated and presented in the study on Sandton and Orange Farm. The disparity was so great as to suggest that this country will require many years to be fully transformed.

7.2 Policy

Local government has too many policy frameworks in place, and this has a negative impact on the motivation of people to participate.

It is recommended: that the government build the capacity of communities by developing their skills, which will empower them to make technical inputs in formulating policy.

The present municipal system bills (1998) suggests use of a ward committee but does not make provision for the committee of 10 who would support the councillors. This needs to be amended in order to encourage the full participation of the committee of 10.

7.3 Process for participation

The process was reported from the point of view of the councils as being well represented and successful. The councils' self-evaluation needs to be viewed in the proper context.

It is recommended that the Council create consultative forums. It needs to develop skills in the communities before beginning the actual participation process. In other words, before the LDO processes are initiated council should ensure community awareness of the financial constraints and parameters. This would avoid the compilation of 'wish lists' as occurred 1997.

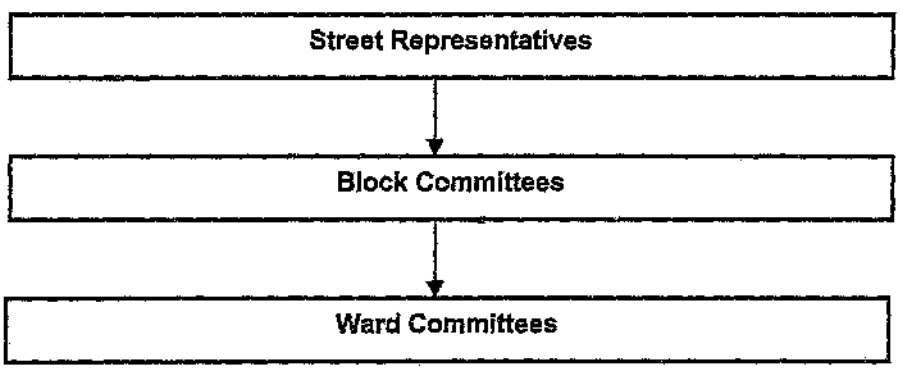
7.4 Vehicles for participation

The institutional arrangements for participation constituted one of the most important aspects to ensure that the common objectives were met.

It is recommended that the structure have a definite function. Which is diagrammatically illustrated:

Table 2:

Recommended approach



Since the implementation of the M Plan in the 1960's, the above structure ensured effective participation and accountability. The communication mechanism was effective and ensured that people were informed and consulted on issues. In order for this structure to be effective in and beyond 2000, with the specific problems of the socio-political environment, local government needs to create enthusiasm for the programmes and campaigns that it initiates.

Ten suggestions for initiating and sustaining involvement and interest are as follows:

1. Identification and support of leaders who are willing to stimulate government and community action;
2. stimulating involvement of citizens to the level at which the inputs are translated into programmes.
3. partner involvement in community–based organisations, and multi government entities;
4. development resource streams to initiate and then to maintain efforts over time;
5. enactment of local mandates to maintain practices when local support is weak;
6. support of inter-governmental mandates and incentives, or national standards, with close attention and support for localities;
7. use of peer and professional influence, and frameworks of 'good' and 'promising' practices to advance widespread implementation;
8. learning from other countries, whilst remaining aware of critical differences;
9. changing of measurement and involvement practices over time to maintain their vitality; and

10. maintenance of citizen pressure and support in demanding and achieving performance.

(Source: Internet - World Bank Archives)

It is suggested that this concept be applied, and that certain ideas change according to the circumstance. It can also be linked to the community development forums and the structures as they exist, depending on whether and why it worked in some areas and not in the others best practice must be used.

7.5 Implications for the future

The rebuilding of civil society needs to be viewed as a programme for government. This programme must also include what is termed 'collective fellowship' and the rebuilding of community life.

Further research into the sustainability of institutions such as CBOs, NGOs and other organisations from civil society would be useful.

A set of criteria for participating in government should be drawn up in a collective way in collaboration with CBOs and NGOs to ensure that accountability is enforced.

The difference between civil society and government has been widening rapidly. One of the contributing factors for this is that the field of participation is not clear at both community and government levels.

The government needs to develop a clear understanding of what participation is in the context of the its mandate. In the South African context,

developmental local government is an overarching mandate. Political leaders need to work towards closing the gap between government and civil society.

7.6 The Enabling Environment

The government's policy is clear on participation in terms of the importance of building a good relationship with civil society. An interpretation is necessary of clearly defined understanding of the roles and functions of politicians and officials of local government in order to enable the community to participate at different levels.

7.7 Conclusion

The concept of participation has different meanings and interpretations. The research has reflected on the questions posed in the introduction, as follows.

- The roles of the community in the development process were clearly defined and clear recommendations made regarding weaknesses that were identified, such as lack of capacity, resources, and information.

- The government has made an attempt to encourage participation through the LDO process, participative budgetary and IDP processes. It now needs to move away from mere consultation, and participation, to more effective participation.

- Linked to the issue of effective participation is the concept of qualitative participation as opposed to quantitative participation. The government needs to understand that large numbers of people attending consultative meetings may not lead to effective participation.

