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Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment

School of Architecture and Planning

Department of Urban and Regional Planning

BSc URP Research Report (ARPL 4016)

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE NATURE OF THE PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROCESS: A CASE OF SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM SQUARE PROJECT

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, School of Architecture and Planning at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Bachelor of Science Urban and Regional Planning with Honours. Johannesburg, November 2014.

DECLARATION

I declare that this is my own unaided work. It is being submitted in partial fulfilment for the requirements of Bachelor of Science in Urban and Regional Planning with Honours to the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for degree or examination to any other University.

Signed on this.....Day of .....2014.

Signature……

ABSTRACT

This research study sought to evaluate the participation process which was put into practice by the Tshwane City Council as part of implementing the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square (SMFS) project in 2012. NMA Effective Social Strategies were appointed by the City to facilitate the public participation process and Ikemeleng Architects to do the design of the square. The square is a public space of heritage significance to the locals and its upgrading bears a remembrance devoted to Solomon Mahlangu and other apartheid struggle heroes from Mamelodi Township. Accordingly, a variety of local organisations were invited to share their stories and memories around this memorial marking. In turn, this would help the designers of the space to collate information which would be handy for the design of the space.

This study then sought to investigate the nature of the public participation process that was used in the SMFS project. It examines the rationale behind the promotion of participation in this project, the methods used. Furthermore, it analyses the participants' interests, their roles and inputs which they contributed into the design brief. Hence, the study contributes to the radical theorist's responses to the mainstreaming of participation that have tended to view participation as dual, i.e. as means to an end (participation to achieve certain development objectives) or an end in itself. Indeed participation holds a promise of mankind emancipation from the oppressive system of power. However, some scholars have observed that participation could be used as a way of co-opting local organisations or civil society and communities into top down development schemes that serve interests of those in power. On the contrary, others have argued that civil society is in place to guard against the exercise of power by the state or those with private interest and thus aiding people's participation at grassroots level.

This report recounts the different perspectives highlighted above in the experience of the SMFS project. It employs data pertinent to the project and in-depth interviews to answer the central question: what was the nature of the public participation process employed in the design of SMFS? The study then seeks to contribute to the understanding of different denotations and procedures of participation. While governments are requires to streamline participation, the study also adds the understanding of civil society's role and the need for is mobilisation in public participation. The researcher argues that participation spaces and methods should be flexible to allow collective action amongst the state, civil society and communities. Furthermore, the paper argues that participants should begin to take a more intricate process of engaging plans and not to merely shape them through partial inputs and fragmentary processes.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
ANCPCO	African National Congress Parliamentary Constituency Office.
CDFs	Community Development Forums
CoT	City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
IAP2	International Association for Public Participation
IAPs	Interested and Affected Parties
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JMC	Joint Management Centre
JOC	Joint Operations Centre
MACFO	Mamelodi Arts and Culture Forum
MCA	Mamelodi Civic Association
MHEFO	Mamelodi Heritage Forum
MK	UMkhonto Wesizwe
MKMVA	UMkhonto Wesizwe Military Veterans Association
MTC	Mamelodi Town Council
MYA	Mamelodi Youth Association
NDP	Neigbourhood Development Programme
NDPG	Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant
NGO	Non-Government Organisations
NHRA	National Heritage Resource Act
NIS	National Intelligence Service

NMA	Nomi Muthialu and Associates (PTY) LTD
NMC	National Monuments Council
NSMS	National Security Management System
NSMS	National Security Management System
PAC	Pan-African Congress
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PPP	Public Participation Process
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADF	South African Defence Force
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resource Agency
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisations
SCA	Soweto Civic Association
SMMEs	Small, Medium and Micro-sized Enterprises
SMFS	Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square
SMP	Solomon Mahlangu Precinct
SRAC	Department of Sports Recreation Arts and Culture
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDF	Urban Design Framework
UN	United Nations

CHAPTER I: MAPPING THE DIRECTIONS

1.1. Introduction

This introductory chapter contextualises the focal point, rationale, direction the assumptions and the motivation of the study. It sketches the background of the case study. Through the lens of literature, the study analyses the public participation process in the experience of the City of Tshwane's Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square (SMFS) Upgrade project. Therefore, the research study was designed around this project which is based in the township of Mamelodi through critically evaluating the participation process put into practice by the City in 2012. Mainly, the study examines the nature of the Public Participation Process (PPP) used by the appointed consultants, Nomi Muthialu and Associates (Pty) Ltd (NMA) assisted by Ikemeleng Architects and the City officials. This is done, at the outset, by exploring the Council's rationale for promoting participation in the project. Secondly, by exploring the methods of participation used in the PPP. Thirdly, the researcher critically analysed the participants' inputs and their interests in the project, as well as their roles and perceptions as civil society organisations. Furthermore, this research study examines the extent to which the participants' inputs were taken into consideration in the final design of SMFS. The next section gives a brief background to SMFS as a research case study.

1.2. Case Study Background

The SMFS project is a public environment upgrade initiative focused particularly on a public square and a park on what is a heritage site located at the historic entrance to Mamelodi Township. Mamelodi is part of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality and it is a former Black township located in the north eastern outskirts of Pretoria (Mamelodi Trust, 2014). The SMFS project is one of the individual Departmental sectoral projects which were implemented in the Solomon Mahlangu Precinct since 2007. This precinct is situated at the western entry point of Mamelodi nearby the Tsamaya Aveue and Andew Maphala Drive interchange. The precinct area encompasses the (i) Denneboom Station with retail and inter-modal public transport facilities integrating pedestrian, taxi, bus and the train modes of transport, (ii) the Mini Munitoria building with Council offices, (iii) the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square (SMFS) with the MK and Solomon Mahlangu monuments, (iv) the Mamelodi Shopping Complex with retail stores, restaurants, outlets and national banks, (v) the Council owned vacant land (vi) as well as the Mamelodi hostels and part of the township's extension AA residential area. Figure 1 below shows an aerial photo of the Solomon Mahlangu Precinct area.

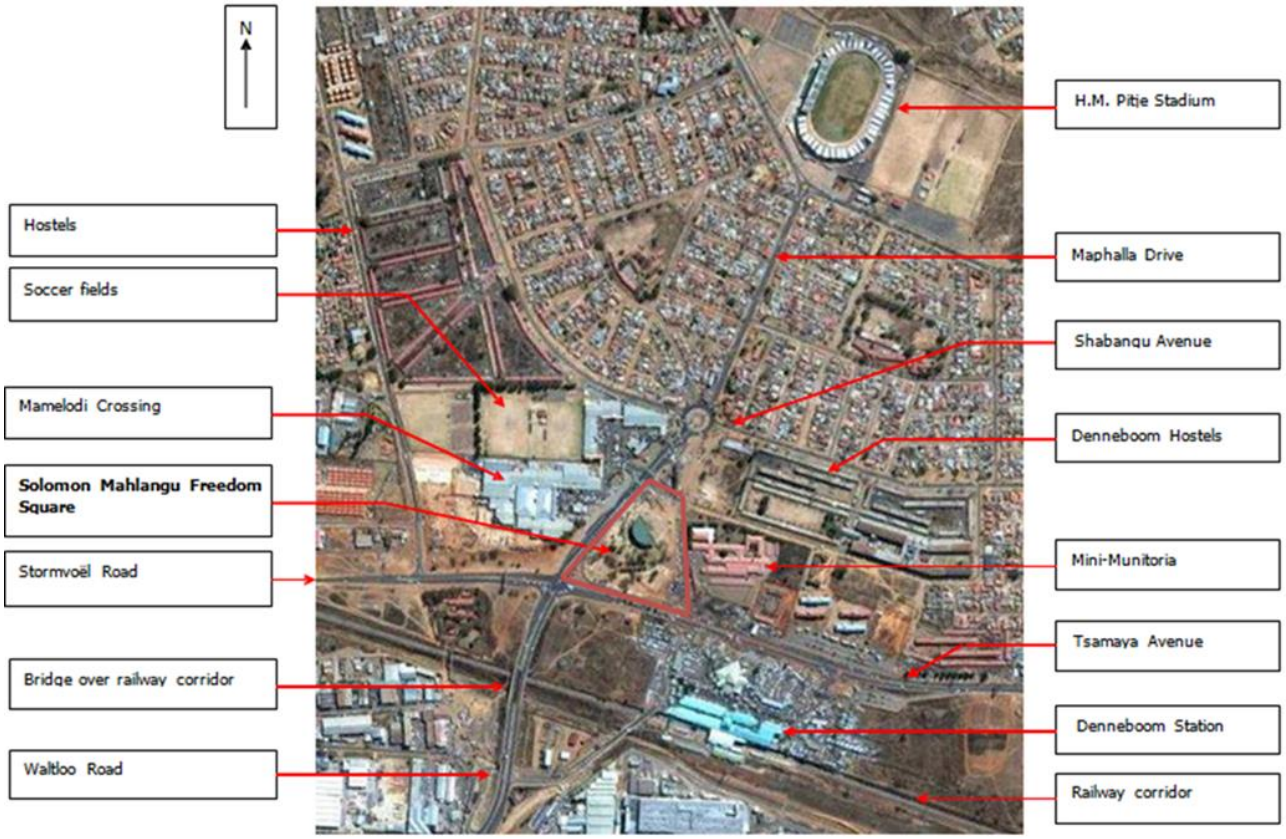


Figure 1|The Solomon Mahlangu Precinct area (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012 p 14.)

Having realised the area's strategic location in as an entrance to Mamelodi and its potential to catalyse economic rejuvenation, the CoT embarked on a plan to upgrade the Solomon Mahlangu Precinct. By 2007, several projects had been proposed both by the Council and private investors. All these projects were to be implemented via the City's Tsosoloso Implementation Strategy. According to the City, "Tsosoloso means Re-Awakening or Giving life to Public Spaces" (CoT, 2009). This Strategy is a Neighbourhood Development Programme (NDP) initiative funded through the Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant (NDPG). The NDP focuses on stimulating investment in targeted areas. In accord with the NDP/NDPG objectives, the Tsosoloso Implementation Strategy serves the purpose of clustering public infrastructure, facilities and providing associated support to strategic locations of economic potential. It targets areas frequented by large numbers of people on a daily basis (CoT, 2009). As such, one of the targeted Tsosoloso/NDPG nodes in Tshwane is the Solomon Mahlangu Precinct located approximately 20 km to the northern east of Pretoria CBD in Mamelodi west. The precinct is certainly one of the important and busiest nodes in greater Tshwane. It serves as a centre for formal private sector, and retail businesses as well as informal trading and commuter transit conveniences (CoT, 2009). It is considerably, a growing tourist attraction area bearing a historical and heritage significance which relates to the apartheid struggle. Particularly, the SMFS is the site of importance presenting itself as a living outdoor museum with the narrative that honours the legacy and the sacrifice of

Solomon Mahlangu alongside others who fought in the struggle for liberation in Mamelodi. Originally launched in 1999, the SMFS becomes an upgrade proposal site within the precinct. Following the launch of the square, it was envisaged that other projects would be implemented in line with upgrading the entire precinct area (Martinson and Bruwer, 2012). It is in the square that the interest of this study lies. Nonetheless, there were other projects which had been proposed in the precinct by 2007. These included the Denneboom Station Public Transport Interchange Development, the upgrade of the informal traders centre, Mamelodi hostels and the redevelopment of the Mamelodi Crossing Shopping Complex. These projects were implemented based on individual Departmental sectoral plans and private initiatives. To guide strategic investment, integration and coordination of all the then proposed projects and to guide the design and development on the different land parcels; the Urban Design Framework (UDF) was developed. The UDF would supposedly provide a basis for projects to be implemented with consideration of the broader context at precinct level as opposed to individual developments. All the projects were evaluated in relation to the UDF as a draft proposal plan which was submitted for approval in 2007. During the approval of the draft UDF, the name of precinct was changed from Denneboom Precinct Solomon Mahlangu Precinct.

1.3. Problem Statement

In spite of the approval UDF, there were a number of uncoordinated projects in the precinct which were running at once. As the CoT was concomitantly implementing individual departmental projects, there were a few other ones implemented by the private sector as well. Most of these projects were planned individually without considering the precinct as they were based on sectoral plans. For instance, the diagram below (figure 2) shows that the precinct was divided into minor precincts numbered 1 to 7 according to different projects which were underway. Number 1: was the design of the Solomon Mahlangu Square, 2: council offices or customer care facility upgrade, 3: Denneboom station upgrade design, 4 or 4.1 and 4.2: Hostel upgrade, 5 vacant council land development, 6: Re-development of Private Property, 7: design of public transport facility and 8: Road Upgrade.

