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Community Participation in the Upgrading of Informal Settlements with reference to Thembelihle and Kanana informal settlements, Johannesburg.

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2005

Research Report Submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg in partial fulfilment of Masters of Science Degree in Building in the field of Housing.

Declaration.

I declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Science in Building in the field of Housing, Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University

Ephraim Raphalalani Nemaonzeni

Acknowledgement.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the following persons, Dr Marie Huchzermeyer Housing Co-ordinator, MZ Mayekiso my supervisor, My wife Nkhensani and children, Tshilidzi, Joshua and Murendeni for their tremendous support throughout my studies, Cathy Snow for professional language editing and above all I would like to Thank the Almighty God for giving me the courage to undertake this study.

The financial assistance of the National Research Foundation (NRF) is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed in this work, or conclusions arrived at, are those of the Author and are not to be attributed to the NRF.

Abstract.

This study engages with community participation in post-apartheid South Africa, in an attempt to discern participation approaches that might enhance development in the upgrading of informal settlements within the Metropolitan Cities. The research attempts to come up with an intervention strategy that incorporates participation of Community-Based Organisations, Community leaders and society into informal settlement interventions in South Africa. It reviews the South African framework and structures for informal settlement community participation (including civic organisations, other community-based organisatios, and elected statutory representation). It then examines to what extent lessons from the International literature review 2003 study conducted by Thabelo Nethenzheni may be relevant to the South African situation.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations used.

ANC: African National Congress.

CBOs: Community Based Organisation.

CUP: Coalition for the Urban Poor

DoH: National Department of Housing.

IFP: Inkatha Freedom Party.

LPM: Landless Peoples Movement.

NGO; Non Governmental Organisation

NRF: National Research Foundation.

PHP: Peoples Housing Processes.

SANCO: South African National Civic Organisation.

SAHPF: South African Homeless Peoples Federation.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO INFORMAL SETTLEMENT INTERVENTION

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW ON THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

CHAPTER 3

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER 4

KANANA AND THEMBELIHLE: TWO CASE STUDIES OF CBOs PARTICIPATION IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENT INTERVENTION IN JOHANNESBURG

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION ON COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

CHAPTER 6

RECOMMENDATIONS, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM PREVIOUS CHAPTERS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO INFORMAL SETTLEMENT INTERVENTION

1.1. Introduction and background to the study

Based on the principle of government succession, the post-apartheid government of South Africa inherited a huge housing backlog when it came to power in 1994. The slow delivery of required houses has caused an increase in the backlog. Informal settlements continue to grow and a new invasion of land takes place daily in and around metropolitan cities of South Africa. Given the scale of informal settlements in South Africa, this is a serious problem. DoH, Breaking New Ground (2004:1) notes that after 10 years of democracy one of the major challenges facing government is to address housing backlog affecting 2.4 million households. Thus, despite a delivery of 1.6 million houses in 10 years, the Department of Housing (DoH) could not keep pace with household formations and a range of other factors which caused the increase in housing backlog from the 1990s (DoH, Breaking New Ground 2004:1)

The 1994 Housing white paper (Department of Housing, 1994:10) estimated that 150 000 new households per year would accommodate themselves in informal settlements. Informal settlement residents normally live in a permanent state of legal social insecurity, as they often settle on land without the consent of the owners. Settlements are commonly located on marginal land subject to environmental degradation and their relatively unplanned nature, design and incremental growth further complicate conventional service delivery strategies. South Africa has seen an increase in informal settlements over the years. The continual perpetuation of inadequate human shelter on this scale in South Africa would indicate the need for policy towards a support strategy for informal settlements. Tomlison (1999: 284) states that the backlog in housing was so huge that after four years in office the democratic government of South Africa could not meet the targeted housing stock and to meet its target of 1 million houses over five years, about 200 000 units were to be built a year (Tomlison, 1999: 283-295).

The research looks at community participation in post-apartheid South Africa, to discern patterns that might enhance development in the upgrading of informal settlements within the metropolitan cities and outline the importance of community participation in informal settlement interventions. The mushrooming of informal settlements is an indication of a failure of the economy, as well as the legislative framework, to provide proper housing for the poor.

Dominic Mahlangu (2004) notes that Gauteng Province is rapidly running out of land. Gauteng is the country's smallest province, but the most economically important province is running out of space, with only 950 km2 of land available for development. According to Mahlangu (2004), out of the available land an 18th of the province's area would have to be used to meet demands for housing and commercial and industrial development, as well as agriculture, roads and services. Mahlangu (2004) states that to make matters worse, vast tracks of lands that are available are dolomitic and unsuitable

for habitation or major developments.

The research, therefore, examines the impact of community participation on the upgrading of informal settlements and also reflects on the role of community-based organisation in informal settlements intervention. Arrigone (1994:14) asserts that policies that encourage progressive upliftment of the people are essential and should enable the communities and non-governmental organisation to play an active role.

1.2. Research Aims

The primary aim of this study and its findings would be to explore community participation, identify factors that could help to improve participation strategies that will be able to find workable approach to CBOs participation in the informal settlements upgrading process. The research ultimate aim is to investigate the role of CBOs in informal settlements intervention and what contribution can they play and whether their involvement in the upgrading process is likely to bring about improvements conditions in informal settlements in a manner that is participatory.

1.3. Research objectives

The following are the objectives of the study:

- To explore literature and theoretical underpinnings related to community participation.
- To explore a case study in order to identify factors that can help improve the image of informal settlements aiming ultimately at community based organisation involvement.
- To elicit the kind of image which informal settlements need by exploring the views and sentiments of people residing in informal settlements, which have been seen to be crucial in order to effectively improve their living conditions throughout the country.

1.4. Problem Statement and research questions

1.4.1. Problem statement

The population of South Africa has been increasing over the years. South Africa total population as per 1996 census was 40,583 million and in 2001 the estimation of the population was about 43, 586 million (SSA, 2002). The growth in population increased the demand for housing and the use of resources needed to house this growing population. The ability of the housing sector to house this increasing population will not be an easy task as South Africa is largely characterised by the legacy of the past.

The current scenario in South Africa today is that more than 5 million people live in informal settlements which require upgrading (SSA, 2002). People invading land and creating unsustainable settlements in forms of informal settlements with lack of security

of tenure is a cause of concern.

In the light of the above, it is important to carry out research on community participation in the upgrading of informal settlements since the challenge that South Africa faces today is to find ways to develop informal settlements by installing basic services and improving the quality of the actual housing structure. The Minister of Housing Lindiwe Sisulu in her speech dated the 17th of May 2005 presented a comprehensive plan to ensure the formalisation and granting of access to sustainable housing to families residing in informal settlements by 2014. In this instance the department will pursue 'in situ'upgrading of informal settlements and relocation of informal settlements to new serviced sites (DoH, Breaking New Ground, 2004).

Ideally, as contemplated in section 4 1(b) of Act 4 of 2001 part 1 of the Housing Code, consultation with individuals and communities as well as other bodies which are community-based should take place before the commencement of development projects. The main argument of the research will be on participatory development. Local communities could play an integral role in the development of informal settlement intervention if they are encouraged to do so.

The problems that South Africa is experiencing in terms of informal settlements are not new. Other countries, including developed ones, have encountered similar problems; South Africa could therefore learn from these countries' experiences in order to develop its own effective intervention in informal settlements. Effective community participation could be achieved through direct engagement with local communities who are fully aware of their needs.

1.4.2. Research Questions

There is a need to involve communities in the upgrading of informal settlements. This research and its findings attempt to find a practical and workable approach to involve community Based Organisations to participation in the development of informal settlements. The study, therefore, hopes to answer the following questions:

- What are the views of community leaders and local Authorities officials regarding participation in informal settlements upgrading?
- What are the roles of community-based organisations and community leaders regarding informal settlement interventions?
- To what extent does the new housing plan allow for and encourage the participation of communities in informal settlement upgrading?

1.5. Research Hypothesis

The persistence existence of inadequate sustainable human settlements is because of limited participation of community based formations in decision making. The vision of sustainable human settlements by the democratic government of South Africa is realised better when communities are participating in housing themselves. Community

participation contributes toward self-empowerment and satisfaction. Despite the delivery of 1.6 million houses delivered in the last decade, population growth and ongoing migration from rural to urban areas are all contributing to the existence of informal settlements. This can only be explained better in terms of non participation of community based organisations in sustainable human settlement development. Human settlements policies need to facilitate the realisation of participatory development. This can be achieved through stakeholder mobilisation and consumer housing awareness campaigns.

1.6. Research methodology

This study is part of a broader National Research Foundation (NRF) project undertaken in two phases. Thabelo Nethenzheni, the previous researcher on this project, looked at international models on informal settlement intervention. My study will look at the South African model of informal settlement intervention. This research will follow a qualitative methodology. This study draws from the experiences of informal settlements both locally and internationally, as basis for recommendations in informal settlements intervention.

Two case studies involving Kanana and Thembelihle settlements are analysed. The choice of the case studies is based on engagement with community leaders. The study also presents findings of interviews conducted with leaders of different community based organisations that are involved in the informal settlements communities and local Authority officials. Interviews with community leaders were selected randomly from delegates that attended the CUP summit held at Nasrec, Johannesburg from July 17 to 19, 2004. Community leaders who attended the summit came from different parts of South Africa with all nine provinces well represented. The research also presents findings of interviews conducted with leaders of informal settlements from Gauteng province, facilitated through the work done by the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) for the national Department of Housing. Community leaders who participated in the interview were asked similar questions prepared with the assistance of Dr Marie Huchzermeyer, postgraduate housing studies coordinator in the school of architecture and planning at Wits.

The following documents concerning Kanana were reviewed: The Liberating Power of Self-Reliance, People Centred Development in Kanana Settlement,Vaal Region,Gauteng Province - Compiled by People's Dialogue and Current Informal Settlement Intervention in South Africa: Four Case studies of People-Driven Initiatives compiled by Dr Huchzermeyer, June 1999.

1.7. Method for data collection

The study conducts case study research that examines the development of informal settlement interventions. The study aims at exploratory research that enables recommendations to be made regarding a policy framework for informal settlements interventions in South African. The researcher engages with informal settlement residents, community leaders and local Authority officials to obtain information through the interviewing methods and observation as data collection method. The research

follows qualitative methodology.

1.8. National Research Fund Research Project

The NRF project aims at formulating appropriate strategies for dealing with informal settlement intervention and it is this segment of the research that I am undertaking. Throughout the year of my study, various activities have been organised amongst the students and supervisors within the NRF project:
A workshop was conducted at the start of the research project to broaden our understanding of the issues surrounding informal settlement intervention in South Africa. Various stakeholders from government, non-government organisations (NGOs), academics and civil society groups, as well as students, participated. Their perception and appreciation of the challenges facing the country formed an integral part of the NRF research.
Seminars were held on a weekly basis to the benefit of students on the NRF project. These seminars were valuable in informing our research, because of the insights proffered.
A study tour to Durban was organised amongst the students and supervisor. The NRF group had the opportunity to meet with informal settlement representatives, as well as local authorities on the issues surrounding the informal settlements.

Students participating in the NRF project in 2004 are focusing only on the South African framework for informal settlement intervention, whereas the 2003 group investigated international literature and case studies on the subject. The 2004 group will examine the extent to which the conclusions reached in the international study may be incorporated into the South African framework.

1.9. Limitation of the study

It is worthy indicating that gathering the required information for this study was problematic as other respondents were reluctant to participate in providing the necessary information. Reasons such as time constraints to engage in interviews were often cited by local Authority officials, therefore only few officials participated. The time-frame in which this study must be undertaken impacted on the findings of the research, which does not aim to formulate new definitions of the housing-related terms, but to investigate the incorporation of the principles of participation into housing delivery in informal settlement upliftment.

1.10. Terminologies

The list in this section is not exhaustive and only terms that have significance to the research topic are explained.

Empowerment: According to Lee (1994:13), empowerment is a process whereby planners engage in a set of activities with the client (beneficiaries) with the aim of reducing the powerlessness that has been created by negative valuations based on membership in a stigmatised group. In this study, it denotes the empowerment of community-based organisations to effectively take part in creating structures and designing policies and programmes that serve the interests of all concerned, as well as effectively contribute to the development process and share equally in its benefits.

Civic society: Cohen and Arato (1992: 23) understand civil society as a sphere of social interaction between economy and state.

Community: groups of peoples living and interacting within a specific geographical area. In the context of this study, informal settlements are considered a community (Townsend, undated).

Development: Any progress through improvement of living conditions and the quest for wisdom as well as growth, expansion and acquiring knowledge (CSIR, 2002: 10)

Participation: This is a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources that affect them (Department of Housing, 1995). In this study, community participation would be examined in order to ascertain the extent to which participation can contribute in the upgrading of informal settlements.

Social capital: Associated norms, shared values and networks, which enable communities to effectively organise themselves and assume the responsibilities of participating in decision-making and resource allocation (DoH, 2002)

I will therefore define community-based organisations (CBOs) as those involved in the development processes within local communities to improve their living conditions. CBOs influence and share control over development initiatives.

1.11. The report structure

The report consists of six chapters and the purpose of this outline is to give the reader a clear understanding of the issues dealt with in individual chapters and show how these relate to one another and to the research report.

Chapter One covers the introduction and background to the research. Under the introduction, the research problem will be stated, the research limitation will be clarified and the terms will be identified and defined.

Chapter Two looks at the available literature on the subject of the research, including the literature on the concept of participation and the role of community-based organisation contribution in informal settlements.

Chapter Three explores participatory development within the South African context. The importance of community participation will be examined. Furthermore, the chapter will review different models that can be used to enhance participation in the informal settlement.

Chapter Four examines the case studies relevant to the study: i.e. Thembelihle and Kanana informal settlements.

Chapter Five investigates the application of the principles of participation in the context of this research. Data presentation will be analysed and interpreted in relation to the topic of research.

Chapters Six presents the conclusion and recommendations. The recommendations are for the purpose of future consideration in the South African housing policy review with regard to the informal settlements.

1.12. Conclusion

The new national housing policy aims at addressing housing insufficiencies in informal settlements. This entails encouraging in situ upgrading wherever it is possible, providing infrastructure, and making subsidies available for housing and necessary services within informal settlements. Community participation in development projects forms the backbone of this research. To achieve the desired goal, the new housing plan makes provision for communities to participate fully in the upgrading of their settlements. My assumption is that the objective of meaningful community participation is realised only when these communities are involved in all aspects of the development process. If CBOs are fully empowered by the authorities, the desired goal can be achieved.