- The government was not effective in making use of community participation policy. Legislative and policy frameworks are in place, but

only slow progress is made by government in effective implementation. Recommendations have been made to government.

In this study an attempt was made to investigate all the contributing factors for the motivating communities to participate, and the consequences and impact of their participation. It sought the views and opinions of all stakeholders within the context of the local government environment. The research studied existing and future legislation, and drew certain conclusions with regard to the implementation of the legislation that affected local government. Finally, some recommendations were made on how participation could be effective. One of the crucial findings of the research points to the lack of civic awareness in society. The government needs to develop a programme that would encourage the culture of civic pride within communities. This civic pride should not, however have a narrow focus. The government has to establish a partnership with civil society in order to achieve its broad developmental objectives.

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Interviews conducted:

Sanfed chairperson Mr. Lambson
Eastern Council Official in the communications offices MR. Cloet.
Councillors in the Eastern Council, Councillors C Walters.
Councillors in Orange Farm, Councillors Chris Rabaji.

Questioners

Conducted with Sandton Residents and Orange Farm Residents. See Appendix A.

Questioner for Research

On motivations for Community participation in
Sandton and Orange Farm
University of the Witwatersrand

Attention: _____

Kindly fill in questioner and fax to the attention of Mr. M Padiachee on Fax: 403-6982

Comment on the local development objectives (LDO) in terms of the participation in Sandton/Orange Farm?

_____
_____
_____

Comment on the participative budgeting process in Sandton/Orange Farm? And did the community participate in the process?

_____
_____
_____

Do you think Sandton/Orange Farm residents feel marginalised because of the economic situation that they are in?

_____
_____
_____

Give other examples where the community organised themselves on issues that affected them?

_____
_____

What do you think motivates people to participate at various levels?

_____
_____
_____

In your own opinion outline the difference between consultation and participation?

_____
_____

Do you think the new ward committee that will be established in next election will make an impact on participation?

_____
_____

Constitutional Mandate	What was achieved?	Case Study
Provide democratic and accountable Government for local communities.	The first democratic Local Government elections was held in 1995, where community's had to choose there local leaders to represent them in the council as councilors.	Orange Farm: a few interviews were conducted and the response was that the councilor does not report back and is not accountable to any one. No report backs are given to the community. Sandton: People place more confidence in thee rates payers association.
To ensure the provition of services to communities in a sustainable manner	The government put together the development facilitation Act, 1995 (no 67 of 1995), all local Authorities had to embark on developing land development objectives for their area of jurisdiction. The objective of the process was to obtain feedback from local communities on what they determined, as priorities for Local Government to work on and to ensure delivery takes place. The Department of Provincial and Local Government Affairs started a programme to fast track the delivery of basic services. The Municipal Infrastructure Investment Framework was initiated in 1998. This was followed by the Municipal Infrastructure Investment Programme. The rationalisation process of various sources of finance for service delivery. The department then put in place the Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Investment Framework was the final initiative from the department. It is extremely difficult to evaluate and assess the level of delivery in some of the areas, however the assumption is that the delivery of services has been slow, particularly to the poorest areas. Change in the country will not come easy as the government has many challenges to deal with. One of it is that many local authorities are cash strapped and cannot deliver on the this provision of the constitution, however an innovation from government has allowed for partnerships to emerge from different levels of society. In order to deliver services. Public-Private partnerships, public –public partnerships and partnerships with community-based organisations and non-governmental organisations, these are just a few that can be engaged with by government. One of the examples is the Municipal community partnership that was sanctioned by the department of constitutional development. The framework for this partnership is the support for the municipality as the sole service provider, to municipality as community representative, leader and facilitator of development. The framework is put forward to assess which delivery and governance roles in the MCP's are potentially well positioned to play vice-a-visa the various delivery strategies. In essence, the findings suggest that MCP's be particularly well positioned to meet developmental needs of the poor, especially where such partnerships are based on interrelationships between strengthening democracy, increasing municipal effectiveness and extending basic services. (Cranco and Feroze Ppv).	Sandton: This area strongly believes that they have been marginalised and the services have dropped tremendously at the expense of the other areas. The rates boycott was one of the mechanisms in which the community of Sandton participated in to achieve there objective. Orange Farm: The community does not receive the basic services from council ,however the community still continue to participate at the projects level.

Constitutional Mandate	What was achieved?	Case Study
To promote social and economic development	The government than looked at Local Government and the role it can play in building the local economy by creating jobs. Local economic development is a concept and is working in some municipalities in the country. The social development plan was also initiated by the Department of Constitutional Development to act as a buffer if jobs are lost in a particular industry and people can start projects to sustain there families.	Sandton:The residents always had a self-organising culture and systematically promoted their own economy and built their own social structure. Orange Farm:The community also participates and develop there own area.
To encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in matters of Local Government.	The participative budgetary process was introduced to ensure communities participate in this process and know what the budgets are about. The local development objectives and the integrated development planning process were used as government's commitment to allow involvement in Local Government.	Both the communities in Sandton and Orange Farm participated in the LDO and budgetary processes. Importantly in Sandton consultants were engaged and presented a well-articulated plan for the LDO. Orange Farm had no capacity too do this.

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