In addition to these projects, there were others either unknown or planned after the completion of the approved UDF as they did not take it into consideration (CoT, 2009). This meant that there was a danger of different land parcels developing on an ad hoc basis with no integration.

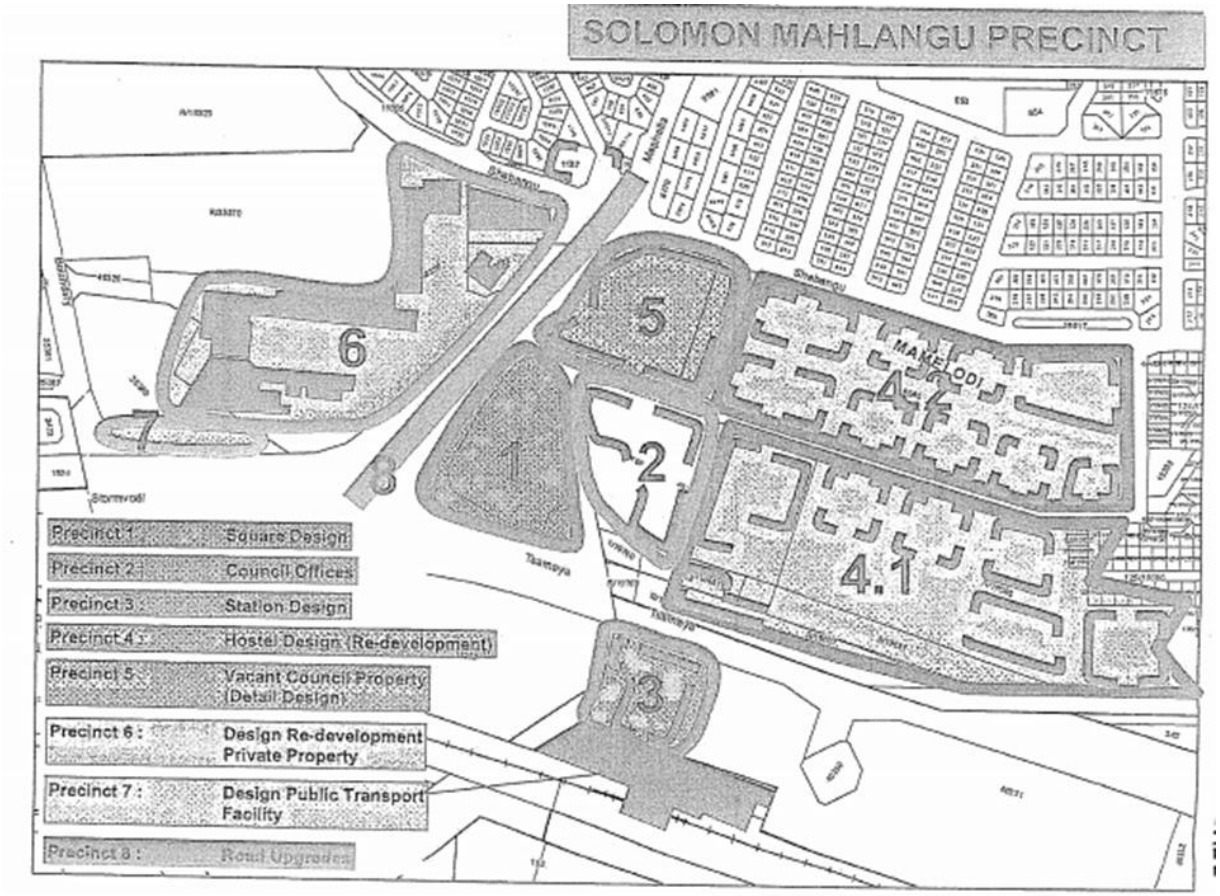


Figure 2| Sectoral Projects in the Solomon Mahlangu Precinct (CoT, 2011)

In addition to these different projects, there were different steering committees from different departments which did not seem to systematise their plans and actions in one accord. According to the CoT (2009), the three steering committees were:

- "The Hostel Upgrading Steering Committee- operating under the Department of Housing and Sustainable Human Settlements.
- The Denneboom Precinct Committee -which commissioned the UDF and it was steered by the public transport division.
- The 2010 Steering Committee- operating under the umbrella of the Municipal Manager". (CoT, 2009)

These committees were located within different departments which had an interest in the Solomon Mahlangu precinct. Although the departments were represented in various committees, their inputs tended to be intermittent and ad hoc. In addition to this lack of coordination, there were still unresolved issues pertaining to land ownership, lease agreements and uncertainties on different land parcels which were yet to be resolved between the CoT and private sector investors. For example, pertaining to the SMFS Upgrade project, there was a lease agreement issue which was yet to be resolved between the Council and MCFO and/ MAHEFO. This overall situation had profound implications to

the development of the precinct and the lack and integration and coordination of all projects and role players posed a potential threat to the development of the entire precinct. The implementation of projects in the precinct could not continue between 2009 and 2011 since there were land ownership, lease agreement, consultation, integration and coordination issues to be addressed (CoT, 2009). The precinct's importance a gateway and its heritage status were emphasised projects planned to upgrade the precinct area. However, lack of integration and proper coordination would reflect negatively on the precinct.

According to the CoT (2009), consultation had been done in 2008 with the involvement of the broader public, all relevant stakeholders and ward councillors. The following stakeholders were involved in that participation process: Mamelodi long and short distance Taxi Associations, Tshwane Regional Taxi Association, TOPICA, Mamelodi Crossing Safari Investments, Informal Trades, the Mamelodi Heritage Forum (MAHEFO), Intersite and community members. Also, the following council departments were present:

- Office of the Regional Executive Director (RED)
- Public works and infrastructure City Planning Development and Regional Services
- Local Economic Development
- Housing and Sustainable Human Settlements
- Sports Recreation Arts and Culture
- Office of the Speaker

The participation process was facilitated by RED office. However, it is the researcher opinion that the situation highlighted in the above paragraph proves that there was lack of proper and sustained communication amongst stakeholders affected by development in the Solomon Mahlangu Precinct.

1.4. Rationale

It would seem that the CoT was able to resolve coordination, land, and leases agreements issues which had hampered progress in the precinct development. Going forward, it was able to properly coordinate the projects with its Development Strategy objectives of maintaining existing strategic locations that are catalytic to the economic development of grater Tshwane. As such, projects had been underway in the precinct by 2012. These include the implementation of the re-development of the Mamelodi Crossing Mall or Shopping Complex Upgrade, the Denneboom Integrated Public Transport Plan, Traders Centre and the SMFS Upgrade Project. However, as alluded earlier, this research study does not focus on precinct as a whole. Rather, it pays attention particularly to the SMFS Upgrade Project for which a Public Participation Process (PPP) was scheduled between June and August 2012. The CoT appointed NMA to facilitate the PPP and Ikemeleng

Architects to do the design for SMFS (NMA, 2012). Interested and Affected Parties (I&APs) were invited to partake in the PPP by giving their inputs to affect the design of the square. I&APs refer any person, group of persons or organisation interested in or affected by an activity. It includes all stakeholders, individuals and on stakeholder database that was created By the CoT and NMA and it includes the community. The consultation process involved 14 local stakeholder organisations and NMA was assisted by the ward councillors in facilitating the PPP.

1.4.1. The Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square Upgrade

The physical implementation of the SMFS project commenced in 2013 following a public participation or consultation phase which had been scheduled in 2012. Towards the preparation of the project's conceptual design brief, the CoT invited an array of local stakeholder organisations and Mamelodi residents to a participation process to give inputs into the project. These organisations are listed in page 12 in this chapter. The study then focuses on the public participation process (PPP) which was scheduled between June and August in 2012. The CoT planned to implement, the SMFS project in two phases. The first phase was exclusively based on a consultative process with all the relevant stakeholders. Following the consultation phase, the physical implemented commenced in 2013. The physical implementation included upgrading of the community park and the heritage site, which together make the site called SMFS (the triangular site). Refer to figure 1 on page 2 and then to figure 15 on page 63 in Chapter III of this report. The heritage site here refers to the site where Mamelodi residents massacred by the apartheid government following a rent boycott.

As regarding the upgrade of the square, attention was paid to design rudiments such as sidewalks, the amphitheatre, ornamental gardens, play and picnic areas, the sacred commemorative area, the remembrance wall and statues as well as, lighting, fencing and entry points. According to the CoT this project would be extended by developing an arts centre and a museum in the 2015 financial year on the Council owned vacant land on the northern edge of the square.

1.4.2. Public Participation: a common practice

Participation has been adopted worldwide across an array of institutions such as local government bodies, civil society and international bodies such as the World Bank the United Nations, and the IMF. Within its widespread adoption, "participation has come to hold a variety of meanings used to invoke and to signify almost anything that involves people" (Cornwall, 2008). According to Cornwall (2008), "so many claims to 'doing participation' are made and the term has become caught up in the chaos of competing referents and it raises questions as to what exactly this 'buzzword' has actually come to mean". It is crucial to

comprehend participation at local level given that it is where meanings and practices of participation are constructed and contested by municipalities, developers and political, civic organisations and by various aspects of communities. This thesis then focuses on participatory processes at local level as observed in the context of SMFS upgrade. It adopts a general presumption that participation acclaims to varied forms and meanings. Likewise, there are many strategies that can be employed in the practice of participation depending on what one is trying to accomplish. These may vary in techniques, creativity and intricacy they may entail information sharing, decision making and initiating action (Kok and Gelderbloem, 1994). Furthermore, there are many justifications to undertaking public participation and these may range from fulfilling the legal requirement of giving the community a voice in decisions that affect them, legitimising decisions and actions, mobilising support to achieving effectiveness and relevance of development initiatives.

Furthermore, participation has been legislated in a number of countries in the global North and South. In South Africa, the constitution enshrines participation and policy oratory has committed to bringing interests of communities, interest groups and civil society into decision making processes. Likewise, a range of forums and mechanisms have been established for the purposes of facilitating participation. Governments are urged to set up apparatus for the promotion of participation. Despite the emphasis on the importance of public participation at national, provincial and local level, there has been limited investigation of the success of such processes on the ground (Harris et al, 2004). Thus there is a need to investigate their nature and to evaluate these processes at local level. While participation has been legislated, the policy does not reflect on the varied and possibly contested meanings of participation. It is therefore the interest of this study to ascertain the rationale behind promoting participation in the SMFS Upgrade Project. Furthermore, the study explores the methods or procedures that were employed to ensure participation in the SMFS project. Elsewhere, it has generally been argued that participation mechanisms that are established to channel citizen input are not accessible by the majority, particularly in societies characterised by inequality (Benit-Gbaffou, 2008). Many participatory institutions designed for citizens are often accessible by civil society leaders as opposed to individual citizens (Houtzager and Lavalle, 2009). In South Africa, “institutions and mechanisms such as ward committees, development forums and IDPs set by government to achieve participation, currently do not work properly in practice” (Benit-Gbaffou, 2008a). Instead the participatory institutions like ward councillors are bypassed by local civics willing to make a difference (Staniland, 2008 and Benit-Gbaffou, 2008a). Moreover, it has been agreed that, generally, community participation remains low South Africa (Benit-Gbaffou, 2008a, Oldfield, 2008).

Some authors argue that the solutions to low levels of citizen participation lie on strengthening governance institutions and the capacity of civil society, as well as the

interface between the two (Gaventa, 2004, Fung and Wright, 2001, Brown 2004) Other scholars have noted the role of civil society as "vehicles for participation and capable of reversing the top-down system of governance" (Cohen and Arato, 1992). Thus, the researcher is interested in the role of civil society organisations in enabling participation and representation of public interests. Thus the study allows one to assess the extent to which civil society's role and impact can be understood in local government decision-making. The interest to this kind of an inquiry is, to a certain extent, stimulated by the multiplicity of stakeholder organisations that participated in the SMFS project. Purposively, the investigation is to whether such an array of stakeholders constitutes a resource for residents' participatory efforts or, on the contrary, it contributes to fragmenting civic society organisations and communities.