The next chapter scrutinises the literature review on the subject of community participation.

CHAPTER 2

2. Literature Review on the concept of community participation

This chapter reviews the literature on the conceptual framework underpinning community organisation participation in the informal settlement intervention process. It must be noted that a lot of literature has been written on the subject and care will be exercised to ensure that only relevant literature will be considered. Different viewpoints and theories have influenced various interventions in the housing spectrum. In this case, the focus will be on the shift in favour of informal settlement intervention.

2.1. Participation approaches

Community participation has been defined as the active involvement of the local people in the decision-making process concerning development projects (White 1992:3). Participation will not be meaningful if the people involved have no control over decisions taken by the organisation to which they belong. White (1992: 20) posits that the communities have a useful part to play in decisions where there is a choice to be made between alternative solutions or in terms of major decisions regarding the types of systems to be adopted.

Walker (2002:1-5) asserts that effective participation is achieved through deconcentration and decentralisation. Participation in the development process will in most cases include people who do not have the necessary technical expertise and thus the complexity of the planning process may serve as an obstacle to effective participation. Sowman and Urquhart (1998: 4-6) note that the processes leading to proper housing development, when initiated, planned, built and managed by community-based organisations, tend to succeed. Successful housing development should, therefore, include full participation by the NGOs and CBOs concurrently. To this effect, the local authority should be the facilitator and the private sector should be engaged to ensure efficiency (Bond 1996: 1-6).

Walker (2002:10) contends that efficiency and transparency can be achieved through ensuring shifts in control over the resources and responsibilities. The involvement of community-based organisations is only meaningful if there is a move away from the sidelining of communities by the authorities. Walker (2002: 2) further notes that local authorities and locally-based organisations need to be given the mandate to manage procurement procedures and regulations.

The Community Action Planning Approaches: Hamdi and Goethert (1997: 23) state that a community action approach was developed in 1964 by Otto Koenigsberger with the main

objective of formulating a more effective approach to conventional planning (Hamdi and Goethert 1997: 23). The community action planning approaches are documented in the Nethenzheni, 2004, Report. According to the report, community action planning is an important tool that explores the ladder of participation thoroughly. This type of approach focuses on the existing level of empowerment and enablement, and as such can be an important tool in genuinely empowering the community in an informal settlement upgrade (Nethenzheni, 2004:40).

According to Hamdi and Goethert (1997: 23), Otto Koenigsberger and his co-workers, perceived the planning orthodoxy as unresponsive to the needs of fast-changing cities worldwide. There was a need for a relevant methodology for addressing the city's problems and controlling its development. Action planning consists of a "series of action plans controlled by a set of performance-concerned appropriate technologies have to be employed" (Hamdi and Goethert 1997: 23, Nethenzheni, 2004:40).

In this case, these approaches examine grassroots decision-making, collective efforts, and community empowerment. The features of the enablement paradigm include "problem based and opportunity driven, participatory and encouraging partnerships" (Hamdi and Goethert 1997: 30) and "Standards and forming part of a guiding concept for the whole urban region" (Hamdi and Goethert, 1997: 23). Oosternhuisen (1973:138) contends that it is the involvement of the people that comprises "citizen participation". Consequently, public participation plays an integral part in the planning process in most democratic systems.

According to Hamdi and Goethert (1997: 23), action planning is based on the following objectives:

- matching the needs of people to the goals of planning;
- Efficiency improvements by accelerating the planning operation.

Hamdi and Goethert (1997: 23) state that Koenigsberger had sought to achieve the desired goal through the revision of the development paradigm, as well as the continuous monitoring of the urban systems. A community-based approach that incorporates local skills and resources is an effective way of reducing costs. When people participate in the

actual planning and execution of projects by contributing their skills and other untapped resources, a greater number of people can benefit to a greater degree (Bamberger, 1988).

Action planning has resulted from a shift from standardised procedures that depend solely on comprehensiveness. This school of thought advocated a "Flexible and simple planning framework, guided by informed improvisation, reiterative and adaptive in its processes" (Hamdi and Goethert 1997: 24). This framework has become a tool driven by the basic principle that "Poor people are creative and capable" (Hamdi and Goethert 1997: 24, Nethenzheni, 2004:42).

Arrigone (1994: 27) postulates that the inability of governments to provide adequate services has given rise to the participation of different stakeholders in development projects. Arrigone (1994: 27) argues that despite international agencies' influence on the changes that occurred in housing delivery, democracy in many countries has facilitated the new role of communities (Arrigone 1994: 27). "The establishment of democratic governments in several countries of the region, after a long periods of military rule and authoritarian regimes, is an important mark and has opened doors to a better understanding and collaboration between governments, community-based organisations, non-government organisations and other grassroots social movements" (Arrigone 1994: 27).

Hamdi and Goethert (1997: 30) explain that action planning is based substantially on the adoption of new trends regarding the roles of the general public and development practitioners, with the aim of enabling rather than providing. To establish an enabling paradigm, appropriate technologies must be employed. In this case, these technologies incorporate grassroots decision-making, collective efforts, and community empowerment. The features of an enabler paradigm include "problem based and opportunity driven, participatory and encouraging partnerships" (Hamdi and Goethert 1997: 30).

Hamdi and Goethert (1997: 30) go on to state that the "enabler paradigm emphasises the reliance on local knowledge and skills as well as traditional wisdom, small in scale and community based, incremental rather than comprehensive plans for development projects. The enabler paradigm encourages fast, not rushed but visible and tangible outputs in development projects" (Hamdi and Goethert 1997: 30).

2.2. Community participation and the participants

Experience tells us that when members of a community organisation have taken an active part in all phases of a project, they will collectively consider the completed project as their own, have pride in it and a sense of responsibility for it and, therefore, use it and avoid vandalising it. If community organisations are armed with relevant information, they will able to make informed decisions to suit their own priorities. Lankatilleke (1990:27) notes that when the development process is community-driven, based on the traditional methods embraced by the community, that project is bound to succeed. Communities understand exactly what they need, more so if participation can be allowed to take place (ibid,).

2.3. Community Participation in housing finances

Community-based housing finance, as advocated by Cabannes (1995: 12-19), can be an alternative financial system aimed at helping the poorest of the poor obtain housing. Cabannes (1995:12-19) comments on the role of CBOs in a process involving credit subsidies and savings. According to Sowman and Urquhart (1998: 13), houses must be affordable as well as accessible to the poor and other stakeholders. Affordability should cater for capital cost and operational cost (Sowman and Urquhart 1998: 13).

Cabannes (1995: 12-19) states that a clear definition of roles between CBOs and NGOs and other stakeholders should be established. Cabannes (1995: 19) further emphasises that a dialogue between all other stakeholders, in order to formalise decisions and give direction for changes towards a modernisation of national finance, should be put in place in order to realise this dream (Cabannes 1995: 12-19).

Housing should be both affordable and accessible for the inhabitants. It should promote community involvement and responsibility. Housing as a process involves many stakeholders and as such government should only be involved in service delivery. NGOs and CBOs should be empowered and also engage in planning and design, as well as the financial aspects of settlement upgrading as advocated by Sowman and Urquhart (1998: 54). Sowman and Urquart (1998: 55) note that local contractors and local labour is essential to meet goals of participation, empowerment and capacity building. Sandercock (2000: 201-210) states that practitioners in planning should know and understand visual body language and the model, which is most relevant to the new complexities of nation building and community development in multicultural cities (Sandercock 2000: 203). Community participation should be understood as a mobilising instrument that capacitates the communities in managing their development project.

2.3. Community decision approach

A community decision approach may appear to be time-consuming and sometimes the community may decide to not participate because they feel that their involvement will not have sufficient impact. Community participation should be viewed as a mobilising tool that capacitates communities in self-management of the development of a project, as noted by William et al. (2003). Catanese (1984: 121) contends that the community will only be committed when there is some specific benefit for them. This means that participation should be viewed as an empowerment tool.

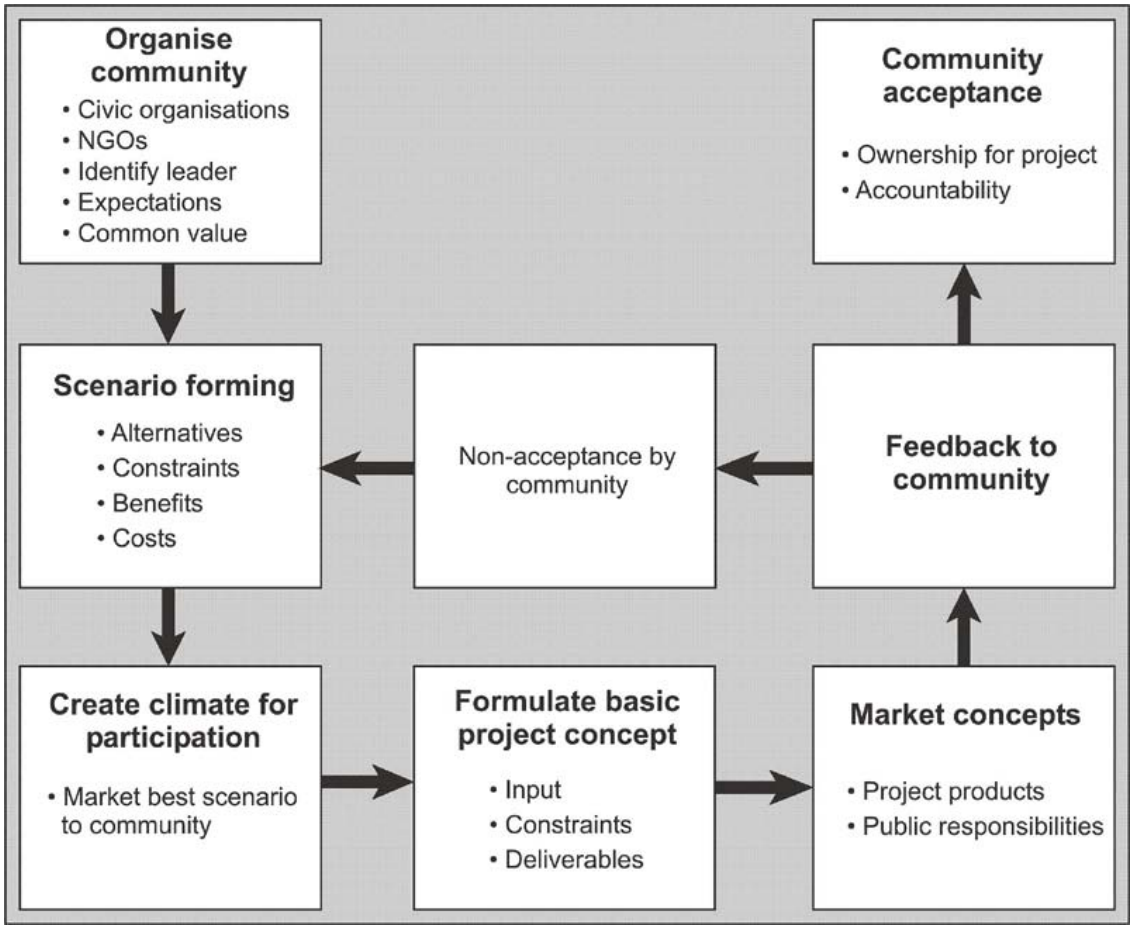
Paul (1987: 2) states that the beneficiaries involved in the decision-making process are regarded as the object of development and their involvement in the direction and execution of project is highly recognisable. This means that a community decision approach can bridge the gap between those people facilitating housing delivery and the deprived community because it allows them to exchange ideas. Some scholars have argued that a community decision approach represents empowerment at grassroots level. The beneficiaries of housing development projects have traditionally been denied the opportunity to participate in decision-making programmes intended to enhance their own standard of living (Braimoh 1995: 127).

Braimoh (1995: 127) argues that participation by the community has been proposed as a right in order to ensure the sustainability of the projects. The top-down approach used by many authorities in most development projects has denied the local people the opportunity to participate in the decisions meant to elevate their standard of living. The mobilisation of local people to take charge of their own upliftment is of utmost importance for any successful development project.

In the models under discussion, capacity-building and empowerment of involved community members, along with sustainability through a participative and social learning approach to the management of informal settlement upgrading projects, should be encouraged (Bryant &White, 1982; Rondinelli, 1993; Chambers, 1993).

Meaningful participation needs to be strategised and the objectives have to be clearly articulated and defined in order to achieve the desired goal. Why should informal settlement residents be involved in the intervention process? The capacity to initiate sustainable development is driven by those people directly affected by the intervention.
It is necessary to formulate a practical strategy that includes community participation and addresses issues such as community development, political empowerment and community management. Community participation should focus on understanding the relationship between participation and the wider political, social and economic activities within which it operates (Abbott, 1996).
The utilisation of participatory, bottom-up approaches requires re-examination of the methodologies applied and the skills needed to manage projects effectively. According to Brown (1997: 73-75), partnership with the community is vital and in “this partnership model the community ought to be involved in the “why”, “what”, “who”, and “for

whom" of the intended project. Brown (1997: 75) emphasises the design of structures that enhance participation by facilitating projects *with* the community and not *for* the community. It is important to note that only community representatives should participate in the management of the actual execution of the project. To this end, Brown (1997:81) has designed a process for community involvement in the scoping of projects:



Source: Brown (1997:81)

2.4. How can housing as a livelihood be integrated into the community participation intervention process?

Income generation through intensive labour in housing development is viewed as one of the strategies towards poverty alleviation. Chambers (1995:173) explains that professional people's views of poverty differ from those of the poor. This means that many of the programmes put in place to alleviate poverty fail to deliver due to the disparate assumptions on which these programmes are based. According to Azuela et al (1998), informal settlement residents perceive themselves as engaging in an informal economy. Chamber (1995:173-204) notes that 'livelihood' denotes making a living, which includes tangible assets such as a house or intangible assets, which include peace

of mind. Chambers (1995:182) further contends that the target should go beyond reducing poverty, to improve the quality of life and reduce suffering. According to the DoH (1996:1), poverty alleviation through employment and entrepreneurship are critical issues. Chambers (1995:195) asserts that job creation must put emphasis on sustainable livelihoods and complement labour-intensive growth instead of abandoning it. This entails addressing the entire spectrum of the economy if the target is to reduce poverty. The DoH Housing Code (2002) states that "Beneficiaries must be given technical and administrative assistance". For this purpose, more job opportunities should be created through the production of building materials.