1.5. Aim of the Research Study

The research study examines the participation process that was implemented in the SMFS Upgrade Project. Broadly, it critically engages the existing varied and sometimes contested rationales and forms of participation. In particular, it probes to the nature of the participation process as it was practiced in the case of SMFS. From the onset, the researcher sought to establish what exactly the CoT desired to achieve by promoting participation in this project. Secondly, the research explores the main structures and mechanisms which were set up to ensure participation in the project. Thirdly, the study identifies the main participants that were involved in the consultation process. While drawing on the theoretical and practical conceptualisations of civil society organisations, the researcher has classified the array of stakeholders that participated in the SMFS as civil society. It has been noted that there are blurry frontiers between the political and civil society or state organisations and civic organisations and the boundaries sometimes overlap. Thus, this study adopts Anheiner's (2004) denotation of civil society which places central emphasis of common good and Walzer's (1995) view of civil society as sharing a commitment towards a solution of the problems in the public realm. Furthermore, it adopts idea by Salamon and Anheiner (1994) that civil society can be depicted as an overlap between the public, private and citizen sectors as shown in figure 4 (chapter II) page 41. The researcher then classifies the organisations that participated in the SMFS project state civil society organisations. The study thus seeks to explore the roles of these organisations as vehicles of participation, the platforms on which they participated, the interests embodied in them, as well them their constituencies respectively. Furthermore, the researcher sought to establish the extent to which different inputs of the participant were incorporated in the final design of the SMFS. At last, the study explores the perceptions of the key actors about the consultation process which took place in the project. This would allow us to realise how the PPP has improved from the one that took place in 2008 regarding the precinct upgrade.

1.5.1. Research Questions

1.5.1.1. Main research Question:

What is the Nature of Public Participation Process that was implemented in the SMFS project?

1.5.1.2. Research sub-questions:

(a) What was the Council's rationale behind the promotion of public participation in the SMFS Upgrade Project?

(b) What were the methods and procedures used to ensure participation in the SMFS project?

(c) Who were the main participants influencing the decision and what interests did they pursue in the project?

(d) What roles did the state and civil organisations play in the participation process as far as the SMFS Upgrade urban design is concerned?

(e) To what extent did the final design represent the inputs of various participants in the project?

(f) What are the perceptions of the key project participants about the participation process in the project?

1.5. Significance of the Study

South Africa has made the participation of communities and civil society in governance part of its project for post-apartheid transformation and development. Despite the rights based approach to participation, policy says nothing about the varied practices and justifications of participation. In literature there is little consensus in terms of what the purpose and meaning of participation is. Thus, the study contributes to the understanding of multiple meanings and forms of participation how its practice can be used as means to achieve predetermined objectives or as an end itself. This adds to the knowledge base as regards the practice of participation and its possible rationales in different milieus.

Furthermore, the research findings generated have the potential to navigate progressive arguments not only about the extent to which development initiatives need to streamline participation but also to mobilise civil society. Civil society organisations have contributed a great deal in Africa and elsewhere, thus becoming perceived as pillars through which the process of democratisation was achieved. Embarking on this study is important because it

engages on the role of civil society in participation. Since the study is probing to the relationship between the state and civil society, it has potential to deepen the real understanding of the interaction, at the local level, between civic movements and the political system. In addition, based on the findings of the study, the researcher will make recommendations on how the consultation approach adopted in the SMFS upgrade could be enhanced in order to maximise the success of intervention methods. The next section covers the research methods employed in the study. It highlights procedures which the researcher adopted in executing the study and in consolidating on the findings. Particular reference is made to methods of data collection and how the data was analysed as well as the limitations and delimitations of the study.

1.6. Research Design and Methodology

The research design employed in this dissertation is an empirical inquiry based on a case study and developed within a qualitative paradigm. This paradigm is about exploring issues, understanding phenomena, and answering questions by analysing and making sense of unstructured data. It is not about testing a hypothesis. Here the case study is applied as the main form of inquiry with a research strategy that is descriptive. The research is a qualitative study attempting to have a greater understanding of the nature of the phenomenon in question (Public participation) from the perspective of the actors within government, the civil society organisations and the local community.

1.6.1. Case Study

According to Bromley (1990), a case study is a “systematic inquiry into an event or a set of related events which aims to describe and explain the phenomenon of interest” (p. 302). Creswell (2003) asserts that, “a case study is an exploration or in-depth analysis of a “bounded system” (bounded by place and time) or a single or multiple cases over a period of time”. The key features of a case study are its scientific credentials and its evidence base for professional applications. A case study based research allows the data collected to be richer more in depth than can be found in other experimental designs. Scientific experiments can be conducted, thus it presents a good opportunity for innovation and to challenge theoretical assumptions. It hard to generalise and to make assumptions, conclusions and draw a cause or effect, particularly from a single case study.

1.6.2. Qualitative research

Qualitative research uses data collection and analytical methods that are non-statistical in nature and this complements the study since it takes a descriptive approach. Fouche and Del Vos (2002, p. 79) define a qualitative research design as “a research paradigm that seeks to elicit participants accounts of meaning, experiences or perceptions”. This kind of research generates descriptive data drawn from participants spoken or written words. Leedy

and Ormond (2001) denote qualitative research studies as serving the purpose of description in that, they can reveal the nature of certain situations, settings, processes, relationships, systems or people, interpretation and they enable the researcher to gain insights about the nature of a particular phenomenon, to develop new concepts about the phenomenon and discover problems that exist within the phenomenon. The strength of qualitative research is in its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. Through qualitative research, the researcher will be able to test the validity of certain assumptions, claims, theories or generalisations about public participation within the context of South Africa.

As Yin (1994) has observed, descriptive studies require a number of techniques to be used in conjunction with one another to collect data. The data to be used in this study is classified under the primary and secondary formats. The secondary data will be sourced through qualitative literature review from journals, research documents, policy documents, strategies and plans. This is a form of documentary analysis which will allow the researcher reproduce information for the purpose of this study. Neuman (2006) refers to documentary analysis as a means to reassemble the information in new ways to address the research questions. Furthermore, the study will use web-based materials and search engines, newspaper articles and magazines usually derived from the primary data.

Even more fundamental to this study, is the data which was kept by NMA Effective Social Strategists, who facilitated the PPP for the project. The researcher sought permission from the CoT to access the SMFS Upgrade Project files from NMA. The City gave permission via a letter which was then sent to NMA (see ANNEXTURE E). The data was treated with confidentiality and used solely for academic purposes. This is secondary data which was kept by project facilitators (NMA) on record through the utilisation of techniques such as field notes, after action reports, as well as minutes of meetings. The researcher has worked temporarily on this project as a minute transcriber and project administrator intern at MNA. Although not fully involved in the SMFS project, researcher attended a few meetings and developed an interest in the project through witnessing certain aspects of the discussions.

1.6.3. Interviews

With regards to primary data, the researcher utilised information from face-to-face interviews. Neuman (2006) argues that an interview is a short, secondary social interaction between two strangers with an overt purpose of one person obtaining specific information from the other. This research study was pursued such that it incorporated views of the ‘key actors and participants of the SMFS PPP. Interviews were conducted with the representatives from the CoT’s Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture and NMA Social Effective Strategists who were the main actors or institutions that facilitated the PPP.

For questionnaires concerning these interviews, please refer to ANNEXURES B and C respectively.

Furthermore, interviews were done with some of the Mamelodi stakeholder organisations which participated in the PPP. Below is a list of 16 stakeholder organisations which participated in the SMFS PPP.

- African National Congress Parliamentary Constituency Office Representatives
- African National Congress Youth League
- African National Congress Women's League
- Danneboom Traders
- Mamelodi Arts Forum
- Mamelodi Arts and Culture Forum
- Mamelodi Heritage Forum
- Mamelodi Crossing
- Mamelodi Business Forum
- Mamelodi Massacre Committee
- Mothong Foundation
- Rastafari Unity Foundation
- South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO)
- South African Communist Party (SACP)
- uMkhonto We Sizwe Military Veterans Association (MKMVA)
- KwaNdzuzaTraditional Authority

Out of the stakeholder organisations which participated, the researcher managed to conduct face-to-face interviews with representatives from six organisations. These were Mamelodi Arts and Culture Forum (MACFO), Mamelodi Heritage Forum (MAHEFO), South African National Civil Society Organisations (SANCO), Denneboom Traders, the South African Communist Party (SACP), and Mamelodi Massacre Committee. See ANNEXTURE D for questionnaire, pertinent to these interviews. It is true that the researcher had a tough time getting hold of most of the respondents. It was after many attempts call these respondents that the researcher managed to get hold of them. After accessing a list of stakeholders, with contact details, from the CoT the researcher made phone calls to contact the representatives from different organisations. Most of the time their phones were on voicemail and it was after many attempts that the researches managed to get hold of some of these leaders. The researcher did not favour of any organisation but the interviews were set based on the availability of representatives. A set of pre-determined open ended open–ended

questionnaires guided the interviews. The duration of every interview was approximately 45 minutes. In addition, the researcher had an encounter with eleven Mamelodi residents were interviewed and five of them had no knowledge of the project and in turn sought knowledge from the researcher. The other six residents were aware and they gave their perspectives. The interviews with these community members were completely informal and had no structured questions they were rather in a form of informational conversation.

1.6.4. Study Limitations

One limitation to this study pertains to the fact that when this research was pursued, the consultation phase of the SMFS project had been completed. This implied that the research would be limited to literature review, data analysis and interviews. Therefore the researcher would not primarily seek information from personal observations and participation in the PPP. Also, the researcher would need plans of the square to answer the question: to what extent did the design of the square take into consideration the various inputs which were made by participants. In this case, it would be key to compare and contrast plans which were made prior to the PPP and those that were made following the participation process to actually see the extent to which inputs from the consultation process influenced the design. This would assist the researcher to identify some of the alterations and additions which were done following the PPP. The according to the CoT, there were no plans done prior to the PPP and the only design plan available was the one in figure 19 in page 67 (Chapter III). There was another limitation due to time constraints and transport costs. As such, the researcher was unable interview all stakeholders that participated in the PPP. The stakeholders interviewed might have missed some key issues. Lastly another limitation worth noting speaks to the fact that when this study was conducted, the implementation of SMFS project was still underway. This means that there were other elements of the design which were yet to be constructed on site for example, the museum and the wall of remembrance. As a result, the researcher would not be able to asses if these elements would have been constructed according to inputs which were made by participants in the PPP or not. Thus, until the construction is full complete, one would have to rely solely on the fact that the CoT did promise that the Museum and the commemoration wall would be built in the 2015 financial year. Without plans of the proposed design on the square, one cannot be sure about whether some of the elements have been planned according to what the participants had suggested in the PPP.

1.6.5. Ethical Considerations

It is the researcher's duty to follow the appropriate style of referencing employed by the university, thereby avoiding plagiarism. It is equally the responsibility of the researcher to be accurate and thorough in the data analysis thereby avoiding fabricating or falsifying the information. The same also applies to collection of the data through interviews.

Before going ahead with the face-to-face interviews, the researcher asked for advice from the CoT regarding the best way in which interviews could be conducted without interfering with the city's implementation process. The aim was to avoid the risks of being accused for probing detrimental questions in the interviews, which would have profound implications to the project. However, The CoT endorsed the interviews to be done at the researcher's discretion. It was well communicated that the interviews were not going to change anything as these were only to serve the researcher conduct a study solely for academic purposes. The concert form was produced to all the respondents to all respondents (see ANNEXTURE A).

The researcher was also aware of the possibility that this research study could have been instrumentalised by some stakeholder groups to derail or contest the project for whatsoever political agendas they might have had. These would have been perhaps the individuals, if any, who were not satisfied in the participation process. As such, the researcher was extra careful as regards the information which was communicated during the interviews. The researcher avoided communicating misleading information and the interviews were semi-structured as way to minimise chances of the conversation taking a direction not desired for the purpose of this study. The researcher made full effort of chairing the interview as opposed to being used as a "ball in the game" where one feels powerless and dispossessed of one's ability to talk (Benit-Gbaffou, 2010). Nonetheless, the principles of respect, honesty and transparency were still applied in conducting the interviews. Furthermore, confidentiality and anonymity was applied where required. For instance the researcher asked the all the respondent if they would prefer to be identified by names in the research report or they would rather be anonymous. Most respondents said that, it should be up to the researcher to decide. A few of them requested anonymity.

1.7. Chapter outline

This chapter served to introduce the intent of this study, its context, background, rationale and purpose as well as the apparatus of the research design and procedures the researcher applied towards consolidation of the findings. The rest of the report is structured in the following manner:

Chapter II draws attention to and gives a theoretical background to the concept of public participation its origins and historical evolution towards a mainstream practice. To give a better understanding of the concept, the report looks at different levels and spaces of participation, the benefits and jeopardies associated with its practice, and different rationales for doing participation as well as its relations to power.

Chapter III focuses on the selected study area for this research. A brief history of the area is highlighted. The researcher also highlights the key events that relate to the struggle against

apartheid, including the riots, and the militarisation of urban management. Also, the chapter outlines the enactment of the commemorative markings as seen in the form of the Solomon Mahlangu and UMKhonto WeSizwe (MK) memorials. Furthermore, it provides the background of the Solomon Mahlangu precinct which the broader area where the SMFS is located. It highlights the controversial issues that had hampered development in the precinct. Finally, the chapter reviewed the SMFS upgrade project which is central to this study.

Chapter IV presents and abridgment of the research findings gathered from documental and data analysis as well as interviews conducted. It attempts to answer the research questions raised in this study and outlines broader implications relating to the findings. Although there were limitations as regards this phase of the study, noteworthy material has been used to support the findings.

The last chapter concludes by giving a brief overview summarising some fundamental points relevant to the study and accentuating on the lessons learnt making some recommendations.

CHAPTER II: PUBLIC PARTICIPATION: A MULTIFACETED MAINSTREAM DEVELOPMENT CONCEPT

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on public participation. It highlights origins of participation as a concept and how it evolved to be adopted into mainstream development. The chapter proceeds by discussing the many-sided outlook of participation, the different strategies, purposes, advantages as well as its shortcomings. Furthermore, the concept is reviewed in its international as well as the South African experiences. The following section ponders on some of the key definitions of the concept of participation as it relates to this study. In addition, the section then delves into the origins and evolution of the participation paradigm in relation to the planning practice.

2.2. Participation: A Concept Defined

There are many ways in which participation can be defined. Theron (2005 p 113) denotes participation an 'illusive concept' which acts as an umbrella term for the contemporary style of development planning intervention. He suggests that the definition of public participation should relate to the experience and exposure of that part of the process or intervention, thus no definition should be precise. However, most definitions move towards the inference that public participation is a democratic process which involves different actors, such as stakeholders, beneficiaries, the local communities and it concerns empowerment of these actors, including the poor and the deprived or marginalised.

At the most straightforward level, public participation means "to involve those who are affected by a decision in the decision-making process" (International Association for Public Participation, 2014). The term participation and involvement have been used interchangeably (Klausen and Sweeting, 2004). According to Cornwall (2008), participation has been used to refer to almost anything that involves the people and this is because it can be approached and defined in many varied ways. According to Rahman (1993 p 150) what gives participation a real meaning is the collective effort in an organised framework by people concerned who pull their efforts and whatever resources they have to attain objectives they set for themselves. People organise themselves into civil society's Community Based Organisations (CBO's) and Community Based organisations (NGO's) and engage with government and other development stakeholders. Also, government institutions are required to develop a culture of participation involving communities and grassroots organisations in the decision making-process. It in this context that some authors denote participation as "the engagement and decision-making process that occurs between civil

society stakeholders and various democratic structures and institutions of the state, particularly at the local level" (Brodie, Cowling and Nissan, 2009). As perceived by the World Bank (1994), it is "a process through which stakeholders' influence and share control over development initiatives and the decision as well as resources which affect them".

More radically, participation can be seen as an active process in which participants take initiatives, actions and decisions that are stimulated by their own thinking and deliberations over which they can effectively exercise control. It entails involving community members in the agenda setting, decision making and policy formulation activities of organisations or institutions responsible for policy development (Rowe and Frewer, 2005 p 253). It is a process by which people influence the policy program resource allocation. As such, they get to be involved at different levels and degrees of intensity in the needs identification, planning, design, timing, and evaluation as well as implementation stages of the projects (Imparato and Ruster, 2003 p 20). Saxena (1998) highlights the idea of voluntary action where people exercise their choice to participate for the sake of their own betterment and capacity development as they influence or control decisions that affect them.

According to Smith (1994), public participation refers to a group of methods and procedures designed to consult, empower, involve and inform people and special interest groups to influence decisions at hand. Indeed, there are many different methods and procedures or strategies that can be employed in order to achieve participation. They may be based on participation by consultation, information sharing, initiating action, decision making or participating for material incentives. As a result, the practice of participation may take varied forms depending on what those who use it are trying to achieve. According to Brynard (in Bekker, 1996 p 41), "participation refers to an activity that is undertaken by the individuals who were previously excluded from the decision-making process together with the previous protagonists in that process" in order to influence the decision-making process. The later definition would particularly find relevance in the South African context where majority of people were excluded from participating in matters of governance before 1994.

Public participation has become a key component of urban governance. It is strongly encouraged by global institutions, activists, practitioners, progressive thinkers and contemporary approaches to urban governance. Indeed government and other development institutions appear to be responding to the call for greater public involvement in making decisions that matter. Still, what participation means to different actors can vary enormously. Often participation is justified in terms of giving people an opportunity to have a stake in the decisions that affect them. What remains a question is to what extent can the grassroots and citizens influence government decisions. According to Cornwall (2008), "a more fundamental question needs to pay closer attention to who is participating, in what and for whose

benefit?" The degree of participation depends on what those who utilise public participation are trying to achieve. The different rationales for participation will be explored later. The next sections provide an account for the origins of participation, its evolution towards a mainstream development practice and well as the typologies and strategies ascribed to its meaning and practice.

2.3. Origins of Participation

Public participation as an organised movement first occurred in the US during the1950s and it was introduced during the 1960s in the UK (Cole, 1973 p 11 and Arnstein, 1969). It became a relevant planning concept in both the countries as a result of urban renewal processes which had negative effects to residents in cities. For example, demolitions of low-cost housing, dislocating the individuals, as well as disturbing family and neighbourhoods affiliations. It mostly affected the poor residents and it would seem that their voice was not represented (Arnstein, 1969). This concern led to a supposition that, though direct involvement of local residents in renewal process, there could be an opportunity for positive social change. The idea received support of civil rights groups, the academic and intellectual community.

Following such a movement, participation became legislated in the US through the Economic Development Opportunity Act of 1964 which required a maximum degree of neighbourhood participation in the regeneration programme execution. In Britain, the first legislation calling for public participation occurred in a form of The Town and Country Planning Act of 1968 (Cole, 1973 p 11). After reaching Britain, the concept spread to other democratic countries in the western world, where it formed an integral part of the planning process, usually built into acts as legal requirements (Stoker 2002 p 37).

2.4. Evolution of Urban Panning Towards Participation

Into the 1960's and 1970s, urban planning was a field dominated by technocratic experts (Fischer and Forester, 1993). It was during this period that urban models more strappingly received criticisms for being elitist and not serving the people on the ground. International organisations expected to make a difference in people's lives attributed failure of projects to the top-down approaches and lack of participation (Sachs, 1992 p 117). Practitioners as well as social movements began to advocate for people to have a voice in development initiatives by which they were affected. Planning scholars proposed post-technocratic models such as advocacy planning where planners would assist citizens with "expert advice" in planning matters and "represent them before official bodies" (Davidoff, 1965). As such, practitioners explored, more closely, the factors necessary to create and maintain sustainable democratic regimes. The development approach needed to pay more attention to "basic needs" (Cornwall 2000 p 17). Overwhelmingly, consensus was reached on the importance of public

participation and learning social dynamics of the environments being planned. As a result, it was found that “whenever people were locally involved and actively participating in projects, much more was achieved with much less, even in sheer financial terms” (Sachs 1992 p 117). Thus, the perceived need for people’s involvement in decision making in development was increasing. As Cornwall (2000) noted, policy affirmations emerged in the 1970s encouraging a shift away from top-down, technocratic economist interventions towards greater involvement of people in development processes (p 17). For instance, by 1975, the United Nations Economic Social Council advised that:

> governments should: adopt popular participation as a basic policy measure in national development strategy…encourage the widest possible active participation of all individuals and national non-governmental organizations, such as trade unions, youth and women’s organizations, in the development process in setting goals, formulating policies and implementing plans” (cited in Cohen and Uphoff, 1980 p 213).

In addition, the US Congeress’s1973 the Foreign Assistance Act emphasised that “intended beneficiaries needed to play a critical role in development planning, implementation and benefits” (Cohen and Uphoff, 1980 p 213).

Some of the proponents of this period often drew upon the works of Paulo Feire, who in his book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970): articulated the development process not as ‘gift’ received from outside, “but as a process of transformation gained thorough critical reflection and action by the people themselves”. This approach was shared not only by development activists, national leaders, but also a generation of academics who were influential during the 1970’s. As Cleaver (2001) wrote, empowerment or radical approaches to participation are often cited as having their roots in Freirean philosophy”. His work is also said to have influenced methodologies such as the Participatory Action Research (PRA) where scholars such as Robert Chambers also contributed. Furthermore, it was during this era that Sherry Arnstein introduced the *Ladder of Citizen Participation* (1969) which is still widely referred to in planning academia. She attempted to unpack some of the varied meanings and practices which participation encompasses.

2.5. Arnstein’s Ladder of participation

Arnstein (1969) observed that ideal types along which forms of participation may be ranged in terms of ‘good or bad’ giving the multifaceted outlook of participation. Refer the figure 3: The Ladder of Participation below.

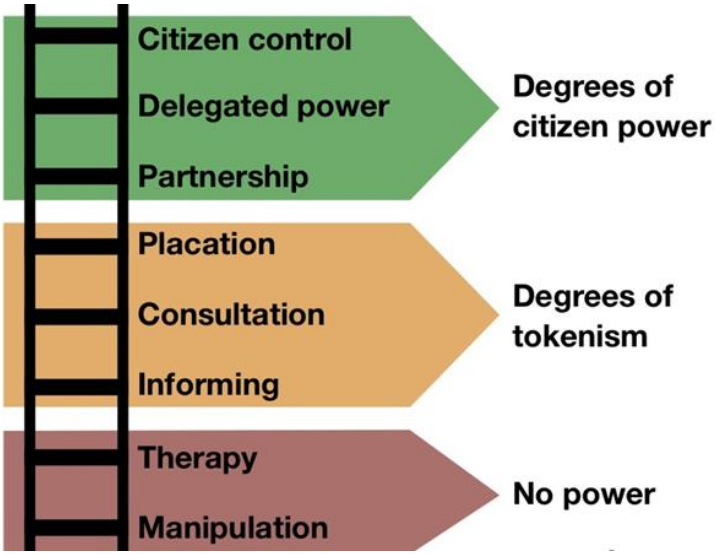


Figure 3| Ladder of Participation: Adopted from Arnstein (George Julian, 2014)

For illustrative purposes, eight levels of participation are arranged in a ladder outline, the degree of participation i.e. non-participation, tokenism and citizen power. Each rung of the ladder matches the degree of citizen power in determining the end product or the final decision. The bottom rungs relate to the weakest forms of participation which fell into the category of non-participation The first rung from the bottom is referred to as manipulation whereby people are purposefully placed for mobilising or "engineering their support instead of genuine participation" (Arnstein, 1969). According to Arnstein (1969), the second rung is called therapy. Here the objective is to cure participants rather than to enable them to participate meaningfully.

The next three rungs of the ladder, informing, consulting and placation fall into the category named degrees of tokenism. The first rung of this category is informing, where citizens are informed of their rights, responsibilities, and options. However, there are "no provided channels for feedback and people have little opportunity to influence the program designed for their benefit" and it often one way communication (Arnstein, 1969). The next rung is consulting, allowing the citizens to be consulted. However, because they lack the power to insure that their views are heeded by those in power, there is no assurance that the state of affairs will indeed change. Here the most common methods for consulting people are surveys, neighbourhood meetings and public hearings. According Arnstein (1969), when people's participation is restricted to this level, it remains just "a window dressing ritual". The fifth rung of the ladder is called placation and it is in this level that citizens begin to have some influence though tokenism is apparent still. Arnstein (1969) notes that the Model City Advisory and planning committees as well as the Community Action Agencies were examples of a placation strategy employed in the US during the late 1960s. People were placated strategically according to their ability to offer technical assistance to the officials.