Chambers (1995:173-204) believes that the poor feel vulnerable, humiliated and powerless when put in isolation. This strengthens the theory that engaging the community in the production of building materials, in addition to building houses, could create more job opportunities. Isolation of the poor leads to feelings of social inferiority and a sense of being cut off from the rest of the community (Chambers 1995:173-204).

2.5. The rise of civil society

Friedman (1998:19-35) states that citizens' rights include their active participation in matters pertaining to themselves and include individual and collective rights and responsibility, further including legal, social, economic, cultural and environmental rights. Friedman (1998:19-35) notes that the hallmark of the new political economy is the re-emergence of civil society as a collective participant in the development of our cities and regions; therefore, any economic development planning should include civil society in order to succeed. According to Friedman (1998: 24), civil society constitutes those social organisations, associations and institutions that exist beyond the sphere of direct supervision and control by the state. For effective, sustainable results, we must include full participation by civil society to meet the challenges in housing the poor. Tolerance of differences within society and the willingness to learn, affiliate and communicate effectively with local communities is of utmost importance (Friedman 1998:19-35). Cross (2003:199-208) points out the constraints in participation models relating to accountability and cost. He also highlights lack of accountability for community representation in negotiation powers (Cross 2003:195-208).

Souza (2003:190-208) refers to "participatory budgeting (*orcamento participativo*) as a scheme of direct participation of civil society in the selection of priorities for the allocation of the public budget." According to Souza (2003:190-208), the public budget is no longer the domain of the mayor and municipality deputies. Souza (2003:190-200) criticises conventional planners who work with zoning instruments to reach order and efficiency and recommends (Souza (2003:190-208)) effective decision-making power over partnership, where participation is not restricted to merely advisory functions. In this scenario, the local authorities should delegate decision-making powers regarding resource allocation to civil society (Souza 2003:190-208).

Doebelle (1987: 7-22) states that participatory strategies are of utmost importance in enabling the poor to participate in the land market. He then recommends that a community unit with freehold tenure hold title to urban land infrastructure. Doebel (1987: 7-22) argues that larger proportion of poor dwellings is rental units due to increases in land prices. It is thus the duty of authorities to take cognisance of this matter.

Dowell (1992:15-26) lays blame on the municipal governments, who often set a very high regulation for layouts, resulting in a very high minimum cost of plots that is far beyond the range that ordinary households can afford. He then crticises the procedural delays and 'red tape' that often displace the poor in favour of the affluent (Dowell 1992:15-26). Doebelle (1992: 20) further posits that regulations impede land supply, as do complicated approval procedures, often creating barriers to housing solutions. These procedures make the housing market sluggish and slower to adjust production to meet changes in demand (Dowell 1992:15-26).

Sandercock (2000: 391-417) avers that a more democratic and culturally inclusive planning mechanism would foster sensibility and the ability to discern the most appropriate course of action. Planning must respond to the needs of the beneficiaries if it is to achieve its intended goal. Sandercock (2000: 391-417) supports the idea of a more democratic and inclusive process, through listening to the voices of the people on the ground. Sensitivity and cognisance of the dignity and needs of the poor would transcend the limitations of technocratic planning (Sandercock 2000: 391-417).

Lankatilleke (1990:24-27) elaborates on the community-based methodology of planning wherein everything starts with the premise that communities know what they need and understand the different ways of achieving the intended goal. In the model under discussion, the power of deciding on the needs, priorities and solutions would rest with the people and every decision-making process would have a framework within which to operate (Lankatilleke 1990:24-27).

Lankatilleke (1990: 24-27) highlights the lessons learnt by the Sri Lankan state concerning conventional planning practice and postulates a completely new paradigm, wherein people are at the centre of the whole housing planning process, from conception right up to the completion of a house. Lankatilleke (1990: 24-27) sees housing as an activity of the people, with the government stepping in only to give support. Lankatilleke (1990: 24-27) views the government's role as different from its historical one, wherein the state should be the facilitator to level the playing fields so that effective housing processes can take place (Lankatilleke 1990: 24-27).

Fernandes (2000:167-187) examines the regulation of favelas (informal settlements), which has been taking place in Brazil since the 1980s. Fernandes (2000:167-187) reflects on the failure of the legislative programmes to clearly define the rights of favela dwellers, forcing policy-makers to decide whether favela dwellers should be removed from or remain on the land they already occupy. According to Fernandes (2000:167-187), state intervention has failed to integrate the favela dwellers into the mainstream of the social

spatial urban context. Technocratic planning approaches have for many years undermined the role that marginalised, displaced communities can play in development.

2.6. Bringing the gender dimensions into participation

Larson (2001: 4-18) contends that because women are an integral part of a household, they should be involved in the planning processes of a house. Beneficiary participation has existed in many parts of the world since time immemorial. Women have actively taken part in providing for their own housing. Larson (2001: 4-18) argues that women should participate in housing projects, whereby they should be part of the decision-making process and involved in construction issues as well. She then criticises gender blindness, which ignores gender differences in favour of technocratic, neutral and professional approaches, usually male-dominated (Larson 2001: 4-18).

Cornwall (2003:1325-1342), too, emphasises women's participation in development and sees women and men as equals, as they both encounter constraints as well as opportunities on equal terms. Cornwall also notes that many laws discriminate against women and in some societies, the husband has the right to sell the house without the consent of his wife. In matters of finance, women's wages are lower and married women are regarded as dependents and cannot, therefore, access loans without the consent of their husband (Cornwall 2003:1325-1342).

Ndinda (2000) highlights the plight of women in accessing housing. She elaborates on the policies of the previous political regime, whereby legal restrictions were imposed on women's access to housing. Participation is still not sufficient to ensure women's human rights in planning and development (Ndinda 2000). Women and men have different needs and relate differently in any given situation, requiring a re-examination of gender issues in the intervention stage of any development project, as this can affect the nature of the outcomes. In most development projects, women`s special needs are generally excluded. In many societies, gender relations take the form of male dominance and female subordination and as such, males tend to enjoy a greater share of decision-making, with women accorded an inferior status (Ostergaard, 1992). The involvement of women is essential in the way that participation is defined. The struggle for women's inclusion in development planning is a result of the oppression that women faced in general. Women's involvement in community development has not yet been recognised and development practitioners should realise that development goals will only be attained with the active involvement of women and men equally (Ostergaard, 1992). Participation is not as yet sufficient to include women in decision-making and yet women are also seen as the primary users of infrastructure within the informal settlement. They are also the primary users of a house. It is for this reason that it is imperative to include them in the initial stages of planning, as they will be directly affected by the results (Moser, 1993).

2.7. Conclusion

There are different models of participation regarding housing delivery, with each participatory development strategy ensuring the achievement of certain goals. In this study, participation is used as a model in order to achieve the desired goal in development. There are several issues that must be considered in participation approaches to development. Economically, community participation has an intrinsic value for the participants, and community-based finance participation as a democratic right and community decision approaches should be applied as the basis for participation planning. Housing as a means of livelihood and gender issues are other aspects of participation approaches that should be scrutinised. Lessons should be derived from the political economy of planning and the rise of civil society in order to realise the goal of participatory planning in development. Despite the fact that the notion of participation has been hailed as an instrument of empowerment, it is not a simple matter for all people to be involved in the process of development.

Having reviewed different literature on community participation, this research will now look at community participation within the South African framework. The following chapter looks at ward committees, Integrated Development Planning, strengths and weaknesses of women's participation and the Breaking New Ground Housing Policy.

CHAPTER 3

3. South African community participation framework

This chapter will look at community participation within the South African framework. It will also look at community participation from ward committee structures, Integrated Development Planning, South African policies on community participation, strengths and weaknesses in women's participation in development issues and the National Department of Housing "Breaking New Ground" policy in housing delivery, which came into place in April 2005.

According to the South African National Housing Code as contemplated in section 4 1(a) of Act 4 of 2001 part 1, "The national, provincial and local spheres of government, must give priority to the needs of poor in respect of housing development, (b) Consult meaningfully with individuals and communities, including, but not limited to, co-operatives, associations and other bodies which are community-based, their effects to fulfil their own housing needs by assisting them in accessing land, services and technical assistance in a way that leads to the transfer of skills to, and empowerment of the communities" (DoH, 2001).

3.1. Housing and community participation

During the National Housing Indaba held in Cape Town between 22-23 September 2005, the government has signed a Social Contract with its key partners for rapid housing delivery in which an undertaking was made that include, amongst others, to mobilise communities to be active participants within the construction processes through the provision of technical support and skills development and; actively promote the empowerment of previously disadvantaged individuals, especially women and youth. The latter can therefore be achieved through a comprehensive housing consumer education and awareness campaigns that will respond to the capacity needs of communities to ensure that they are empowered to constructively and meaningfully participate in housing related issues.

Lalloo (1999:35-47) critiques the current South African policy, which seems to entrench and reinforce rather than reduce existing inequalities that are the legacy of apartheid. In

addressing inequalities of the past the democratic government of South Africa developed a comprehensive plan for the development of sustainable human settlement. According to DoH "Breaking New Ground" (2004) the new human settlement plan reinforces the vision of the Department of Housing to promote the achievement of a non-racial, integrated society through the development of sustainable human settlement and quality housing. Lalloo (1999:35-47) questions the strength of a democratically elected government with an unequivocal mandate to eradicate the legacy of apartheid, but fails in the housing arena to address this mandate effectively. Community participation should be the backbone of all development projects.

Huchzermeyer (2003:115-136) comments on continued urban segregation. Huchzermeyer (2003:115-136) discloses the complex forms of social exclusion wherein the poor continue to be excluded and banished to the urban periphery, where the employment situation is bleak. This being the case, if the community were granted the power to find solutions, with the implementation of the policy, social exclusion can be avoided. Lalloo (1999: 35-47) further contends that "Apartheid bulldozers uprooted long-established, vibrant and closely-knit communities, change in tenure states became the order of the day and from owner to renter with faceless state bureaucracy as landlord" (Lalloo: 35-47). Friedman (1998: 48) highlights the importance of the willingness to learn, affiliate and communicate effectively with local communities. The exclusion of the community in housing delivery will lead to feelings of alienation and powerlessness. The people most affected have to play an important role in decision-making processes. Harrison (2001:175-193) elaborates on the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) in post-apartheid South Africa, which lacks structured participatory processes. Harrison (2001:175-193) states that many local councils fail to accept ownership of consultant-prepared IDPs. For this reason, proper consultation with community-based organisations should form the basis of any integrated development plan, with the community empowered to decide on and approve the procedure they regard as the best for their needs.

The South African Housing policy (DoH 2000: 9) highlights details of the Municipality Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and the Municipal Housing Development Plan,

which reflect both the scale and number of informal settlements within the area, as well as the basis for the prioritisation of settlements for upgrading purposes (DoH 2000).

South Africa faces a huge task in providing affordable houses for the poor within the proximity of their workplaces and other public amenities. Lalloo (1999:35-45) states that the new housing developments are still remotely located and configured to preclude the formation of integrated community. Long-distance commuting in search of economic opportunities still persists. Utilisation of the housing policy to transform the unequal patterns of citizenship that are the legacy of apartheid has, thus far, not been effectively exploited (Lalloo 1999: 35-47).

3.2. Participation as a democratic right

The top-down approach employed in most development projects has excluded the local people and denied them the opportunity to participate in decisions that enhance their living conditions. Participation implies involving people in their own development Projects. Local people, through their community-based organisations, have an important role to play in the decision-making process. Community participation should be viewed as a process that involves stakeholders' influence, shared control over development initiatives and control over resources (World Bank 2002). Participation relies on social capital as its "Network, which enables communities to effectively organise themselves and assume the responsibilities of participating in decision-making and resource allocation" (World Bank 2002). The post-apartheid period presents a major challenge to community-based organisations to revise their organisational structure, as contended by Mayekiso (2003: 59). Community-based organisations were central to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and now they are not as active as they ought to (Mayekiso 2003: 59).

Mayekiso (2003: 61) comments on "difficulties encountered by an exodus of high calibre leaders to the various levels of government." As a result, community-based organisations lacked leadership and as such failed to respond intellectually to the weaknesses of the national economic policies (Mayekiso 2003: 64). To level the playing fields for participation to occur in informal settlements, policies that encourage the progressive upliftment of people are critical. They should "enable the communities, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the informal sector of the economy to play a more active role than before in low income housing delivery" (Arrigone 1994:14).

Bond (1996: 2) contends that a top-down non-participatory model of housing delivery approaches increases the housing crisis. Bond (1996: 2) notes that capacity-building at community level should also be promoted. (Bond (1996: 2-3) advocates the involvement

of civil society. Approaches contrary to these will frustrate the development process, so effective participation by community-based organisation should be encouraged. Participation consists of involving people in all aspects of planning on an ongoing basis. The DoH (2000) states that municipalities, through ward committee structures, should demonstrate that effective interactive community participation has taken place. Ongoing efforts should be made to promote and ensure the inclusion of all key stakeholders within the participatory process.

Harrison (2002) contends that solutions to the problems are not always the same; they change in different circumstances and at different times. In the cases under discussion, community participation plays a significant role in gaining insight to the needs of the people concerned. This school of thought puts emphasis on the practical outcome of the solutions and as such, the pragmatic approach looks at previous experiences to solve current problems, rather than using theory to create practical experience (Harrison, 2002). However, situations will not consistently remain the same; anticipation of and provision for changes and innovations would facilitate pro-active and robust solutions to any situation. The changes in context over the period have to be taken into account. For instance, the intervention applied to a specific informal settlement will be unique.

3.3. Housing and finance within the South African context

The poor need to be provided with shelter. Turner advocated for sweaty equity and management equity to reduce the cost and make houses affordable to occupants and the state as the provider (Turner 1986: 23).

With regard to housing policies in post-apartheid South Africa, the government has embarked on the replacement of squatter camps with subsidised Reconciliation and Development Programme (RDP) units (Huchzermeyer 2002: 98). Housing for the poor is financed through government subsidy; therefore, housing should promote a sense of community and safety. Napier (1998: 391-417) notes that the South African government argues that a small subsidy had the advantage of being fiscally viable and meant that better houses could be achieved incrementally only through the involvement of their occupants. However, to date very few people have exercised the self-build option, because either the concept is still embryonic or they choose not to do so (Napier 1998: 398).