Here citizens were allowed to participate in planning and by giving advice to the officials but decision making authority would still be vested in officials (Arnstein, 1969 p 219).

The top three rungs of the ladder are labelled as citizen power and first rung here is partnership. In accordance with the notion of partnership, power is redistributed through negotiations between citizens and power holders who agree to share the planning and decision-making tasks via such structures as joint policy boards and planning committees. It was citizens who were not happy with the previous forms of supposed participation that triggered the negotiations rather than city initiatives (Arnstein, 1969). The next rung of participation is referred to by Arnstein (1969) as delegated power. She endorses this rung and argues that with delegated power, it is possible for citizens to achieve dominant decision making authority over a particular plan or programme. Here it is the citizens who have the power to make decisions regarding their future, and if urban planners wanted to influence plans, they would have to negotiate with the citizens. One way of ensuring citizen power would be to give people power to vote and veto any plans that they are not in favour of. In coming into the eighth and final rung of community participation, residents are accorded a degree of power or control such that they can govern a program or an institution and also being in full charge of policy and managerial aspects (Arnstein, 1969 p 223).

Arnstein's ladder reminds us that participation is about power and control. The ladder of participation is helpful in differentiating the kinds and degrees of participation. While Arnstein (1969) has looked at participation from the standpoint of those at the receiving end, Jules Pretty (1995) paid attention to the user of participation.

2.6. Pretty's Typology of Participation

Almost similar to the ladder of participation, Pretty's (1995) typology of participation is equally normative going from "bad to better" types of participation. Highlighted below are types of participation according to Pretty (1995):

(a) Manipulative participation: this is where participation is simply a 'pretence' and it includes token representativeness whereby people are represented by people who are not elected and have no power or whatsoever in decision making.

(b) Passive participation: passive strategies very often involve a one-way flow of information from the planners to the public (Kumar, 2002 p 25). People "participate" by being told what is going to happen or has already happened. Here participation relates to a unilateral top-down approach by the authorities make announcements without real listening to people's responses. The information being shared belongs to professionals and it is not about local knowledge which is possessed by the locals (Pretty, 1995).

(c) Participation by consultation: this typology level does not constitute community participation because the implementing agency merely requires the community to judge a finished or almost finished product. People participate by answering questions posed in questionnaires through interviews. Professionals define information gathering processes as well as problems and solutions and may modify these in the light of the people's responses. The locals do not have the opportunity to influence proceedings as the findings of the research are neither shared nor evaluated for accuracy (Pretty,1995).

(d) Participation for material incentives: people participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for material rewards. This helps to reduce overall costs, and participants in return receive a resource (Nampila, 2005 p 39). An example of this form is when labour and subcontractors are procured locally and during construction and are rewarded cash for their participation. However, people have no stake in prolonging the activities when the incentives end.

(e) Functional participation: here people participate in to meet predetermined objectives related to the project, which may involve the development or promotion of externally initiated social organisations. Such involvement tends not to occur at the early stages of project cycles or planning, but rather after major decisions have been made. Implementing agencies or governments tend to be dependent on external initiators and facilitators in conducting functional participation processes (Pretty, 1995).

(f) Interactive participation: according to Pretty (1995), in this type of participation, people participate in the development of action plans and capacity building. Participation is seen as right, not just the means to achieve project goals. The process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives. People take control and determine how to use the available resources. As such, they have a stake in maintaining structures and practices related to project implementation.

(g) Self-mobilisation: here people participate by taking initiatives independent of external institutions to change systems. This bottom-up approach allows people to develop contacts with external institutions for resources and the technical advice they need, but they themselves retain control over how resources are used. Such self-

initiated, bottom-up and self-reliant mobilisation and collective actions may or may not challenge an existing inequitable distribution of wealth and power.

Pretty's typology helps make clear that the motives of those who adopt and practice participation constitute an important factor towards shaping the interventions. Both Arnstein's ladder and Petty's typology describe a spectrum defined by a shift from authorities' to control by citizen (Cornwall, 2008). The next section proceeds with an account of the evolution of participation towards a mainstream practice in development.

2.7. Mainstreaming of Participation

In the 1980s, participation was increasingly becoming adopted throughout the world (Cohen and Upoff, 1980 p 213, Gaventa, 2004). This period saw also a rapid growth of civil society's NGOs as development actors that played a role in the prevalent practice of participation. Many NGO's adopted participation for self-reliance reasons when structural adjustment dealings forced governments to cut back its services, particularly in the US and the UK (Cornwall, 2000 p 25). In this context, public participation came to be perceived and practiced as means of inspiring self-help initiatives by communities e.g. contribution of material inputs and unpaid volunteer workers.

Late in this decade, participation was echoed in what became trademarked as 'People Centred Development'. The manifesto for this approach was the Manilla Declaration on People's Participation and Sustainable Development, formulated by NGO leaders in 1989 (Korten, 1990).This declaration sought to compel governments to enabling people to participate as 'change agents' capable of pursuing their own agenda, managing their own resources and holding government accountable. Furthermore, it was made clear that those who help people with their development ought to be cognisant of the fact that they are participating in patronage for the people's agenda, not contrary (Theron, 2005).

The 1990s saw the institutionalisation of participation and it was encouraged in almost every development initiative (Cornwall, 2000 p 1, Gaventa, 2004). Terms such as "stakeholder began to be used to give a neutral essence to affected groups or beneficiaries, primarily to denote representatives of government, civil society, private sector, government donors and local communities" (Gaventa, 2004). Within mainstreaming of participation, it became broadly accepted that local communities should no longer be perceived as passive recipients of development aid from above, but are custodians of their own development and therefore should have a stake in the decision (Woost, 2002 p 107). Moreover, emphasis was on participation as a "citizens' right, rather than as an opportunity given to beneficiaries", including those marginalised in development processes (Gaventa, 2004). This idea was

influenced by the rise in human rights and good governance agendas both in the North and South.

With the mainstreaming of public participation, governments, donor agencies, international organisations and civil society became strongly open to participatory development (World Bank, 1994). For instance, institutions such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Bank began to launch participatory initiatives in various sectors of their establishments and in many regions of the world, including Africa, Asia and South America. In the context of Africa, the African Charter was launched in order to recommend actions to be taken by Governments, the UN as well as the public and private donor agencies in building an enabling environment for authentic participation of people. Also, the 1990s saw establishment of such bodies as the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) in response to the rising global interest in participation.

2.7.1. The African Charter on Participation

The African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation was adopted in February 1990 via acclamation by the participants in the International Conference on Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa held in Tanzania" (African Charter, 1999 p 1). The charter was initiated by Africa's civil society organisations alongside governments with the aim to recognise the role of people's participation in the recovery and development efforts of Africa. It called for the emergence of a new era in which democracy, accountability, economic justice and development for transformation and people's empowerment would be internalised in every country. According to the Charter (1999 p 21), these could not be realised without contribution, creativity and enthusiasm by people playing central role. Thus, as far as participation is concerned, governments would have to yield space to for people's participatory efforts. It advised that it was imperative for people to establish autonomous grass-roots organisations to promote participatory and self-reliant development as well as literacy and skills training. As such, the charter urged the international community (i.e. United Nations, World Bank and other bodies) to support indigenous efforts which facilitate people's effective participation (African Charter 1999, p 22).

2.7.2. The International Association for Public Participation (IAP2)

According to IAP2 (2007), citizens should have a voice in decisions informing actions which affect their lives and this ought to be accompanied by the assurance that their contribution would affect the decision. The association further advised that the participation process should afford all the information needed by the participants so that they participate meaningfully. Participants as 'change agents' should have a say in determining how they participate and the participation process should communicate to the participants how their

inputs affect the decision made (IPA2, 2007). The IAP2 has developed these urgings as core values which should not only form part of the theory, but should also be implemented in the practice of participation. The spectrum provided by the IPA2 might help practitioners and participants to begin to comprehend the meaning of participation.

As participation was becoming more of a customary practice worldwide, planners incessantly endeavoured to foster participatory processes to expand democratic rights, support citizens' voices, and redirect resources to the most needy. Since the 1990s an approach often termed "communicative planning" began to constitute a central theoretical position to the point of becoming a dominant paradigm (Healey 1997 and Innes, 1995).

2.8. Communicative planning

As planners in the western democracies became acquainted with criticisms coming from local citizens, social movements, academics and development agencies who had qualms against the governmental system and its officials (Hillier, 1998), new participation models were created as a response, particularly to allow engagement over issues. These differ from the rights based approach in that they encourage dialogue and are inclusive of stakeholders. One such approach is "communicative planning" (Fischer and Forester, 1993, Healey, 1993, 1998, Innes, 1995, 1996). "In this approach, planning decisions are not made on grounds of expert-led technocratic reasoning". They are rather made on the basis of "vigorous exchange of ideas and knowledge amongst interested parties". This places the centrality of the role of planners as being "communicators rather than autonomous systematic thinkers" (Campbell and Fainstein, 1996 p 11) and "mediators, deploying interpersonal skills in negotiating and social learning" (Healey, 1997).

The communicative planning presents sharing of ideas, debating and negotiating towards a common goal. Healey (1997) condones this as good action because there is a probability for people to agree on decisions despite their diverse needs, benefits and values. Even though communicative planning is aimed at collaborative consensus buildings, it is however not the case always that consensus is guaranteed because "conflicting rationalities exist" (Watson, 2003) in terms of what should happen in cities. This leaves practitioners and planners having a role to play as intermediaries mediating varied interests diverse interests, expectations and power relations that potentially dominate and oppress the disadvantaged groups. Booher and Innes (2003) argue that some stakeholders have fewer resources such as money, knowledge formal authority and or access to the state and they may have less influence in discussions than others. It is in this context that theory of communicative planning is said to have failed to capture the role of power in the in panning (Flyfberg, 2002). Equally, power may be exercised by those who lead the participatory processes.

2.9. Role of power in decision making

Manuel Castells (2009 p 49) conceptualised power as “an influence with a relational capacity that enables a social actor to influence asymmetrically the decisions of other social actors in ways that favour the empowered actors’ will, values and interests”. It is “one’s ability to produce intended effects on others” (Russell, 1938 p 24 and Wrong 1995, 2). Power in its diverse forms distorts proper deliberation about what is at stake and which way to go. The exertion of power in processes of discussion results dominance of certain world views above others, to the exclusion of participants, to strategically obscuring issues, or to manipulation of opinions” (McGuirk, 2001 p 197). According to Forester, power is a tool held by the powerful and those in power are likely to systematically lie, to withhold data, to further their own interests, and to exclude others, even as they claim the noblest ideas (1999 p 183).

Power is in every relationship, including the one between citizens and authorities. Even planners have the power to organise and focus attention on particular issues and shift focus away from others. “Power corrupts and lack of power frustrates” (Forster, 1989 p 27). “It procures the knowledge which supports its purposes and it ignores or suppresses the knowledge which does not serve it” (Flyvberg, 1998 p 226). As Forester (1989, 24) has argued, decision making has implications to the way power is exercised to others. Authorities or planners have an ability to inform or misinform citizens effectively by virtue of their ability to dominate in the decision making. Planners therefore need to comprehend how power relations shape the planning processes in order to improve their analyses and to empower citizens.

Forester (1989) conceptualises “agenda setting” as another form of power exercise in a given context. As he explains, “a more subtle and less explicit exercise of power occurs in the setting of agendas, which is the influence in terms of how citizens find out what and when, about which projects, which options, and also about what they might be able to do as a result” (Forester, 1989 p 31). The power which is exerted in the setting of agenda has an ability to shape the actions and behaviour of the participants in the planning process. As such, agenda setting has the power to influence perceptions of participants to suite the interests of those in power. Usually, government officials shape or set out the agenda, not the locals. Participation processes need to allow local residents an opportunity to shape the agenda of the projects or policies which are being executed. Participants need to be informed in terms of the possible alternatives and solutions through which local problems could be addressed.

Furthermore, Forester (1989) raised concerns as regards how power shapes the perceived needs. In governmental settings, needs shaping can be seen as a political ideology which both politicians and citizens are contesting for shaping. As a consequence, the needs of

societies are often shaped by political interests of individuals. This view reminds us of Flyvberg's (2002) findings from the project he explored in Aalborg where he reached a conclusion that "the needs of the society were shaped by politics and driven by those who amass huge amounts of resources to strengthen their powers i.e. politicians, administrators and private sector (Flyvberg, 2002). This certainly suggests that citizens are sometimes excluded and marginalised from shaping their own needs. Planners, for instance, use their own knowledge in doing research and seeking to identify the potential needs which are deemed relevant and important for society. Sometimes this is done without the involvement of citizens. Therefore, participation processes need to begin at the level of needs identification. If the indeed projects are going to be relevant to local needs, people have to be allowed to identify needs at their own discretion. According to Forester (1999 p 185), planners can only promote participatory planning processes if they realise that they are doing their work "in the face of power" and if they learn "to anticipate practically the play of power".

2.10. Participation: The New Tyranny?

By the end of the twentieth century, theorists began to criticise the mainstreaming of participation. In a development mainstream dominated by technocratic tendencies, participation became something that could be translated into operational frameworks. Participation was promoted through training, as a primarily technical remedial practice which focused on instruments, guidelines and techniques (Holland et al, 2004). Participatory approaches with standardised technical methods were imposed using expert knowledge. These were often not context specific, neither flexible nor empowerment oriented. As a result, it was argued that participation was losing the radical connotations it once had. Rather than genuinely empowering people to take over their own development, participation had lost the radical edge it had in the 1970s as it uses methods to cover up what otherwise would have been called top-down development (Mosse,2001 p 17).

Cookie and Kothari (2001) suggested that participation, in its mainstreamed version, serves to legitimise interests of those in power. It is being used to advance and legitimise project own development agenda or even to negotiate its participatory approach with other stakeholders such as funders or donors, technical consultants and management. Participatory approaches and methods also serve to present external interests as local needs and dominant interests as community concerns. "It often functions to legitimise action, to explain, justify, validate higher policy goals, or mobilize political support rather than downwards to orientate action" (Mosse, 2001). According to this perspective, most of what is hailed as participation is a mere technical fix. Therefore, when exploring the extent of citizen participation in development projects or programmes, one should interrogate such issues as

potential pre-set agenda, means to legitimacy the nature of power relations and other local factors.

Despite the critiques and varied notions of participation that have existed traditionally, “all schools of contemporary thought view participation as a fundamental element of planning and decision-making” (Lane, 2005). The twenty-first century can be typified with an increasing negotiation between government, civil society and business actors around the nature and form of engaging in public decision making. It has been suggested that the variety of sectors are desirable for public participation co-responsibility and democracy (Fu-feng, 2009). According to Mhone and Edigheji (2003 p 3), good governance is to be achieved better if the state fulfils its mandate in partnership with society, particularly civil society, NGOs, the private sector and community based groups. The importance of building citizens’ and civil society’s capacity to participate is emphasised. Civil society actors themselves have been, amongst others, in the forefront of democratic experiments that introduced structures of participatory democracy (Hautzager and Lavalle, 2009). The role of civil society participation is explored later in this chapter. The next section explores an array of participation strategies that can be employed.

2.11. Different Strategies of Participation

There is an array of strategies that can be employed in participation and these vary in techniques, creativity and complexity. While there is no recommended formula of using these strategies, achieving equitable and effective participation would then depend on any combination of these strategies. These can be classified into information sharing, consultation, decision-making and initiating action (Kok and Gelderboom, 1994, 65-66) which are briefly discussed below.

2.11.1. Information sharing strategies

Information sharing strategists are usually employed in a form of media coverage, newsletter or articles which ensure communication. Information sharing strategies are quick in alerting the community about certain issues and undertakings within a given geographical area. Invitations for public submissions with comment opportunities represent a formal way of providing feedback to a report or proposal or potential variations on a project, program or policy. Typically this form of engagement occurs in conjunction with other engagement methods such as public meetings, workshops or committees (Kok and Gelderboom, 1994, 65-66).

2.11.2. Consulting strategies

Consulting strategies may include questionnaires surveys, in depth interviews as well as focus groups meetings (Kok and Gelderbloem, 1994 p 69) which often used to gather qualitative information based on predetermined sets of questionnaires (Hilker and Kulz,

2001). In the case of focus group meetings, participants are often selected to give input from various points of view through facilitated discussions.

2.11.3. Decision-making strategies

Decision-making strategies usually include public meetings or hearings. These strategies afford an opportunity for everybody with an interest in the consultation subject to express their concerns and gain a broader perspective of concerns within a short time period. At times it should be expected that a decision is likely to be made at a public meeting, and there will be some degree of consultation happening (Kok and Gelderbloem, 1994 p 69). Beneficiaries are considered as partners in the decision making because they can affect the cause. Public meetings often begin with a technical overview of the situation and process, and then provide opportunity for members of the public to speak from the floor regarding their concerns or to ask questions.

2.11.4. Initiating action strategies

Initiation action strategies would often comprise advisory or planning committees, self-help initiatives and workshops. Citizen advisory or consultation committees are formal group committees established by the organising body to advise project officials on specific issues. Committee members may be selected to represent a cross-section of the community or based on issues. Workshops include invitation of stakeholders to show up at meetings for examination of information, definition of issues and for resolving problems or plan reviews. Generally, workshops are expected to train participants on practical skills and solve problems or develop a product such as an action plan (Kok and Gelderbloem, 1994 p 69)

The participation strategies should not be seen as blueprints for the reason that each situation where participation takes place will demand a specific and relevant combination of strategies. The next section deliberates the reasons or rationales as to why participation is promoted. It looks at variety of advantages, purposes of and forms of participation where it can be used either as means to an end or an end.

2.12. Varied rationales for participation

Literature suggests that participation can be contested (Ballard et al, 2007 and Day, 1997). Hartslief's (2008) study came into conclusions concluded that, the manner in which participation has often been implemented has been perverted and there has been no common approach (89). The concept in general is depicted under labels such as "citizen panels, community governance, citizen participation, stakeholder involvement, demand-driven services, and others" (Edelenbos et al, 2009 p 125). This often results in participation being interchangeably phrased as different forms of democratic practices and mechanisms which are means to bring it about (Rowe and Frewer, 2005 p 252). Rowe and Frewer (2005 p 252) argue that the existence of multiple mechanisms implies uncertainty. As a result, the

practice of “participation advances multiple purposes and values (Fung, 2006) and it has taken varied forms and meanings as it fulfils different underlying goals. Consequently tensions exist between arguments for and against participation. These opposing views perceive participation as an essential element of successful democracy and inherently desirable in its own right on one hand and as a means for achieving something else or a specific decision outcome on the other. For instance, the former notion focuses on enhancing informed and engaged citizenry, accountability, local learning and local relevance of initiatives, while the later argument sees participation as something which could be used to achieve specific decision outcome such as legitimate decision making, efficiency etc. It is true that consensus is not always easily achievable in participation. As such, questions arise as regards the extent to which different goals are met by participation processes and whether these goals are shared by all the I&APs at the inception of the project in specific given contexts. Also, it raises concerns as to whether the rationales for participation are always mutual amongst all I&APs.

This section proceeds by discussing the different rationales for promoting participation in development projects or programmes. While exploring a variety of meaning or rationales for participation, it accentuates some of the advantages and disadvantages that might prevail depending on how participation is used. As some authors have argued, participation defies a precise meaning. It is a “slippery term” which certainly depends on the context in which it is used (Crewe and Harrison, 1998 p 73). There are various rationales for the use or promotion of participation which locate its practice as either means to an end or an end in itself.

2.12.1 Advantages of participation

Certainty, the practice of participation comes with some considerable advantages. A number of author’s list, relevance of initiatives to local needs, increased legitimacy, compliance with public decisions, societal trust, transformation, citizen empowerment and education as typically being the common positive outcomes of participation-oriented developments (Austin, 2010, Imparato and Ruster, 2003, Putnam, 1995). Also, common goals, democracy and principles of good governance are established and thus participation serves to remedy the technocratic developments. Through participation, the “feasibility of projects can be improved by means of demand-responsive projects, open channels for communication and capacitating communities” (Imparato and Ruster, 2003), thereby “improving service delivery and significance”, as well as “state responsiveness and accountability” (Austin, 2010, Irvin and Starnbury, 2004). Furthermore, the process of participation helps build strategic alliances and allows development practitioners to gain expertise, knowledge and wisdom from local citizens. It also presents an opportunity to overcome divisions and local political complications so that consensus can be reached (Austin, 2010).

Despite some of the key advantages mentioned above, “community participation, by representative apparatus or direct engagement, is not an all-encompassing answer for challenges in governance, nor a panacea for policy enactment trials” (Pieterse, 2002 p 12). It is not without its shortcomings. Poor management, time delays, conflicting interests and power relations are some of the notable shortcomings. However, it largely depends on how participation is used in practice, to achieve which objectives and/or whether it is used as means or an end itself.

2.12.2. Participation as means to an end or an end in itself

There are two notable denotations of participation. There are those that view participation as means to an end and those that see it as means to an end whereas others perceive it as an end in itself. When participation is practised as the means to an end, it is usually used to meet predetermined objectives. Such practices would be mobilising communities for a specific reason e.g.to improve the efficiency of the delivery systems. Here the emphasis may be on achieving the set objectives rather than emphasising on the act of participation itself. In this context, it is more likely that participation would take a rather more passive form.

It can be argued that public participation is an end in itself, and it is an unavoidable process of empowering and liberating the community to understand development processes. It remains an end if it is practiced as a long term process with the purpose of developing and strengthening capacities of people in order to partake in development initiatives (Kumar, 2002 p 26). For Burkey (1993), if participation is to be viewed as an end in itself, the development of the poor cannot be attained unless the poor themselves are in custody of the participation process. If local government is to enable community involvement in any respect, it must use participation of citizens as either an end in itself or a means to achieve an end (Pieterse, 2002 p 7). Inevitability, there are a number of reasons or rationales as to why participation is promoted by developers and governments. Some of these are highlighted below.

1.12.2.1. Participation as a Right

Primarily, participation is seen as a right. Ferguson (1999) in Cornwall (2002 p 67), argued that the “right to participate is as important as other civil and economic rights”. She asserts that people cannot realise such other rights unless they have been involved in decision-making processes leading to the realisation of these rights. Under the rights-based approach, participation seeks to provide a platform for communities including the vulnerable groups, to claim social and economic resources in order to meet their needs. According to Driskell (2002), participation is a “fundamental citizenship right”, “a means by which democracy is built and standard by which democracy is measured” (p 32). This resonates with a depiction by Mafunisa and Maphunye (2008) who view participation as a “kind of

verification mechanism or assessment tool to construe that democracy has been practiced. Democracy requires that citizens fully participate in governance and decision-making processes such that they are not passive recipients of services from above, but are co-determinants of the type and quality of services offered.

Rooted in democratic approaches to planning which assume that people have a right to make decisions that affect their lives, the legislation obliges government to fulfil people's right to participation (Gaventa, 2006). However, the rights- based tactic by its own cannot give assurance that people will indeed exercise their right. According to Van Donk (2012), public participation has often been approached as an "event or perhaps a regrettable legislative requirement". "Local communities would be consulted only because legislation requires so; they are not consistently equipped with pertinent information and insights to participate meaningfully" (Ramjee and Van Donk, 2011). In this way, participation could be used as a means of achieving project approval or administrative efficiency by meeting the legislative requirements which require participation to be done. Because government or developers would be able to prove that they completed the legally required participation process, they might be able to go ahead with implementation, even though not much would have been achieved in terms of peoples' meaningful participation or empowerment.

2.12.2.2. Relevance and accountability to local needs

It is imagined that participation would make development plans and services more relevant to local needs and conditions. Because it "does not only involve people, but also necessitates that they make follow ups and ensure that decisions are executed" (Ife, 2002), participation thus fosters government accountability to communities. It then becomes likely that policy outcomes would be in accord with people's interests and needs. Virtually, this enhances the effectiveness service delivery form the municipalities' point of view.

2.12.2.3. Participation as Empowerment

It is envisioned that the process of public participation would serve to hand over responsibility to people as a way of encouraging community action. Increased community action ought to promote sharing of ideas which should then guide to solutions that empower people. Certainly, it has to be the purpose of participation to provide people with objective information to help them understand the problem, alternatives, opportunities and possible solutions (IAP2, 2007, Walters, Aydelotte and Miller, 2000). Moreover, the purpose is to partner with the people, in each aspect of the decision, thereby enriching their potential and expertise. The more people participate, they develop the attitudes and aptitudes of citizenship as well as leadership and a communal sense of common good emerges (Roberts, 2004 p 323). Intrinsically, people also develop a commitment to matters of governance. In this sense participation becomes a transformative process because it affords

people a platform to be able to decide and act on their own for their own betterment. This creates confidence in people's ability to make a difference. Essentially, participation here is both a means and an end, a continuing dynamic, a means to empowerment and an end in itself.