Napier (1998: 391-400) critiques the current South African policy, wherein housing projects are often implemented in isolation, leaving poor people stranded at the city's distant periphery. Financial constraints have limited the role of community-based organisations (CBOs) (Arrigone, 1994). In order to allow communities to take part meaningfully in their own development, greater resources are essential. According to Napier (1998: 400), the only hope is recent legislation, which obliges "local authorities to evolve integrated development plans based on priorities set by the city residents." It would seem that the South African government has recognised the need to support people's own efforts in housing matters (Napier, 1998: 391-400).

According to (DoH, 2000), a municipality may apply for funding for the appointment of external capacity to reach a participation agreement with communities. Community participation should preferably take place within the context of a structured agreement between the municipality and the community. Development lacking in participation by its users can be ethically undesirable and participation in any development of a project can ensure ongoing maintenance of the project (Heymans, 1994). Napier (1998:391-417) states that the government has put in place individual subsidies designed to stimulate housing processes in which community unites to organise the building of their own houses. These schemes tend to produce more spacious houses than former processes (Napier, 1998:391-417).

3.4. Progressive informal settlement upgrading

According to the DoH (2004:12), informal settlements must, as a matter of urgency, be integrated into the broader urban fabric to overcome spatial, social and economic exclusion. If communities and beneficiaries are allowed to fully participate, it must follow that the same beneficiaries will resolve socio-cultural issues effectively. The DoH, (2004:12) further states that the new human settlement plan adopts a phased, *in-situ* upgrading approach to informal settlements, in line with international best practices. Securing tenure is the first and most important basic intervention that is required in order for a proper development process to unfold. Tenure security legitimises the residential arrangement of those occupying land illegally, and affirms citizenship.

The New Breaking Ground in Housing Delivery Plan (DoH 2004:12) continues to state that the upgrading process is not prescriptive, but rather supports a range of tenure options and housing typologies, where informal settlements are upgraded on well-located land. Tenure security forms the basis for a process of inclusion and empowerment. Given the diversity of informal settlements, policy to upgrade them must facilitate different responses for different situations. Flexibility is required in order to create space for partnerships to develop between empowered communities and local authorities. It follows that true partnership can only develop when there is scope for all the partners concerned to shape developments that are not predetermined. Abbot (1996) states that there has been a decrease in government capacity to support urban growth in developing countries. The New Breaking Ground Housing policy, which takes effect from the 1st of April 2005, hopes to address and assist the poorest of the poor in matters relating to their housing.

3.5. Developing social and economic infrastructure

According to the DoH (2004:15), there is a need to move away from a housing-only approach. The new housing plan promotes the more holistic development of human settlements, including the provision of economic and social infrastructures (DoH, 2004:15). In order to achieve this, the new policy suggests that municipalities must determine the need for social facilities through a community profile and facilities audit. According to the DoH (2004: 15), a new funding mechanism will be introduced to

finance the development of primary community facilities, which will focus on informal settlement upgrading projects, but facilities may be managed by CBOs and NGOs active within the beneficiary communities.

3.6. The informal settlement-upgrading instrument

According to the DoH (2004:17), a more responsive state-assisted housing policy, coupled with delivery at scale, is expected to decrease the formation of informal settlements over time. The new policy also transmutes the official policy response to informal settlements from a scenario of conflict or neglect to one of integration and co-operation (DoH, 2004:17). With the majority of the poor continuously drawn into urban areas, there is increasingly a need for a more divergent approach that allows the application of the government subsidy scheme in informal settlements in a manner that give them the opportunity to build their own houses.

3.7. The new funding mechanism for informal settlement upgrading

According to the DoH, Breaking New Ground (2004:17), a revised funding mechanism was introduced in April 2005 to support upgrading of informal settlements on an area-wide, as opposed to individual, basis. The new comprehensive housing plan is intended to maintain fragile community networks, minimise disruption, and enhance community participation in all aspects of the development (DoH, 2004:17). In order to implement this (DoH, 2004), a new funding mechanism will support the upgrading of informal settlements through a phased process structured as follows:
Phase 1 - "The first phase will survey the community, will determine the housing infrastructural needs of the community through a process of consultation and will determine the geo-technical and physical suitability of the land for *in situ* upgrading."
Phase 2 - "The second phase focuses on the provision of basic services, social amenities and secure tenure to the entire community."
Phase 3 - "During the final phase, housing is to be developed in response to community demand and may take a variety of forms, including medium-density housing and free-standing houses constructed through mutual aid and community self-help or local contractors." The DOH, Breaking New Ground (2004: 17) informal settlement upgrading programme aims to do away with informal settlements on a progressive basis through phased in-situ upgrading in desired locations and relocation of households where in-situ upgrading is not possible or desired.

3.8. Poverty alleviation through building housing

Job creation as a form of poverty alleviation, through employment and entrepreneurship, is an important issue. However, to achieve poverty alleviation and informal settlement development, skills of the beneficiaries, community leaders and other stakeholders must be enhanced. According to the DoH (1996:1), "Beneficiaries must, however, be given technical and administrative assistance." and more job opportunities should be created through the upgrading projects for informal settlements. NGOs and CBOs also engage in

the upgrading programmes, that is, in the planning, design and financial aspects of settlement upgrading (Sowman and Urquhart 1998: 54). The other stakeholder to be included is the local building contractor, and labour is essential to meet the goals of participation, capacity building and empowerment (Sowman and Urquhart 1998: 55). The Department of Housing (2004: 8) encourages the development of social capital by supporting the active participation of communities in the design, implementation and evaluation of the upgrading projects.

The Department of Housing (2004:17) recognises that capacity should be enhanced through transparency and accountability. However, transparency and accountability are achievable once roles and responsibilities are clearly defined within the development mandates. Housing as a process involves many stakeholders and the role of government is mainly to provide service delivery. NGOs and CBOs help disadvantaged communities to access land. CBOs such as LPM and SAHPF) are examples of organisations involved in housing the poor. Capacity-building for housing development at community level must also be emphasised. Bond (1996: 2) advocates for the involvement of "civic association". Proper mechanisms for civic involvement in the development process must be established, and the roles of local government and civic organisations need to be clarified at the onset of the process. There must be a shared vision and inclusive involvement from the start of each initiative, not only by leadership but by every stakeholder involved in housing development. All parties must proceed on equal basis.

Bond (1996: 2) contends that a top-down, non-participatory and parsimonious model development in housing delivery increases inequality and housing crises. The opposite of this approach is the participation approach, which involves the community in all stages of the project and should be an ongoing exercise (Sowman and Urquhart 1998:14). Community participation has become a mandatory part of what is now accepted as good development practice; therefore, this should "… enable the communities, NGOs and the informal sector of the economy to play a more active role than before in low income housing delivery processes." (Arrigone 1994:14).

The Department Housing (2004) states that community participation is to be undertaken through the vehicle of ward committees, in line with the provisions of the Municipality System Act. The fundamental principles in the upgrading of informal settlements programmes are the empowerment of communities to enable them to assume ownership of their own development and improvement of life quality (DoH, 2004).

3.9. What lessons can South Africa learn from international experience?

The lesson that South Africa can learn from international experience is documented in the report of the previous researcher, Nethenzheni (2004). She believes that South Africa can learn from the participatory development experiences of Brazil, Sri Lanka and

Zambia in informal settlement upgrading. Experiences in different countries vary, depending on the socio-economic and political contexts of a particular country. The upgrading of informal settlements in Brazil, Sri Lanka and Zambia has taken different forms (ibid,). The models used by Brazil were participatory budgeting and mutual help. With these two models, the local communities were involved in various levels of decision-making. When taking a closer look at the evolution of participation in Brazil, it can be seen that it was a process that resulted in the community and the authorities to choosing a particular model of participation (ibid,). The Kanana informal settlement case study shows people's commitment to their own development process.

3.9.1. Mutual help as a form of participatory development in Brazil

Nethenzheni (2004:55) notes that the involvement of the community in policy formulation, as well as that of the private sector, was among the innovations introduced by the municipality of Sao Paulo in Brazil. The percentage of community organisation was very high in Sao Paulo and social housing movements were very active in policy design, thus communities became the agents of their own development (ibid,).

3.9.2. Participatory Budgeting

Another model of participatory development in informal settlement upgrading is participatory budgeting. Administrative and political decision-making in Sao Paulo has been decentralised to 31 sub-city halls, bringing citizens and government closer together (Nethenzheni,2004:56). The participatory budgeting programme allows any Sao Paulo citizen to have a say on where public money should be spent (ibid,). With regard to Kanana case study, residents were involved in savings schemes in order to raise their own capital and consequently decide on how to use the funds.

3.9.3. Zambian approach in informal settlement upgrading

Nethenzheni (2004:63) highlights that the Zambian approach to housing allowed citizens to actively participate in the upgrading of their own settlements. Self-help and popular participation were embraced in Zambia and the involvement of the local community in the upgrading process was crucial. The primary concept was to ensure minimum disruption to the existing infrastructure of the settlement and as such, local residents were involved in the actual planning of its upgrade. This included deciding on where roads should be built and how wide they should be, how to deal with the problem of houses built on the road, the location of pipe lines and all the amenities that had to be installed in the settlement (ibid,).

3.9.4. Popular participation in Zambia

According to Nethenzheni (2004:63), the popular approach permitted citizens to actively participate in the upgrading of their own settlement. The approach allowed for flexibility and variety in terms of self-help and contractors working on the project. In the Zambian model, the main concern of the project was improvement to and participation in the housing process (ibid,).

3.9.5. Informal settlement upgrading in Sri Lanka

In Sri Lanka, a community action planning approach has been used as a model to deal with the upgrading of informal settlements. It was implemented in response to the housing crisis and as such it was seen as a support mechanism for the initiatives that the communities have developed to improve their housing conditions (Nethenzheni, 2004:68).

The upgrading methods used in Sri Lanka throughout the housing improvement process were community-driven. This required officials to listen and learn from the community, rather than come up with grand theoretical models (Lankatilleke, 1990, Nethenzheni,

2004). The experiences in these countries show many similarities and some differences, but South Africa can learn from them when upgrading informal settlements locally. In the case of Kanana case study, there are some similarities with the international experience regarding community participation, and South Africa can learn from these.

3.9.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, informal settlement upgrading projects in South Africa have ignored the use of local resources in general. Local beneficiaries have been regarded as a resource for information-gathering rather than as part and parcel of development projects. Community-driven development should be designated as the correct strategy for dealing with informal settlement upgrading programmes and capacity-building at community level needs to be encouraged.
This chapter has highlighted the importance of community participation in their own development projects. The level of participation that is desirable and meaningful has to be identified in any participatory development in South Africa as well as the lesson that South Africa can learn from other countries.

Having looked at community participation within the South African framework, the research will now focus on the practical case studies of the Kanana and Thembelihle informal settlements.

CHAPTER 4

Kanana and Thembelihle: Two case studies of CBOs' participation in informal settlement intervention in Johannesburg

4. Introduction

The choice of the case studies, Kanana and Thembelihle, is based on the assumption that communities can come together in an effort to shape their own destiny. The two case studies were chosen because of their shared characteristics; both communities stood on their feet in order to shape their respective settlements. The study is based on the interaction and discussion with community leaders who are involved in the issues surrounding the wellbeing of both informal settlements under study. This chapter will examine these case studies in relation to community participation in their development process. Informal settlements in general present extremely appalling conditions in terms of density, layout, the established relationship to land, social structure and the level of community participation in development.

The aim of this analysis is to highlight the importance of community participation in their development process. Community leaders from these informal settlements were interviewed in order to ascertain their convictions regarding community participation.

4.1. Case study of Kanana informal settlement

4.2. Formation of the settlement

According to a personal interview with Mr. Molefe of Kanana informal settlement in Sebokeng about 45 km south of Johannesburg CBD, the commune was established just eleven days before the 1994 democratic election in South Africa. He was among the first persons to invade the land and as a result he was chosen to represent the people in a committee called the Independent Peoples Committee (Civic Organisation). According to

Mr. Molefe, there were six people in the committee when it started. A group of backyard shack dwellers in Sebokeng formed a Resident's Committee in 1991. The two prime movers behind the organisation were Pule Raboroko and Mapotja Lathoba. They were instrumental in bringing together hundreds of backyard shack dwellers (Peoples Dialogue, 1997).

According to the Peoples Dialogue (1997), when the Residents' Committee was formed, the Peoples Development process began. The Residents' Committee gave the backyard shack dwellers of Sebokeng a vehicle with which to determine their priorities and seek satisfactory resolutions to their needs. The Residents' Committee was formed in response to a clearly articulated need - that is, the need for land. This need was articulated by members themselves, and not imposed upon them by the leaders (ibid.).

Peoples Dialogue (1997:4) notes that the main issue for the Residents' Committee was land. The members had been living for years in tiny shacks that had been built in the back yards of formal houses in Sebokeng and as such they suffered from grossly over-crowded conditions, lack of toilet facilities and very high rentals (ibid.). According to the Peoples Dialogue (1997) the families in the formal houses heeded the call of the civic leaders to bring down the apartheid local government by refusing to pay for services. The people in the backyards agreed with the strategy and actively participated in mobilising the community of Sebokeng into the boycotts. The problem was that the tenants of the formal houses did not let their backyards tenants off the hook and the backyard people continued to pay high rent to the tenants, whilst the tenants refused to pay rent to the council, resulting in great resentment (Peoples Dialogue, 1997, Huchzermeyer, 1999, Molefe, Independent Peoples Committee, Personal Communication).

4.3. People's Participation in people-driven developments

Peoples Dialogue (1997:5) notes that the now experienced Residents' Committee reduced its dependency on external forces and seized the initiative themselves. The organisation was now established and acting autonomously, and it had identified a suitable piece of

land. It then conducted a layout and site allocation process more effectively and with less conflict than councillors and officials with tender documents, land surveys and waiting lists had been able to do in the past (ibid.).

Mr. Molefe (2004, personal communication) mentions that some of the families who occupied land had merely arrived and put up a tiny structure before returning to their shacks in the township, Leaders of the Residents' Committee decided to regulate the situation by putting up notices stipulating that people would have to move in with all their belongings, leaving their backyard shacks behind, and the Residents' Committee subsequently began to running a check on all arrivals to ascertain that they were not trying to obtain a second plot (Mr. Molefe.Independent Peoples Committee, personal communication).