Beyond this motivation and positive outcomes, participation depends on proper access to the state, sufficiently decentralised power, and adequate resourcing of the process and the participants. However, due to a variety of ways in which participation can be used, empowerment is not always guaranteed. Definitely, it would not be fair to conclude that people were empowered in a development project in doing what project consultant told them to do. Yet, what is unerringly meant by "empowerment" is an intricate question in itself. Oakley (1995) posits that the term "empowering" has been used slackly to depict projects' ability to improve people's skills, management technique, organisational abilities and so forth.

2.12.2.4. Participation as technical fix or a means to efficiency

According to Cleaver (2001 p 37), participation has, to an extent been emphasised from its functional purpose which is more about to render efficient development projects and less focussed on empowering in a substantial way. This suggests that interests of those in power could be legitimated through participation. According to Mosse (2001), "project actors are not passively involved in participation processes", but they relentlessly "shape and direct these processes". At the most basic level, "project staff may own the research tools, chose topics, record information, abstract and summarise according to criteria of relevance" (Ibid, 2001). People might participate in accord with the agency's programme, not the other way around and the needs would be shaped according to what the agency is able to deliver in relation to its programme. In this way people could be used to participate to legitimise pre-determined agendas. This raises concerns in terms of the quality, validity and ethics, which speak to poor practice and mistreatment to people involved. Participation in this way remains a mere technical fix which legitimises interests of those in power (Mosse, 2001). Often, meaningful participation of people is in conflict with efficient development which meets its objective of taking less time and resources. For instance genuine participation which allows everyone to participate and be given enough time to address development plans. This might make it unlikely that the project reaches its targets in terms of time allotted. It might also need to be financed and remedied to an extra extent. Participation has often been a used so as increase efficiency, to avoid costs and time delays. This might bypass the idea of emphasising on the act of participation as means in itself, but channel the focus on minimising time and cost and achieving development standards set by governments or developers.

2.12.2.5. Participation as means to legitimacy

Many authors have argued that participation could be promoted in order to "legitimise decisions and actions" (Mosse, 2001, Austin, 2010,Clever, 2001 p 37, Roberts, 2004 p 323, Walters, Aydelotte and Miller, 2000 p 352). If people have been consulted about development projects, it is assumed that they would have had a stake in the decisions which were taken, thus projects can continue. Essentially, the very practice of participation could be used by developers or politicians to "mobilise political support of development projects" by communities (Mosse, 2001). Here participation necessitates legitimating from the agency's perspective to show that they are doing something as regards people's involvement. However, it remains used merely for display. For example when mobilising people for political support it may demonstrate that the municipality is 'doing something' and has a 'popular support base'. Their interests in communities in this case may be largely for legitimating and support of decisions. Successful support mobilisation and involvement of local expertise in projects could then be used for long term sustainability.

2.12.2.6. Participation as means to sustainability

Public participation and sustainability involve local choice because people are the local experts. Since participation pays attention to improving self-reliance, people become masters of their down development. Furthermore participation builds public ownership and a stronger stake in initiatives leading to participants carrying out their responsibilities in implementation. Also, it is supposed that if beneficiaries have some stake in the decision-making and outcomes on the project, it is likely that they would maintain the project after the developers have left (Francis 2001). Participation as means to sustainability may lead to avoiding dependency of beneficiaries on the development agency. Instead people form their own local groups such as NGOs and elect leaders to represent their interests, they develop leadership and skills and self-reliance.

As it has been shown in the discussion above, there are many rationales for promoting public participation. Due to its diverse meanings if participation is to be used, it is either used as means or an end in itself depending on the context. Practically, all or some of the participation rationales identified above may be found in one project or process at different stages. As a way of determining how people make use of participation, these rationales for participation may sometimes be complementary or contradictory to one another depending on how and why participation is used at any particular stage in a development process or project. Whereas, much has been written in terms of policy and how participation can be used, little attention has been paid to the perceptions of the public officials. The next section highlights an idea that there is a need to devote efforts towards understanding public officials' perceptions on policy development and implementation.

2.13. Role of public officials in public participation

Direct citizens' participation depends much on the attitudes of officials or planners towards public participation. For example, public officials have in some instances believed that involvement of communities "could slow down the decision making process" (Aikins and Krane, 2010). Sometimes the officials regard themselves as representatives of the people and thus justified in making decisions on people's behalf (Ille and Maphuva, 2008, p 31-32). Other officials regard public problems as being beyond the communities' intellectual capacity (Walters, Aydelotte and Miller, 2000). According to Stout (2010 p 54), people would not have an impact on the decisions if their inputs do not resonate with the officials' standpoint. People's participation is therefore plausible not only when governments create official apparatus to bring it about, but when they develop attitudes and platforms accessible for engagement. Successful engagement will then depend on crafting appropriate participation strategies which are in line with the purpose and the nature of issues in the given context. The next section briefly covers the South African experience of public participation and its legislation as it enshrines participation in the country.

2.14. Public participation and Legislation in South Africa

The international deliberations concerning the benefits and risk associated with participation reached the South African shores in the 1980s. However, it was not until 1994 that the country developed legislative policies that laid a foundation for participatory governance. Focused on the transformation agenda, the country' legislation features an expression of commitment to bringing national and local civil society and interest groups in the decision making process. To a large extent, the Freedom Charter's declaration that "the People shall govern" (Nyati 2008) and "Batho Pele" principles (Local Government Action, 2014) have influenced legislation to promote participation and place it central to development.

The centrality of citizen participation is enshrined in the constitution. For instance section 252(1) (e) of the constitution states that, in its matters, the local government is required to involve the community and community organisations. In the constitution, section 195 (1) (e) requires that people's needs must be responded to and the public be encouraged to participate in policy making (South African Constitution, 1996). Furthermore, the White Paper on Local Government 1998 requires municipalities to develop strategies and mechanisms to ensure public participation in policy initiation, formulation and implementation. Additionally, the Municipal Structures Act of 1998 and the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 are in place to prescribe municipalities on community participation and cooperative governance as pivotal to service delivery. The expressions of legislatures make

it clear that citizen participation is not a suggestion, but a 'right' which municipalities are duty-bound to promote and fulfil.

Arguably "South Africa has one of the progressive policies on participatory local governance in the world" (Ramjee and van Donk, 2011) but, as Pieterse (2002 p 7) indicated, policy does not essentially translate into practice. Literature has generally stated that participation in the country remains weak (Benit-Gbaffou, 2008, Oldfield, 2008 and, Southhall, 2003). It has been argued that institutional participatory mechanisms such as ward committees, IDP processes participatory or development forums do not work properly in practice (Benit-Gbaffou, 2008). This view resonates with the conclusion made by the Department for Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA, 2009) that the local sphere of governance is struggling and many municipalities are poorly administered and dysfunctional. The dysfunctionality is rooted in a number of factors, which include institutional design and intergovernmental relations, political culture and social values, weak leadership and capacity and poor internal systems for performance management and accountability. Furthermore, the failures of municipalities can also be attributed to failures in local political leadership. Booysen (2006) argues that government has often "lacked clarity on the operationalisation" of public participation processes. It does not have an understanding of how to design participation processes to achieve the desired outcomes (Bryson et al, 2013). Thus, it has often left it in the hands of consultants (Booysen, 2006). Other authors have pointed to capacity related implementation problems (Bucccs et al, 2007), whereas others, like Williams (2007) and Zuern (2002), have pointed to the lack of sufficient community organisations.

Whereas, South Africa entered the new dispensation ready to promote the participation culture, it would seem that little has been done in terms of drawing on the richness of this culture and a multitude of structures it has culminated to (Schmidt, 2008 p 13). Most municipalities have relied solely on ward committees as a lone legitimate channel for engaging communities. According to Schmidt (2008 p 13), what is more problematic is that ward committees are dysfunctional or "lack the compelling rationale". These structures affect many more other appropriate and effective forms of participation. As Deacon and Piper (2006) noted, "the establishment of ward committees tended to undermine other organisations and structures already existing" as observed in the case of Msunduzi.

Moreover, the centrality of ward councillors in the participatory platforms allows for exclusion of certain individuals and groups from the decision making process. It is alleged that ward councillors have a tendency of picking ward committee members in line with their political affiliations (Smith, 2008). In this regard, ward committees are perceived as "extensions of political parties" (Oldfield, 2008) and ward councillors are able to manipulate deliberations and decisions to suite the mandate of the party they epitomise. Answerability then tends to

be inclined towards party organisations and not to residents. This problem is also perpetuated by "dominant party syndrome" (Piper and Deacon 2008). For example, the "structure of political system and the dominance of the ANC create a dominant party system which rewards loyalty party above all" (Winkler (2011). As a result, residents would lose faith in ward committees and perceive them as puppets of the ruling party as opposed to progressive representatives.

Not only have ward councillors been unable to play a non-partisan role, they sometimes have at times failed to organise at ward level because this level is not necessarily considered as relevant for negotiation and decision making. The notion of dysfunctional participatory structures is revealed by residents often embracing other means of expression in an attempt of being heard. For example, Matters (2008) argues that protests have played a pivotal role as a means of residents to participate. Ward councillors have frequently been the target of mass protests. At grassroots level, groups of people have organised themselves created their own platforms, outside the institutions and platforms set up by government and of expressing their voice in attempt of being heard.

2.15. Invited and invented spaces of participation

Miraftab (2004) suggests that analysing participatory spaces is a useful way to understand how these spaces might be used by people to enhance citizen participation for some, or be used by others to undermine participation of others. The dynamics of participation in particular arenas will vary a great deal according to who creates the space for it to occur and whose rules of the game are used to determine who enters the space and how they behave once they do.

Governments internationally have embarked on institutional reforms aimed at opening spaces and inviting citizens to partake in directing and monitoring service delivery. These spaces have taken different shapes and forms reflecting deliberations on participation and accountability as well as the influence of donors and civil society. Often backed up by legislations, these are intermediary spaces of negotiation and information exchange and they are situated at the interface between the state and society" (Cornwall, 2002). They have been refered to as "invited spaces of citizenship" (Cornwall 2002, Miraftab 2003 and Ayer, 2010). In Miraftab's perception, the invited spaces can be defined as those spaces occupied by the grassroots and their allied non- governmental organisations that are legitimised by donor and government intervention (2004). They have been created through 'official channels' by state officials who define the agenda, mandate and very often the rules. The motivation behind creating such spaces is that participation can improve the performance of the state by making it and more responsive and accountable. In the South African context,

the main examples of invited spaces are ward committees or development forums, IDP processes.

While the state has established platforms from which communities can engage. In essence, those who participate in invited spaces often have to do so within the parameters of the state. Participation is being conducted on the state's terms rather than the terms of the community. As such, "the purpose of invited participation may be less about the contents of what is communicated through the engagement and more about constituting a certain kind of relationship between the people and the government" (Ballard, 2007). According to Ballard (2007) the public is invited to participate in a "consensus oriented model" and it is not encouraged to critically engage the government. It is thus not safe to conclude that invited spaces are neutral. They might be used by the state to dominate, and exert control and power over the public.

As a consequence of the above mentioned opinion, the public could invent their own spaces in order to create a degree of legitimacy and a sense of their own power (Ballard 2007). Such spaces have been referred to as 'invented spaces of participation' (Miraftab and Wills, 2005 and Miraftab, 2003, 2004). Such spaces are not easy to identify because they occur outside the realm of official politics and they are occupied by grassroots and claimed by their collective action, but directly confronting the officials and the status quo (Miraftab, 2004). They are created through autonomous arrangements of civil society without any government intervention. Example of invented spaces of participation would be cases where people organise themselves into NGOs and they also include boycotts, petitions and other grassroots activities outside state recognition.