According to Huchzermeyer (1999:59), the organisers of the invasion measured out formal layouts in the township of Sebokeng, basing their allocation of sites on those measurements. A sign indicating free access to sites encouraged many backyard shack tenants to relocate their shacks to Kanana and in addition, the threat of eviction by the provincial authority further encouraged the autonomy of the Kanana community (ibid.). As documented by the Peoples Dialogue (1997:6), the provincial authority gave the residents of Kanana a 48-hour eviction notice, not on grounds of the illegality of their action, but out of concern for their health, since there was no access to drinking water in the settlement. The response from the Kanana leadership was to organise water access within 48 hours. Kanana residents, united as they were, decided to contribute toward water installation and paid striking municipal workers to steal plans of the water mains. They purchased the necessary piping, and 117 taps were ultimately installed. The surprised provincial officials decided to charge the Kanana residents for stealing water but by this time, when the residents were prepared to pay for their water consumption, the provincial officials decided to ignore the Kanana settlement for the following two years (Peoples Dialogue, 1997).

The Peoples Dialogue (1997) argues that the informal process of the regulation of Kanana took a critical step forward concerning the issue of water. The upshot was that the officials actually pushed the community into acting autonomously by using the water issue as a lever to effect an eviction and the response of the committee, given the looming crisis, was innovative and imaginative. In the process, the leaders of the Resident's' Committee together with the community, without any external support, had succeeded not only in providing land and some kind of security of tenure to more than 1500 families, but also in providing them with safe, potable water (ibid.).

4.4. Women's Participation in savings and credit in informal settlement intervention

People-driven development in Kanana took another turn when Maggie Tau, a regional convener in the Gauteng region for the South African Homeless People's Federation, visited Kanana to talk to the leaders about a national network called the South African Homeless People's Federation. Although the vast majority of Federation members are women, men are not excluded. Self-reliance and autonomy are hallmarks of Federation groups. Power and decision-making are highly decentralised, with individual organisations responsible for their own development destiny (Peoples Dialogue, 1997).

By associating themselves with a national network of poor homeless communities, the people of Kanana multiplied their development options. They were now able to avail themselves of the skills and experience of self-reliant poor communities throughout the country and even internationally. By participating in the savings schemes they strengthened the organisational capacity of the settlement. It also began giving the most marginalised members of the community a direct say in development affairs and offered some protection against potential abuses of power by the community leadership (Peoples Dialogue, 1997). According to the Peoples Dialogue (1997), the Kanana Community did embark on savings schemes immediately, but after joining the Federation some weeks later, they considerably increased their options and as such they were able to draw on the knowledge and experience of hundreds of other communities. Relationships with other

informal settlements helped to reinforce an identity and a consciousness that was rooted in the material predicament of the men and women of Kanana as poor and homeless people (ibid.).

Huchzermeyer (1999:60) argues that the Federation philosophy was in line with the development autonomy practiced through the Kanana land invasion, and via the Federation, the Kanana concerns were taken to the highest level of government, while a people-driven housing development process was initiated through the savings schemes. The new minister of Land Affairs, Derek Hanekom, visited Kanana in early 1995, encouraging Federation members in their endeavours and instructing the transitional local government to apply for development funding from his provincial department. This resulted in a formal upgrading process funded through the government's capital housing subsidy (Huchzermeyer,1999:60). The Kanana settlement residents elected members of its committee to join the Federation for a meeting with the first ANC Minister of Housing, Joe Slovo. After some deliberations with the Minister, the Minister agreed to invest R10 million in the Federation's housing fund (u Tshani Fund) (Peoples Dialogue, 1997).

The people-driven development took a new shape altogether by opening savings schemes and by linking with the Federation, the people of Kanana increased their development options. Because of their connection with the Federation, the concerns of Kanana residents were being taken to the highest level of government. Also through their links with the Federation, members of the savings schemes in Kanana were able to get loans to build houses in Kanana settlement. The people-driven housing processes were kick-started, and although the amounts were very small, it was enough to initiate a people-driven housing development process in the settlement that would permit the Kanana community to negotiate with the local council from a position of relative strength (Peoples Dialogue, 1997).

4.5. Getting people to participate in government-driven development

According to the Peoples Dialogue)1997), the Kanana community leaders established links, through the Federation, with the Minister for Land Affairs. The Minister paid a personal visit to Kanana and protocol required that the Mayor of the Vaal Region and his councillors also be invited to the mass meeting in Kanana. As a result the Minister urged his officials to use new legislation, passed by the ANC-led Government, to fast-track the granting of tenure for the people of Kanana (ibid.).

Reluctantly, the local authority complied with the recommendations of the national government. In response to the recommendations of the Minister of Land Affairs, the Lekoa Town Council approached the Minister's department to have subsidies and security of tenure expedited. When approval was granted, the Council then applied for subsidies on behalf of all the families living in the settlement, following which they hired several teams of consultants to prepare for the development of the area (Peoples Dialogue, 1997).

Savings schemes in Vaal area that were linked to the Federation began to expand and as a result the savings scheme members built 60 four-roomed houses for the equivalent cost of developer-built units. The savings schemes were able to maximise the practical benefit of the subsidy, unlike the developer-driven units where more than half of the available subsidy went into the pockets of consultants (Peoples Dialogue, 1997).

According to the People's Dialogue report (1997:11), there were nine housing savings schemes in Kanana and with many of the fundamentals for community-driven development in place, the savings schemes in Kanana were able to bring housing finance and formal houses, built by themselves for themselves, into the Kanana settlement. Poor people could come together as groups, develop trust, manage finance, design settlements and build their own houses, which is a remarkable achievement (ibid.).

4.6. Kanana local governance position

Huchzermeyer (1999:60) notes that the Kanana settlement is split politically along a wide power-line servitude and as such the settlement's division was reflected in its social and political structures, with a separate civic organisation in each area, both termed Independent Peoples Committee. Although not affiliated to South African ….? (SANCO), an ANC-aligned organisation, Kanana is an ANC-supporting settlement with an active ANC Youth League and Women's League. The Independent People's Committee was said to fall under the ANC mother body. The ANC Youth League appeared to have a good relationship with the Federation and, tasked with prevention of crime in Kanana, the Youth League assists the Federation in protecting its visitors (ibid.).

Representation in local council through the ward councillor appeared to be ineffectual. The project management consultant alluded to 'political games' played at the ward level regarding issues of development. Sites intended for settlement de-densification in infrastructure project were said to have been allocated to residents from outside the project area and this caused new problems of access to additional land for the completion of the housing projects (ibid). In this regard, Peoples Dialogue (1997) argues that the new councillors, inexperienced in local government, had been instructed to buy off the old guard of officials, who had little understanding of people-driven development processes and as politicians, they wanted to be seen to be delivering for the people (ibid.).

A division grew between those who supported the people-driven approach of the Federation and those councillors who were under the dictates of 'local authorities through processes that were paternalistically delivering for the people.' (Huchzermeyer, 1999). According to Huchzermeyer (1999:62), the formal development process that ensued through the provincial funding was in conflict with the Federation's approach. The Minister of Land Affairs, on his earlier visits, encouraged the construction of houses through the Federation savings schemes; on the other hand, the Minister's instructions to the local authority triggered a conventional formal development process that took no cognisance of people's driven initiative (ibid.).

4.7. Thembelihle case study

The Thembelihle informal settlement in Lenasia is under threat of eviction. In this case study, I will reflect on the Thembelihle situation based on my visit to the area and also outline the discussion held with its committee leaders. It is the intention to present here the main grounds on which the Landless People's Movement (LPM) committee is resisting relocation.

4.8. Background of Thembelihle informal settlement

According to Thembelihle Landless People's Movement committee leaders, Thembelihle originated in the early 1980s. The Thembelihle land was privately owned by SA Blocks Factory, a company, which used to manufacture bricks in the area. The owners have since left the country. LPM committee leaders state that Thembelihle comprises between 4,000 and 5,000 units, with a population of between 16,000 and 17,000. The site has been occupied for more than 20 years now. Thembelihle is located adjacent to Lenasia Extension 14 and falls under Region 11 of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality (LPM, personal communication).

4.9. Landless People's Movement

The LPM came into being as a result of squatter camp evictions throughout the Gauteng province, which the LPM aims to put a stop to. According to LPM leaders in Thembelihle, the councillor representing the area had been expelled from the area because of his failure to deliver services such as water supply, with the Thembelihle people eventually organising a water supply themselves. He was also dismissed because of his collaboration with the Johannesburg municipality. The LPM leaders state that the councillor employed Hozani security guards to evict people from the settlement because, they believe, the Johannesburg municipality wants to use Thembelihle area for business purposes. They maintain that the municipality created a fictitious court order using the

issue of dolomite to evict the Thembelihle residents unjustly; the evictions took place without warning, to the shock of the affected residents.. The LPM committee leaders commented that residents resisted the eviction by repelling the Hozani security guards, who responded by shooting at residents, fortunately without casualties.

4.9.1. Why Thembelihle residents refuse to leave

According to LPM committee leaders, the people of Thembelihle do not want to leave the area because they fear losing their jobs because of the travelling distance from Vlakfontein, where the Johannesburg municipality would like to relocate them. It is a long distance from their places of employment and would cost R14 a day for transport; This amounts to R280 a month, and most of these people earn only R300-R800 a month. Another reason for the people's resistance is the lack of schools in Vlakfontein, which would significantly add to their problems in educating their children.

The LPM committee leaders state that the majority of employed Thembelihle residents work for the nearby Indian community and earn between R300 and R800 a month. Others residents scratch out a living by doing odd jobs and yet others survive through support groups. There is a very strong network of support systems such as Lowly support groups, Iketsetseng, orphanage and HIV support groups. Approximately 2% of Thembelihle residents receive food parcels and clothing from the Indian Muslim community. The LPM committee leaders state that it is because of this background that the people of Thembelihle refuse to leave the area and the committee goes on to mention that Vlakfontein is a higher-risk dolomite area than Thembelihle. The Thembelihle residents had to seek the services of a new geologist, who has not yet delivered a report because no payment has been made to him.

In the area of spatial planning, Huchzermeyer (2001:305) argued that the poor continued to be located on the periphery of the cities contrary to the goal of localisation of the Habitat agenda. The Thembelihle residents are to be relocated to Vlakfontein, far from their jobs and other public amenities, which is the opposite of the goal of localisation of

the Habitat agenda. This planning approach makes proximity to jobs, shops and markets a only a dream for the poor (Sowman and Urguhart, 1988:34) and denies accessibility to community, health and educational facilities, as well as public transport and cultural sites (Sowman and Urguhart 1998: 34). The Thembelihle residents will experience severe transport problems, since they are unable to afford the high transport fees from Vlakfontein to Lenasia. There are no schools at Vlakfontein and the children would therefore have to travel to Lenasia, again incurring exorbitant travel costs. Huchzermeyer (2001:38) argued that the obstacles to socially-responsive functioning of South African cities still remain market-driven regarding urban land use. This is because, according to Thembelihle LPM committee representatives, the area where they are reside is earmarked for business development by the municipality, with the issue of dolomite-risk "just a scapegoat." Thembelihle residents would also be excluded from economic activities if they were to relocate.

4.9.2. Social Exclusion

Post-apartheid cities, now described as rainbow nation cities, should not exclude citizens such as the Thembelihle residents. Smith (2002:66) contends that a rainbow nation with unity in diversity should promote social inclusion, with Ubuntu forming a central theme in the post-apartheid city. Ubuntu means 'humanness' and represents an Afro-centric morality that embraces the concept: "A person is a person through other persons" and can also be translated as 'I am what I am because of who we all are'. Removing the Thembelihle residents from the proximity of their livelihoods would deprive them of employment and render them even poorer.

Smith (2002:66-81) argued that the post-apartheid city still perpetuates structural inequality by race, class and gender associated with spatial fragmentation, thus the inevitability of social injustice. Taking a closer look at the policy framework of the post-apartheid government, one sees a direct violation of housing as a basic right. Thembelihle residents are excluded from their rights to adequate housing and in this instance they are to be removed and placed at a site where there are no amenities, no roads, no schools and no health facilities, thus constituting social injustice.

According to LPM committee leaders, the Thembelihle community is not included in the decisions that affect them. According to Bond (1996: 6), a top-down, non-participatory, and parsimonious model of housing delivery approach increases inequality, joblessness and increases the housing crisis. The opposite of the top-down model, the participation approach involves the people in all aspects of planning and this should be an ongoing exercise (Snowman and Urquhart, 1998:14). Effective participation, especially at institutional level, involves decentralisation; devolution involves transfer of resources, responsibility and decision-making to the local level (Snowman and Urquhart.1998: 14).

Pugh (1995:176) advocates for acceptance of slums and informal settlements as part of the city fabric. This school of thought bases its argument on the fact that the poor always show initiative in resolving their own housing problems and that in these circumstances, the Thembelihle residents should be allowed to stay. Pugh (1995:196) asserts that "… the solution to slums is not to evict people or eradicate the dwellings, but to create conditions so that people can improve their own dwellings".

4.9.3. Thembelihle livelihoods

Most Thembelihle residents' livelihoods derive from doing odd jobs, mainly at Lenasia shops and affluent residences. Other residents sublet their backyards to tenants. Income generation is viewed as one of the strategies towards poverty alleviation. According to Chambers (1995:173), professional people's views of poverty differ from those of the poor themselves. This means that most programmes put in place to alleviate poverty fail to deliver because of the incorrect bases on which these programmes are founded. Our target should go beyond reducing poverty, to improve the quality of life and reduce the suffering of the people (Chambers 1995:182). This entails addressing the entire spectrum of the economy, and led the labour federation in South Africa to advocate for job creation by means of re-orienting the economy to meet basic needs through increased production (Bond and Tait, 1996:4). This re-inforces the belief that engaging the community in production of building materials, in addition to building houses, could actually create more jobs, but beyond the question of jobs creation, we must put emphasis on sustainable

livelihood and complement labour-intensive growth instead of abounding it (Chambers, 1995:193). This entails devising poverty eradication programmes for Thembelihle residents that ensure that employment can provide a sustainable livelihood. Chambers (1995:194) argues that sustainable livelihood is a living that is adequate for satisfaction of basic needs, and secure against anticipated shocks and stresses.

Thembelihle residents are being deprived of their livelihoods by removing them from Thembelihle and they feel humiliated, isolated, and powerless. Lallo (1998:41) contends that access to a place refers to good spatial location in relation to opportunities and amenities that help sustain a reasonable standard of living. Removing the Thembelihle residents is in itself tantamount to deprivation of livelihood. Most of their livelihoods are based on multiple activities and multiple sources of food, income and security. Azuela et al, 1998, in Molokomme, (2004) state that informal settlement residents identify themselves with the informal economy; they consist of small merchants, domestic workers or temporary workers. In many cases, informal residents depend on their work as itinerant vendors for their livelihood, and to remove them to other areas simply means marginalisation to them (Molokomme, 2004).

4.9.4. Socio-economic implication of relocation

According to Molokomme (2004:38) "Relocation destroys social capital such as networks, connectedness, membership of formalised groups, relationships of trust reciprocity and informal safety nets." The residents of Thembelihle resist relocation because of concern about the disruption of social capital livelihood strategies and access to social amenities. Thembelilhe residents have established employment networks within existing nearby suburbs and in most cases they are involved in informal trade (Molokomme, 2004:48). Molokomme (2004:48) argues that people always have "Feelings of belongingness to a specific space and specific community, which made it possible to develop a sense of identity, common history and memories" (ibid,).

4.9.5. Social capital

Putnam (1995) explains social capital as features of social organisation, such as networks, norms and social trust, which always facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit to the advantage of local communities. In the case of the Thembelihle community, residents through various means in their lives, build interpersonal relationships between family members and neighbours that serve as a focal point of joint action and unity, directed mainly at their survival (Azuela et al, 1998, in Molokomme, 2004).

Molokomme (2004) states that "In a country like South Africa, where the perception of crime is high, employers from the suburbs are likely to prefer neighbours who are accessible and have established relationships of trust." In this regard, relocation to a new place will to some extent translate into falling back on their private resources; hence the Thembelihle residents resist relocation (ibid,).

4.9.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, most of the community leaders representing Kanana and Thembelihle informal settlements indicated their willingness to participate in the development of their living place. The successful occupation of Kanana is an indication of community cohesion - these groups have always endeavoured to bring their communities together in pursuit of goals that affect their livelihood. Most leaders felt that it remains the responsibility of local authorities to provide community public amenities. Nevertheless, if a motivated, organised community of poor South Africans is prepared to commit themselves to building their community from the ground up, and can do so in a far more cost- and resource-effective way than the authorities, surely they should be allowed to do so, and be afforded the opportunity to do so.

Having looked at two practical case studies, the following chapter will focus on interviews with community leaders from various informal settlements around metropolitan cities of South Africa, and analysis and data interpretation.

CHAPTER 5
Data analysis and presentation on community participation

5. Introduction

Most South African metropolitan cities are in dire need of upgrades to their informal settlements. This chapter will, therefore present and analyse information gathered from community leaders and local authorities who represent the informal settlement residents. Insights about the informal settlement dwellers, which include demography, origins of the residents, and needs and priories of the residents will be presented. The chapter presents all forms of community participation, and includes reducing poverty and vulnerability, increasing assets of the poor and building social capital, as well as ensuring social inclusion. .

5.1. Community participation in partnership with local Authorities

Most of the community leaders interviewed for the purposes of this research relate to the need for all inclusive participation of the informal settlement residents in the development processes initiated by the local Authority within a particular community. When people on the ground feel as though they are part of the development, this is likely to speed up the process of informal settlement upgrading. Brown (1997:75) emphasises the design of structures models, which can enhance participation by facilitating projects with the community and not for the community.

For this to happen, it is imperative to allow a free flow of information, as suggested by Agreement Mendweni, SAHPF, Protea South, Soweto. Door-to-door campaigns were suggested to inform residents of the informal settlements about their rights, as this approach is always conducted by the ANC during election campaigns (Agreement Mendweni). For this to happen efficiently, community-based development officers to facilitate and monitor the participation process are necessary. (Agreement Mendweni, SAHPF, Protea South, Soweto)

For my part, I would suggest that participation should concern the entire community, and that the local government can benefit through being in touch with the realities on the ground. Davidoff (1965) notes that inclusion of communities in the process of planning permits citizens to be heard. Informal settlement residents must be involved, not only as labourers during the construction phase of building projects, but also as subcontractors (Petros Maduna, personal communication). According to Maduna, informal settlements residents would like to feel that they are part and parcel of each and every development that take place in their communities.

Views which support development from bottom-up and community-led upgrading adopt a benevolent view of the organisational skills of communities to upgrade their own environments. From this perspective, authorities should play a supportive role to expand upon these human aspirations, and should not attempt to organise and control the lives of residents (Sao Paulo Network Alliance, 2004).

According to the Department of Housing "Breaking New Ground in Housing Delivery" plan (DoH, 2004) ,community- based initiatives are expected to increase within the housing environment following the recent new housing policies, which respond to re-orientation towards a more people driven-housing process. The Sao Paulo Network Alliance (2004) states that internationally, over the past two decades there has been a gradual shift towards increased partnership, as community and non-governmental organisations have recognised that support from local authorities is essential. Governments increasingly acknowledge the importance of community participation and control in order to ensure the long-term sustainability of projects (Sao Paulo Network Alliance, 2004).

In order to understand the participation process, people on the ground need to take part in the initial stage of any planned project intended for them. CBO formations within a particular community are key factors in this regard; working with them will yield positive results (Peter Mchugu, SANCO, personal communication). In order to facilitate this

effectively, local authorities must have a database of CBOs within their jurisdiction, which would allow the local council to work closely with the community-based organisation (Ibid,).

The involvement of communities is mandatory in terms of IDP projects; therefore no project can be carried out without the participation of the communities, but the problem could be that people who attend these participatory meetings are not well informed about issues of development (Hulisani Mukwevho, IDP Manager Emfuleni Municipality where Kanana informal settlement falls under, personal communication).

5.2. Increasing assets of the poor, social capital and social inclusion

Most of the community leaders interviewed about these aspects felt that they are excluded from public amenities, as they are always found in the periphery. Sarah Mofokeng a member of SAHPF, when asked about the relationship with her local Authority, she said, “the relationship is not bad at all”. She mentioned that she experiences a sense of social inclusion since she has been relocated to a better site closer to public amenities, as well as owning a bigger house, built through the PHP.

In my opinion, the preparation of a project’s planning framework should be done in a manner that enhances community members’ awareness and understanding of their environment, as well as the anticipated impact of development intervention to enhance the sustainability of projects.

According to many interviewees on the question of whether they believed they were better off or worse off in their situations, considering the impact of development processes on the livelihoods, most mentioned that it is good and better to have a house, irrespective of its poor quality. The only stumbling block cited by many respondents is the lack of income to maintain the improvements on the top-structure.

This study would like to propose that social capital in the form of community and inter-household mechanism and support for survival is often the least tangible but most important asset of the poor. It is imperative to emphasise the need for community participation in the upgrading of informal settlement projects, as there is consensus that without substantial amount of community support and initiative, upgrading is difficult if not impossible to achieve in any development projects (Sarah Mofokeng, SAHPF, personal communication). In case of Thembelihle, the basis for resisting relocation centres on the disruption of social capital and livelihood opportunities. These are considered important assets to the poor and play a central role behind the social resistance by the Thembelihle residents. In this instance, appropriate forms of community participation must be those that make communities feel that they are important and strong. If they appear to be too weak, local Authorities will often act unilaterally without informing them and the solution to this matter would be a strong coordination between the different structures within a particular community to strengthen a well representation.

5.3. The process of engagement with local Authorities

According to Anna Estavao (Kwamashu Durban, personal communication), the process of local government engagement with informal settlement community structures has been driven by the informal settlement communities themselves through CBOs and NGOs such as South African (SANCO), South African National Civic Organisation (SAHPF) and People's Dialogue. There is no real interaction with local government political structures through ward structures (Mpe, Botshabelo, Bloemfontein, personal communication).

Most of the community leaders interviewed consider local politics to be severe obstacles to real partnership between local government and informal settlement organisations, but Councillor Legotla Motoung of Sebokeng Zone 12 ext denied this, and stated that people do not want to participate in meetings when they are summoned (Legotla Motaung ANC Councillor, Sebokeng Zone 12 ext, personal communication)

It is generally felt by most of the interviewees that ward committees are not transparent to all the stakeholders; only members from the preferred political party are included into these ward committees without consulting other structures within a particular community. In this case, the Botshabelo ward committee is predominantly composed of African National Congress (ANC) members (Mpe, Botshabelo, Bloemfontein, personal communication). Agreement Mendweni mentions that she aspires to see ward councillors working in harmony with the local residents and listening to people's problems. She feels strongly that ward committee should comprise of all the stakeholders in spite of political affiliation. According to Agreement Mendweni CBOs within a particular community should be represented so that decisions must not be imposed on people without their consent. The informal settlement near Kwamashu is predominantly Inkhata Freedom Party (IFP)-based and it is very difficult to work without the consent of the IFP as the local council is run by the IFP. "As the South African Homeless Peoples Federation, we are not recognised by the councillor and it is very difficult to work under those circumstances". (Anna Estavao, Kwamashu near Durban, Agreement Mendweni, SAHPF, Gauteng Region, personal communication) According to (Hulisani Mukwevho IDP Manager for Emufuleni Municipality, personal communication), ward committees in terms of the IDPs ought to work with all the stakeholders within a particular community

5.4. Is support given to people's movements to become development partners?

The Landless People's Movement, SANCO, NGOs, Peoples Dialogue, SAHPF, CUP) and regional CBOs were cited as the only structures providing support to informal settlement movements wanting to get involved in the development of their communities. However, in some informal settlements the ward councillor did help informal settlement organisations to become partners with the municipalities in their areas. "Support is given to communities at all costs; the only problem always encountered is that people are not too eager to attend meetings." (Legotla Motoung, Councillor Sebokeng Zone 12 where Kanana is located, personal communication).

5.5. Are informal settlement residents considered citizens?

Most of the community leaders interviewed felt that informal settlement dwellers are largely excluded from enjoying the benefits of the city. Most informal settlement residents feel excluded due to their economic situation and are therefore voiceless and powerless as they are not treated as first class citizens in their city.

"The ward committee dictates to the residents of the informal settlements and decisions are imposed on people without them having a say in the day-to-day running of the settlement, making residents feel like they are not really citizens in the area." (Anna Estavao, Kwamashu, Durban, personal communication). Although ward committees are entrenched in local government legislation in order to inculcate the culture of democracy and public participation at local level, informal settlements in many occasions tend to suffer neglect. While it is true that ward committees remain legal requirement, they in actual fact do not have the profile to make major policy shifts, more so in areas as the informal settlements and this is due to the political position of the respective informal settlement.

The housing policy states that citizens shall have access to permanent residential structures with secure tenure, water, adequate sanitation facilities and energy supply (Housing Act of 1997). This study revealed that in the past the apartheid regime excluded people on the basis of their skin colour and this was legislated. Nowadays there is economic exclusion. People are legally entitled to equal rights but they cannot access them due to exorbitant property prices and this is another form of exclusion. Property value is the major obstacle in the city that excludes informal settlement residents from enjoying its benefits because it became impossible to find affordable land for low-income housing near the city. Informal settlement dwellers are located in the periphery of the city, far from public amenities (Zandile Madzena, Fine Town Lenasia South, JHB, personal communication)

"We are never settled since eviction can take place any time; therefore, the threat of eviction or forceful relocation is always a real possibility. We do not feel like we are treated like full citizens." (Mpe, Bloemfontein, personal communication). The Thembelihle group resisting relocation has concerns about the disruption of social capital and livelihood opportunities resulting from relocation. According to Molokome (2003:71), all stakeholders agree on the need for housing improvement and that part of Thembelihle informal settlement has severe concentrations of dolomite, making it unsuitable for housing development. The Thembelihle resisting group's argument is that the Johannesburg Municipality has overlooked parcels of land around Lenasia, which has potential for low-income housing development. Participation has to happen through community leaders within a particular community as Ward committees do not always have representation from the informal settlements communities and as such an ideal situation could be the identification of existing Community leaders, political leaders, NGOs, different committees and CBOs to establish levels of representivity in order to allow participation. NGOs should be encouraged to play a role in this process so that they could facilitate engagement processes between local Authorities and community structures.

5.6. Title deeds

Some of the interviewees felt the need for a community-based centre that could offer free legal advice on issues such as the transfer of title deeds. Interviewed leaders disclosed that there are people within their communities who are unable to transfer title deeds of people who have passed away to their living heirs. Most of the interviewees felt that the fees charged by attorneys are unaffordable and the problem could be solved if an office that helps people with these problems without the need to pay for the service could be set up (Zandile Madzena, Fine Town, JHB, personal communication). In my opinion, securing tenure is the first and most important basic intervention that is needed in order for a process of development to take place meaningfully. Tenure security legitimises the informal settlement residential arrangement of those occupying the land illegally, and

affirms citizenship. In this case it forms the basis for a process of inclusion and empowerment.

5.7. Maximising flexibility

Leaders of organisations interviewed say that Community Based Organisations often work on their own and organisations such as the SAHPF are perceived as a visible show of participation by the poor especially communities in informal settlements.
Due to the complexity of informal settlements it is imperative to have a responsive policy to support them and flexibility is needed in order to allow partnerships to develop between empowered communities. According to the Breaking New Ground in Housing Delivery policy (DoH, 2004), capacity-building must focus on the programme that responds most to the capacity needs of communities, ensuring that they are empowered to constructively engage with municipalities in identifying and fulfilling their housing needs.

The new housing policy (DoH, 2004) goes on to state that a "Letsema" campaign will be launched to encourage communities to work together to improve one anothers lives. According to the DoH, (2004), communities and community-based organisations must be mobilised to engage more effectively with the housing programme, but discussions with community leaders reveal that most of the information intended to benefit communities does not reach them. Only members of the community who are connected to certain individuals within the municipal council receive these benefits (Alfred Gabuza, SAHPF, Protea South, Soweto, Sarah Mofokeng, personal communication).

5.8. Community development workers

Community leaders' response when asked about their experiences with regard to the involvement of community workers over the land issues within the local authority reveals that slow progress with regard to land release is a major problem, which always provokes

people to invade land. In this case it would be better if community workers can be introduced to help in this regard (Alfred Gabuza, SAHPF, Protea South, Soweto, personal communication). Community development workers need to be sensitised about informal settlements and to understand people in order to help them efficiently. The involvement of communities as community development workers is encouraged fully by the local authority (Hulisani Mukwevho, IDP Manager, Emfuleni Municipality, personal communication).

DoH (2004) "Breaking New Ground", notes that in order to bring government housing programmes closer to the community, cadres of community development workers need to be established. The community development workers would create awareness, provide consumer education, undertake assessments and surveys, handle complains and provide after-hour support to communities (DoH, 2004).

This study reveals that in order to achieve the intended goal, community-based organisations could play an important role in training community development workers. The training of community development workers would involve changing attitudes, to be able to work bottom-up as opposed to a top-down approach. The Kanana case study indicates that SAHPF played an important role in organising people to participate in the upgrading of their settlement.

5.8.1. Reducing poverty

This study would like to propose that if the policy of informal settlement upgrading mechanism has to be used in order for poverty to be reduced, then livelihood strategies built on community-based assets in the form of human, natural, social, financial and physical capital need to be put in place in order to reduce poverty levels. This could be realised with an inclusive policy-making structure at every level at which policy is required, with clear and agreed terms of reference.

5.8.2. Community leaders' perceptions on participation

Although most of the community leaders interviewed indicated their willingness to participate in projects geared to upgrade their communities, they have limited knowledge of community participation. The majority of informal settlement residents have a low level of education and are characterised by low incomes. Due to the low level of education, most informal settlement residents, including their leaders, have difficulty in grasping all the socio-economic constraints and opportunities within their spheres of existence.

Most informal settlement communities lack political representation and tend to be apathetic. In most informal settlements, residents lack the initiative and technical know-how in development projects and are therefore often marginalised by authorities. Most of the community leaders emerge during eviction threats, but lack the necessary knowledge of housing development process and are reluctant to give advice to the residents because of the fear of being wrong. This always results in long delays in community decision-making. There is a need for services such as water, roads, and electricity and the building of houses in proximity to informal settlements community's facilities such as schools, multi-purpose community centres and health centres. In this instance it is imperative to forge in cooperation with all the stakeholders involved in housing delivery.

5.8.3. Conclusion

In conclusion, the overwhelming problems identified in this study should not discourage communities from being involved in their development projects. The process of full engagement could only be realised if communities are engaged properly from the beginning. Inclusive community participation can only be a dream if increasing the assets of the poor, social capital and social inclusion are ignored. Care should be taken in support of people's movements to become development partners. Informal settlement residents should be considered full citizens and granted title deeds so as to maximise flexibility.

Community development workers should be encouraged to take part in order to reduce poverty. Despite obstacles and lack of resources, informal settlement residents have

shown the capability to grapple with the difficulties inherent in housing problems. It is imperative to encourage and motivate them to gradually improve their own living conditions.

The following chapter will therefore focus on findings and recommendations for the betterment of informal settlement communities within the South African metropolitan areas.

Chapter 6: Recommendations, findings and conclusions drawn from previous chapters

This chapter will focus on the findings of the research report. From this study it could be concluded that most community-based organisations are not capacitated on the issues of community participation with regard to development planning. This chapter will make recommendations based on the case study findings, interviews with community leaders and local Authorities officials. In short, this chapter will examine means and policies that encourage beneficiary participation in a way that is more rigorous and interactive. This will be in line with Turner's (1972) sentiments - that it is the people on the ground who know most about their needs. This in itself will ensure that communities are given an opportunity to actualise their role within their settlements. Therefore, there is a need for strong and well-capacitated CBOs to deal with governance issues and skills, as well as quality control. The chapter will also determine the possible role of NGOs and local authorities in relation to development within the informal settlement.

6.1. Community capacitation on governance

Discussions with community leaders of informal settlements indicate that a major transformation in governance needs to take place. Paul (1987: 22) "Refers community participation to an active process whereby beneficiaries influence the direction and execution of development projects, rather than merely receive a share of projects benefits." Community-based organisations need to be equipped to make sound decisions on issues of development. The degree of community participation will only be effective if CBOs are imparted with skills on the issues of governance to be able to make informed decisions. South Africa has lagged behind the rest of developed world in adopting the concept of community participation, and community participation is only now starting to receive serious attention by both the state and CBOs. Study of the case study findings

revealed the existence of a number of organisations involved in informal settlement development issues within the Kanana and Thembelihle informal settlements, including the better-known SAHPF, SANCO, and LPM. Although these organisations seem to be effective, they lack in-depth knowledge on the issues of effective governance. Despite this, these organisations have always endeavoured to bring their communities together in pursuit of goals that directly affect their lives. Most of the leaders from informal settlements emerged during eviction threats or rent boycotts and as such they lack formal skills on issues of governance. Based on the interviews conducted with these leaders, most of them are unfamiliar with the concept of an all inclusive community engagement in development processes.

The vast majority of household heads in the informal settlements are women; therefore, there is a need to educate women on the issues of governance. The fact that women outnumber men in most communities cannot continue to be ignored. Women have been involved in the building of houses since time immemorial, particularly in Africa. Given the opportunity to do so, there would be a significant change within the housing spectrum, and capacity-building programmes on issues of governance would empower them.

6.2. Community engagement with the local authorities

This study has shown the broad level of misunderstanding between community leaders and local authorities concerning genuine engagement in development projects within the informal settlement structure. This has resulted in intended beneficiaries of housing development not benefiting as they should. Much of this misunderstanding is due to the failure of local authorities to be totally transparent in the development process. This situation is exacerbated by frustrations arising from political affiliations, since certain members of the settlement given preference by local authorities. Inclusive community participation concerns the community as a whole; they should be part of the decision-making process in issues concerning their own development and not just be heard in a consultancy function at ward meetings. The local authorities can benefit from being in touch with the people on ground if they could level the playing fields for that to happen. Local authorities need to engage with communities in order to formulate more informed

policies with regard to development. This study revealed that the majority of the interviewed community leaders believe that the process of local authority's engagement with informal settlement community structures has been driven by the people of the settlement themselves through CBOs and NGOs such as SANCO and SAHPF. Other organisations given credit with regard to community development are the Landless Peoples Movement (LPM), (CUP) and other regional community-based organisations; they were described as structures providing support to informal settlement movements in the issues of development. Some of the community leaders interviewed consider local politics to be obstacles to true partnerships with the local authorities, and it would therefore be of the utmost importance that local authorities distance themselves from political inclinations and treat residents in the same manner regardless of their political affiliations.

6.3. An inclusive Community participation

Inclusive community participation contributes to maximised empowerment, which will then promote individual choice in housing development. Some of the community leaders interviewed indicate that the majority of informal settlement residents would prefer the Peoples Housing Processes type of housing (PHP), citing the fact that PHP houses are generally larger and better designed to suit household needs. That being the case, communities will have more choice, creativity and community involvement if the PHP-type housing were to be encouraged in the upgrading of informal settlements, as currently foreseen in the "Breaking New Ground" document (DoH 2004). The PHP type of housing promotes a sense of citizenship and pride supports the creation of partnerships.

6.4. Challenges facing communities on participation

Most of the community leaders representing their organisation cited challenges facing them in relation to finance and administration, lack of IDP consciousness, accountability and transparency, quality control and technical support. This study will, therefore, recommend capacity-building in support of community-based organisation to equip them with necessary skills so that they in turn can contribute meaningfully to the development processes in housing within their respective residential areas. It is evident from these findings that most community leaders from these informal settlements lack skills that can contribute to the social and physical development of areas. The purpose of capacitating CBOs within the informal settlements is to allow them contribute in reducing the housing backlog, thereby reducing poverty through LED opportunities during the construction phase of a house. The ultimate goal is to provide participation options to informal settlement residents. To achieve this, CBOs should be educated in the Integrated Development Programmes (IDP), accountability and transparency on the issues of grants geared for community development, quality control and technical support for building skills. Lack of PHP capacity at local level can be solved through capacitating the CBOs, which will in turn facilitate the building of PHP houses within the informal settlements.

6.5. Building community assets and livelihood through housing

Based on the findings extrapolated from the case studies and interviews with community leaders, the recommendation that I would like to propose is that community participation should be promoted urgently and methodically to help communities to build their asset-base, thereby reducing poverty. Livelihood strategies are based on people's capacities to exercise choice; however, for the residents of informal settlements, livelihood strategies are typically based on a variety of sources of income, both in cash and in kind, as well as effective relationships and social networks. This study encourages communities to participate meaningfully in issues which affect them. Decisions taken by outsiders could

constrain householders' choices, opportunities and resources and this in itself might have a negative impact. The only way the challenges of informal settlement could be met is by introducing broad goal approach. The broad goal approach of poverty elimination is to empower communities to improve their livelihood strategies. Building community assets could be realised by giving poor urban communities a wider range of choices and the opportunity to participate. To make a positive impact on poverty, it is imperative to have a clear policy based on full understanding of informal settlement residents' economic activities, assets and entitlements. Joint orientation and training workshops on building community assets and livelihood should therefore be held from time to time to develop skills and to identify problems and opportunities. South African housing practices, since the dawn of democracy, have disrupted many households' livelihood strategies; therefore, relocation should be exercised with great caution, if it should become necessary. Implementation of those relocation policies needs to be as holistic and "cross-sectoral", as should household livelihood strategies.

6.5.1. Building social capital and social inclusion

Although most of the community leaders interviewed about the social capital and social inclusion responded negatively, one interviewee mentioned that she experienced a very strong sense of social inclusion since her relocation to a geographically better site, closer to public amenities, as well as into a much bigger house, built through the PHP. This study will therefore recommend to those in authorities to consider public amenities for informal settlement upgrading. Public amenities constitute social capital.

6.6. Needs and priorities of informal settlements residents

Discussions with community leaders indicate that the majority of informal settlement residents need jobs since unemployment is very high, with housing close to work opportunities. Informal settlement residents also need land, basic infrastructure, access to credit, and training opportunities for the unemployed. This study, therefore, recommends that during the building phase of houses, informal settlement residents should be employed and building skills should be imparted to them. Engaging informal settlement residents will in itself reduce unemployment within their ambit. The majority of informal settlement residents suffer as a result of unemployment. In some informal settlements, about 30% of the residents derive an income from some form of informal business. Community involvement and participation in housing construction and design will contribute meaningfully toward reducing unemployment. This study recommends that communities should be given the latitude to decide, organise and manage their settlement development. Full effort should be made to provide decent and affordable housing on land near to economic opportunities. Security of tenure should be a focal point in solving the plight of informal settlement residents within the South African metropolitan areas. High levels of poverty and unemployment could be reduced if the beneficiaries are key decision-makers. Beneficiary participation promotes community independence and also maximises mobilisation of local human and material resources. Total community participation also builds capacity of the beneficiaries to meet the goals of habitable environments. This study, therefore, recommends that local authorities should be engaged in ensuring support and interaction with local councils to promote citizen participation. In order to realise all of these goals, community participation should be encouraged at all levels. It follows, therefore, that methodologies for target-setting and identifying areas of cooperative action are essential to mobilise a joint effort. Booklets or pamphlets should be disseminated explaining the working structure of the local authorities, as this would give the public a better understanding of the processes involved in development. This study also recommends putting in place systems and procedures that would encourage the

full involvement of all stakeholders within the settlements, which could create job opportunities, as well as reduce the material costs of building houses.

6.7. Role of women in informal settlement upgrading

It is evident from these findings that women outnumber men in most of the informal settlements. Given the overwhelming predominance of women in informal settlements, it becomes obvious that without their active participation in the upgrading process, the desired goal of encouraging community participation could be limited. This study, therefore, recommends that institutions should be established that would encourage women to improve their lives within the informal settlement. A possible example of such institution could be training in brick-laying, plastering and tiling, amongst others. Barriers and traditional prejudices against women need to be broken down to give women the confidence required to take responsibility. Promoting women's involvement in the decision-making process will also yield positive results. Involving women creates gender awareness and that in itself could build stronger community relations and encourage the notion of citizenship and pride among informal settlement residents. In the Kanana case study, women are seen to be taking the lead in the upgrading of their own informal settlement.

6.8. Are informal settlement residents considered citizens?

It is evident from findings of this study that informal settlement residents are largely excluded from enjoying the benefits of the city because of their economic situation; they are therefore voiceless and powerless and are not treated as first class citizens. Although most informal settlement residents have been established in an area for a long period, they still experience exclusion. This study will therefore recommend the inclusion of these residents in all development activities that affect them so as to make them feel part of the city's workings. All community involvement activities should be seen to lead to

action. The terms of reference regarding the roles and responsibilities of informal settlement residents should be acceptable to and understood by all.

This study has provided evidence to suggest that the ward committees dictate to the residents of the informal settlements and impose decisions on them without any consultation regarding the day–to-day running of the community, leading residents to feel that they are not really citizens of the area. It is therefore of prime importance that when mobilising community involvement, ward committees should clearly state their recommendations and intentions. This study discourages a top-down approach in the development of informal settlements since that marginalises the intended beneficiaries. Mpe of Botshabelo stated that ward committees are predominantly composed of ANC members, and who are often chosen without proper consultation with other stakeholders within a particular community. Anna Estavao of Kwamashu near Durban also mentioned that the informal settlement near Kwamashu is predominantly IFP-affiliated and its ward committees comprises IFP members, making it is very difficult to work without the approval of the IFP. This study revealed that ward committee members are not inclusive to all the stakeholders within the informal settlement and that only members of the preferred political party are inducted into these ward committees, without consulting other structures within the informal settlement. This study will therefore recommend political neutrality on the part of the local authorities when dealing with issues of development.

The research has further shown the significant level of misunderstanding of the current residential regulations. The apartheid regime excluded people on the basis of their skin colour and this discrimination has been replaced with economic exclusion. People are legally entitled to equal rights, but are denied access to them due to exorbitant property prices in the South African metropolitan areas. Property value is the primary obstacle in urban areas because it is impossible to find affordable land for low-income housing in the city precincts and as a result informal settlement residents are located on the periphery, far from public amenities. This study will therefore recommend mutual respect between all parties concerned. Confidence and trust must exist between all parties and be based on

mutual credibility. If this can take place, residents of the informal settlements could feel included in civil society.

7. Conclusion

The findings of both the case studies and community leaders' interviews contribute to the research on informal settlement intervention. The findings relate to social impacts, participation, and the perceptions and reasoning of stakeholders including the local Authority officials with regard to participation in the upgrading of the informal settlements. The findings apply not only to participation, but also to the overall syndrome of systematic exclusion of informal settlements residents from livelihood resources. The recommendations proposed could contribute to South African housing policy debates and enlighten approaches to informal settlement intervention. The perceptions of the stakeholders are directly influenced by the people involved in relocation programmes in the case of Thembelihle informal settlement, and participation in upgrading programmes in the case of Kanana, namely officials and councillors, residents and CBOs such as LPM, SAHPF and SANCO.

I can thus conclude that the process of public participation in the upgrading of the informal settlement will be one of the most difficult phases in our society's modern history. The most practical way of solving informal settlement problems would be by engaging CBOs and making them as effective as possible. Local authorities should have a role in facilitating the process of community participation in such a way as to promote balanced development. The legislation is in place, but needs to be effectively and positively communicated to settlement communities. Although great effort has been made to encourage community participation, it is critical, that the communication process should be an ongoing issue and that a forum should be created where planning matters, as well as socio-economic matters or problems that the community experience, can be discussed.

In my opinion, the state alone could not solve all the problems, so partnership with all the stakeholders might yield positive results if utilised to the full. CBOs, NGOs and private sector partnership could precipitate the desired goal of participatory development. A pro-active role by local authorities and community-based organisations is therefore crucial. Community engagement with local authorities could bring about meaningful community participation in the development process if effective communication is promoted. Communication is a two-way street and must take place within a cultural context to be effective. Everything possible must be done to develop the community's sense of ownership. Building community assets and livelihoods through housing could give rise to the primary goal of improving living conditions in the informal settlements. Building social capital and social inclusion is of the utmost importance.

In my opinion, women's empowerment in informal settlement upgrading could engender pride and citizenship and as such the desired goal of an inclusive participatory development mighty be achieved. This study will therefore recommend that project facilitators must be much more than translators during the upgrading period. Their task must be to mould each project committee into a unit with a shared vision; they must be the real "Champions" of each project if success in the upgrading of informal settlements is to be achieved. Housing projects should be able to create jobs and people are most effectively empowered by participation, involvement and learning-on–the-job - not only by attending courses. The Kanana informal settlement case study reveals that residents were involved in water pipe installations, therefore housing projects in the upgrading of informal settlements should be able to optimise job creation and skills development.

This research recommends that community-based committees should be educated in the many facets of the development process through practical involvement in a variety of issues throughout the whole life of the project. The function of facilitators within each building project committee must be to transfer knowledge and information in both directions, to community representatives and the technical consultants in the upgrading of informal settlements.

ANNEXURE A

Insights about the informal settlements residents.

Demography information.

Where did you come from before settling in Kanana and Thembelihle?

Where did you come from before you became a resident of the informal settlement?

How long have you been living there?

Needs and priorities of the residents?

How is informal settlement residents represented?

Interaction with the local Authorities.

Is there any process of engagement between the local authorities and CBOs?

Is it enjoyable to live in the city?

Is there any government intervention in relation to informal settlements and community assets?

Is there any government intervention in relation to reducing poverty and vulnerability within the informal settlements?

What about increasing assets of the poor, building social capital and ensuring social inclusion?

What about livelihoods and social capital?

Is the form of participation really empowering?

Is there any form of land distribution and ownership?

Is there any real participation in this regard?

Is there any flexibility of the development process?

What about the title deeds?

Are there any sustainable livelihoods?

Any other comment?

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Appendix 2

List of leaders Interviewed

1. Agreement Mendweni –

Position: Regional Facilitator-SAHPF, Protea South, Soweto)

Interviewed on July 5, 2004

2. Alfred Gabuza –

Position: ex-National leader, SAHPF**,** Protea South Soweto.

Interviewed on 5 July, 2004

3. Anna Estavao –

Position: Coordinator, Kwamashu Durban

Interviewed on 17 at the CURP Summit in Nasrec on 17 July, 2004.

4. Zandile Madzena –

Position: Secretary SANCO

Fine Town Lenasia South, Johannesburg.

Interviewed on 5 July, 2004

5. Mpe Botshabelo

Position: Enumerator, SAHPF

Kanana Informal settlement.

Interviewed on 18 July, 2004

6. Mr. Molefe

Kanana informal settlement

Position: Media Relation- ANC

Interviewed on 5 July, 2004...

7. Rateemane

Position: Coordinator Kanana informal settlement - SAHPF.

Interviewed on 6 July, 2004.

8. Peter Mchunu

Position Chairperson Kanana informal settlement – SANCO

Interviewed on 6 July, 2004.

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9.Petros Maduna

Position: Caretaker Kanana informal settlement -.SAHPF.

Interviewed on 5 July, 2004.

10. LPM Representatives – Thembelihle

Interviewed on 6 March 2004...

11. Sarah Mofokeng

Position: Member Boketlo Evaton – SAHPF.

Interviewed on 6 July, 2004.

12. Hulisani Mukwevho

Position - IDP Manager, Emfuleni Local Municipality.

Interviewed on 8 March, 2004.

13. Legotla Motoung

Position - ANC Councillor Sebokeng Zone 12 Ext.

Interviewed on 8 March, 2004.

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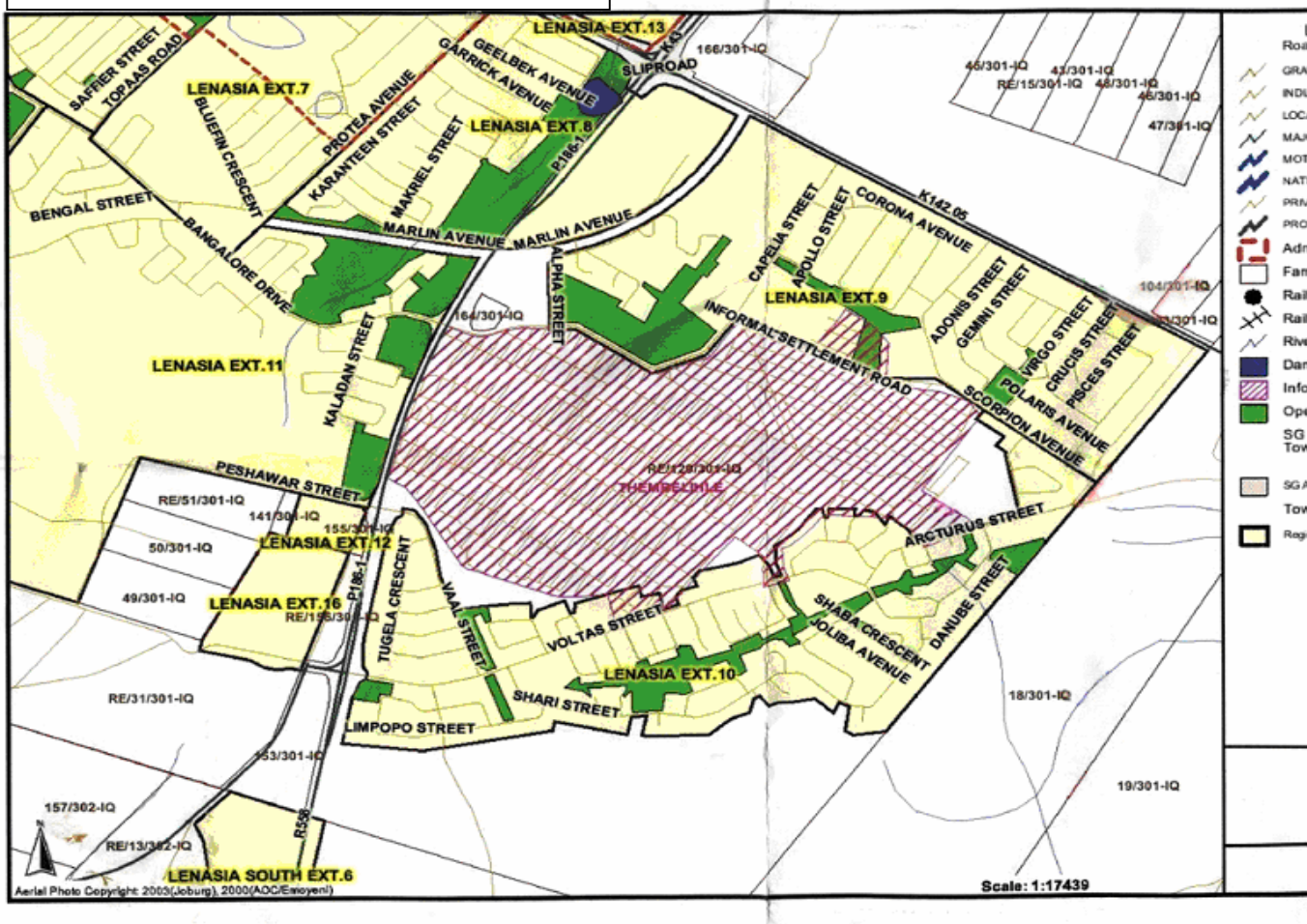
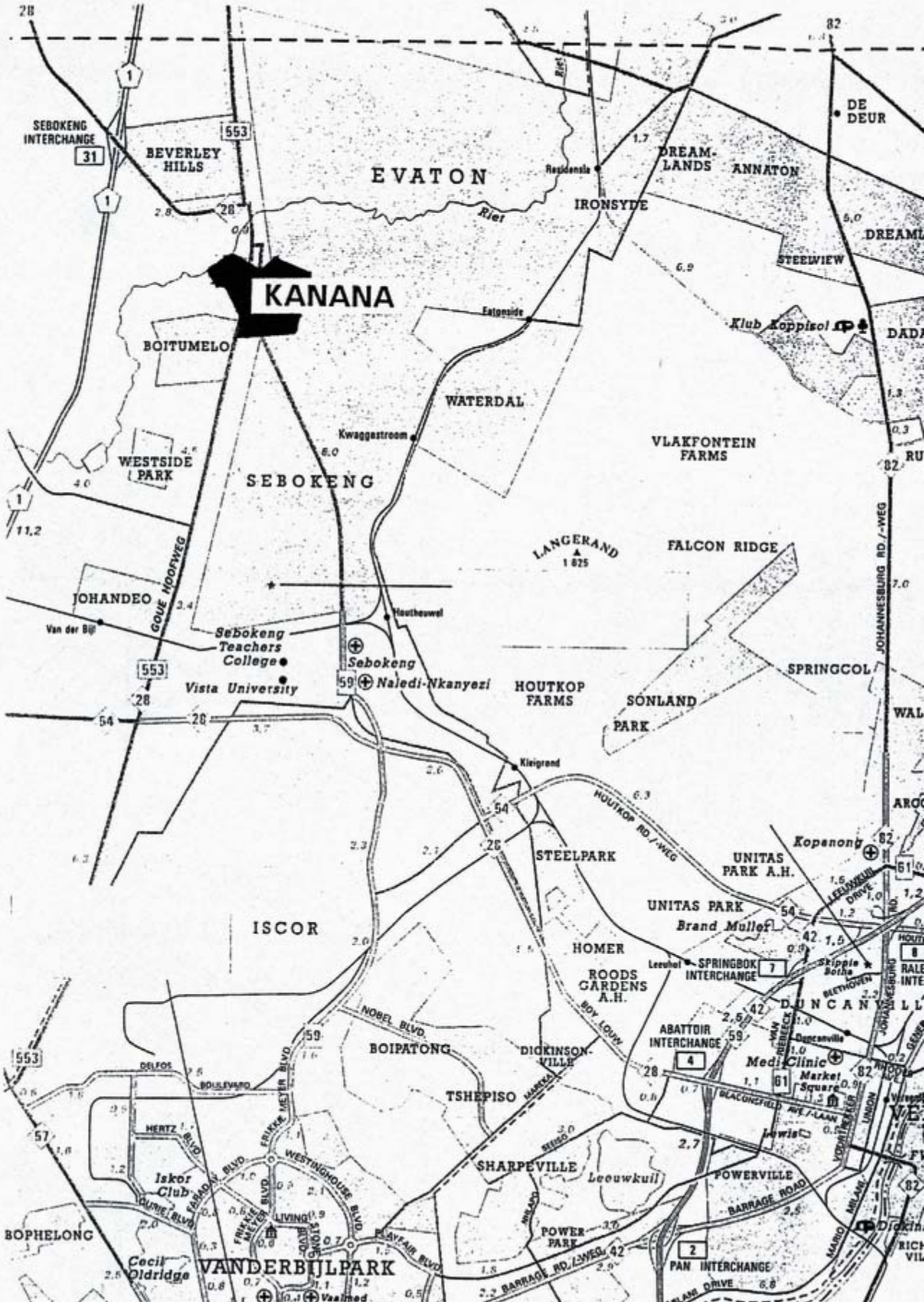
Location of Thembelihle Informal Settlement




KANANA
EVATON
SEBOKENG INTERCHANGE
BEVERLEY HILLS
IRONSYDE
DREAM-LANDS
ANNATON
DE DEUR
STEELVIEW
Klub Koppisol
BOITUMELO
WATERDAL
Kwaggastroom
VLAKFONTEIN FARMS
WESTSIDE PARK
SEBOKENG
LANGERAND
FALCON RIDGE
JOHANDEO
Van der Bijl
Sebokeng Teachers College
Vista University
Sebokeng
Naledi-Nkanyezi
HOUTKOP FARMS
SONLAND PARK
SPRINGCOL
Kleigrond
HOUTKOP RD./-WEG
STEELPARK
UNITAS PARK A.H.
Kopanong
UNITAS PARK
Brand Muller
ISCOR
HOMER
ROODS GARDENS A.H.
SPRINGBOK INTERCHANGE
DUNCANVILLE
ABATTOIR INTERCHANGE
Medi Clinic
Market Square
BOIPATONG
DICKINSON-VILLE
TSHEPISO
SHARPEVILLE
Leeuwkuil
POWERVILLE
POWER PARK
PAN INTERCHANGE
BOPHELONG
Cecil Oldridge
VANDERBIJLPARK
Iskor Club
NOBEL BLVD.
BOY LOUW
BARRAGE ROAD
BARRAGE RD./-WEG
JOHANNESBURG RD./-WEG
GOUE HOOFWEG
Riet
Residensia
Eatonside
Houtheuwel
Leeuhof
Skippie Botha
Lewis
Deneanville
Vaalmed