Civil society groups often seek invented spaces of citizenship where forms of participation designed by groups themselves predominate as part of projects of participatory, inclusive or insurgent citizenship (Miraftab, 2004). Government may be genuinely willing to hear from grassroots, but only through formal participation thus inputs from people are at the state's behest and terms (Cornwall, 2002 p 17). Creation invited spaces of participation may permit the state to declare that there is no need for anyone to operate outside these spaces. Having established its moral authority as a supporter of participation, it can demand to know why it would be necessary to operate outside of those forums it has established (Ballard, 2007). Civic associations are discouraged from insurgent conduct or "radicalism and militancy" (Fung & Wright 2001). According to Miraftab (2006) authorities seek to "criminalise one informal space of citizenship practice by designating the other as proper formal space for civil society participation"

Gueventa (2006) asserted that those who create spaces of participation are likely to have power within them and those who have power in one, may not have so much in the other.

Aptly, Cornwall (2003) stressed the that the public should be eligible to inventing their own spaces in order to construct and consolidate positions, gain confidence to raise issues and gain access to broader constituency of support. Carrim (2011 p 1) accentuated the need for invited and invented spaces of participation to co-exist. It is true that invited spaces were not created by governments alone, but they may also be seen as spaces conquered through petitions or boycotts by civil society in demand for inclusion (Cornwall, 2002).To an extent, it was through the invented mass demonstration that the invited spaces were developed. In this respect, the invited spaces should contribute towards widening and changing invented spaces for the better and these spaces could be used in turn to invent more space for participation (Carrim 2011, p 1). Therefore it can be concluded that both invited and invented forms of participation are important in a democracy that encourages its people to play their rightful roles as citizens while also being tolerant of dissent and responsive to criticism.

The section bellow briefly reviews the concept of civil society in relation to participation. It explores the role played by civil society in deepening democracy and enhancing public participation. Furthermore, it highlights the relationship that exists between the state and civil society and the implications of these relationships for participation of local communities.

2.16. Civil Society

Defined as operating outside the state and the market and often referred to as the “third sector”. Civil society is diverse and the organisations are varied in their character and purpose. Some organisations have a more developmental orientation, some are more welfarists and some take a much more independence stance and seek to hold those in power accountable. According to Anheiner (2000, 2004), the common thread that holds these organisations together is that they exist in public life and seek to promote public or social good.

Civil society refers to the set of institutions, organisations, and behaviours situated between the state, the business world, and the family. Specifically, this would include voluntary and non-profit organisations of many different kinds, philanthropic institutions, social and political movements, forms of social participation and engagement, the public sphere and the values and cultural patterns associated with them (Anheier, 2000).

Diamond (1994) defines civil society as follows:

> a realm of organised social life that is voluntary, self-generating, self-supporting, and autonomous from the state, and bound by the legal order or a set of shared rules. It involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interests, passions, and ideas,

> exchange ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals, make demands on the state, and hold state officials accountable. It is an intermediary entity, standing between the private sphere and the state" (Diamond, 1994 p 5).

Diamond's definition is captivating because it is focused on citizens interests and holding government accountable for community's needs.

Alexis de Tocqueville conceptualised civil society as "civic action consisting of charity groups, camps, fraternal orders, civic leagues, and religious associations" (Eberly, 2000 p 7). He observed that the fascinating feature of civic networks is that they arise spontaneously from the aspirations and desires of free people. De Tocqueville (1994) in Lewis (2002) stressed the volunteerism, community spirit and independent associational life as being a protection against domination of society by the state, as indeed a 'counterbalance' which helps to keeps the state accountable and effective. Conversely, in Hegel's view, such voluntary organisations help to channel the egoistic ends of members of civil society into a universal structure (Kuruvilla, 2009)

Civil society is considered to be an important stakeholder in any country that seeks to deepen its democracy. For scholars such as Dreze and Sen (2002), democracy means 'rule by the people'. Rule by the people presumes that power is vested in the people and should be exercised directly by them or their leaders and it presupposes that people have the right to participate in the political processes. Indeed, democracy means more than elections and the protection of individual rights. Moreover, it means that day-to-day policy is accountable to the public. According to Nash, Hudson, and Luttrell (2006), civil society activists do not want to see democracy being limited to electoral politics imposed from above; rather they want to see people participating in everyday decision-making processes. These activists themselves have been in the forefront of democratic experiments that introduced structures of participatory governance.

Civil society organisations have long been credited for supporting and strengthening democracy by such thinkers like Alexis de Tocqueville, who was an observer of the US democracy in the nineteenth century. He saw civic organisations as key for participatory democracy into a participatory where people decide what their wants and needs are and ask for them through these organisations (Oser, 2010). According to de Tocqueville, associations are schools of democracy where open-minded attitudes and behaviour are learned and applied to protect the rights of individuals. His ideas have been influential in donors' conceptions regarding how mass participation should be institutionalised in post liberalisation policy making.

2.16.1. Civil society and the public sphere

Between the state and society lies a "public sphere" which is a "network of communicating ideas, views aspirations and needs" (Habermas, 1996 p 360). The 'public sphere' is a key component of the socio-political organisation because it is where people come together in their capacity as citizens to articulate their autonomous views in order to influence political institutions of their societies. Civil society then becomes a centrally organised expression of these views, ideas and aspirations (Castells, 2008). According to Castells the interface between the state, civil society and citizens is necessary to safeguard the balance between stability and social change (2008). Another useful way of understanding civil society is through the diagram of the circle of relations bellow. These circles depict a relationship between mutual or public benefit organisations such as (faith based organisations, political parties, trade unions, NGOs, CBOs, cooperatives and people's organisations, recreational or cultural organisations), governments and businesses.

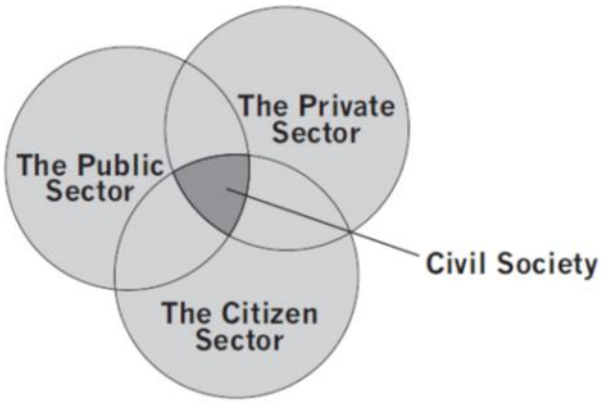


Figure 4| A three circle diagram locating civil society within the interaction amongst the three sectors (Salamon and Anheiner, 1994).

The three circle diagram in which all sectors (namely the public, private and citizen sectors) overlap is designated as civil society. It is the sector where government, business and non-profit sectors find ways to work together to respond to public needs (Salomon and Anheiner, 1994).

2.16.2. Civil society and public participation

Undoubtedly, participatory governance programs which institutionalise government and civil society interactions in public deliberation and decision-making are being adopted by governments across the world (Wimpler, 2012). It has been argued that involvement of civil society in participatory processes is a progressive form of intermediary between the state and citizens. For instance, Cohen and Arato (1992) see the existence of civil society as a necessary feature of the social order, in that, it serves as a vehicle for citizens' participation while it also checks the exercise of power by the state. This view resonates with that of Keck and Kethyryn (1998), who argue that "civil society is the medium which provides the active

participation and it is desirable in order for good governance to be achieved and freedom to be expressed by allowing also the poor and marginalised to influence and challenge state decisions which affect communities".

On the contrary, authors such as Crenson and Ginsberg (2002) argue that, citizen participation is being reduced by participation of the elite, organised civil society in the form of predominantly non-governmental organisations (NGOs), business and other interest groups which have access to resources. Their argument is that participation of civil society organisations serves the exercise power by those who have access to the state and resources over the poor and marginalised.

Nevertheless, "Civil society is laying claims to political representation in public participation (Hourzager and Lavalle, 2009). These organisations offer a public justification for their constituency representation and accountability and the claims are often based on commitment to interests justified in terms organisational membership, shared identities, physical closeness and horizontality of relations between the representatives and the represented public. It is true that many participatory platforms are planned for civil society associations, rather than individual citizens. In those designed for direct citizen participation, many of the participants are civil organisations leaders who come to represent particular groups (Ibid, 2009).

2.16.3. Civil Society in South Africa

The diverse and radical profile of contemporary civil society has its roots in the 1980's when there was a phenomenal growth in associational life in the country. Predominantly, these were organisations and institutions which were interested in developing a democratic country (Habib, 2004). They were a vocal and active player in the struggle against apartheid. During the transition period, civil society continued to engage and influence the drafting of the constitution and contributed towards dismantling apartheid legislation.

Since 1994, civil society organisations have been pursing citizens' interests seeking to place them in the government's agenda (Rancord, 2007). Furthermore, civil society has played a watchdog role over state policy, actions as well as spending and became intermediaries between the government policy and those for whom it was intended. Currently civil society organisations relations with the state are more aligned to thinking around what constitutes a developmental government. Public participation has been one of the key elements which delineate a developmental government. Indeed South African has made participation of civil society part of its mission for transformation and development. However, the participation of civil society as a desired good remains questionable as does its ability to create sensitivity to popular interests and demands. To present the interests of its constituencies, civil society must maintain a considerable degree independence from the state.

Whereas legislation encourages these associations participation, “civil society and participatory forums remain subordinate to political society”. It is sometimes at the discretion of political society that civil society is granted powers at local or ward level. Often, this puts ward councillors at the centre of participatory mechanisms. As Staniland (2008) puts it, “ward councillors control access to many opportunities such as access to the local state, jobs, training and many of these opportunities are dependent upon maintaining amicable relations and working closely with ward councillors for those (including civil society leaders) seeking access to the state and better opportunities”. If civil society enters into such a dependent relationship with the councillors, they become puppets of the ruling party as well. This weakens the role of ward committees in monitoring ward councillors as rooted in civil society. It also undermines the independence of civil society. Furthermore, it is argued that ward committees absorb any potentially powerful civil society organisation and they tend to co-opt the leaders of such organisations (Deacon and Piper, 2008).

Sometimes the wad committees have duplicated and replaced some of the tasks that were performed by some of these organisations. As Deacon and Piper (2008) have noted’ in the case of Msunduzi some of the functions which have previously been a carried out by the Ratepayers Associations are now allocated to ward committees. Nonetheless, endorsement of participation builds on the notion of civil society that fosters active citizenship and self-organisation outside formal political circles and thereby expanding space which citizens can influence the conditions in which they live. The next section highlights briefly on the concept of public spaces as it is applies to this research. This concept is important to highlight since the case study project (SMFS) is a public space upgrade project.

2.17. Public spaces

The term ‘public space’ is multifaceted and conceptually slippery. There are numerous notions of public space highlighting different aspects such as the social space, common ground, sharing through contact with strangers and peaceful coexistence or free access. For example, Mumford (1961) and Jacobs (1961), see public space as a social place which is “indeterminately and spontaneously located”, a site of “urban drama and street ballet”. According to the above definition, public space is a space where people feel free to express themselves and it is an everyday space and it binds everyday life and everyday activities. Furthermore, this is a space that is not fixed to a specific kind of use, but it is a space where there is no formality at all, but free instinctive expressions.

Madanipour (1996) conceptualise public space as “the space that is not controlled by private individuals or organisations, and hence is open to the public. This conceptualisation of space emphasises on public ownership and free use and access. Another denotation considers public space as “the common ground where people carry out the functional and ritual

activities that bind a community, whether in the normal routine of daily life or in periodic festivities" (Carr et al, 1992: cited in Madanipour 1996 p 146). This definition emphasises on practices that create a sense of community to the users and it is being used to express shared values concerns, ideas and aspirations.

It is "a space that we share with strangers, people who are not our relatives, friends, or work associates. It is space for politics, religion, commerce, sport; space for peaceful coexistence and impersonal encounter" (Walzer, 1989) It is a space where strangers meet and have "contact of a certain kind that is neither intimate nor anonymous (Jacobs, 1961). Altogether, these definitions converge to one important significance of public spaces as those spaces which create a sense of community, shared identity, and pride and people feel free to express themselves as these places are free as well in terms of the atmosphere they create. They are spaces of contact and cohesion for citizens who met as equal members of the society. It is important that these aspects are taken into consideration when designing public spaces.

Despite the variety of methods associated with public participation, the design of public spaces is often tailored with the tastes of cultural, economic and professional elites. This results in projects that do not meet the needs of the poorest and most marginalised. Drawing on Lefebvre's "right to the city", authors like Mitchell (2003) have viewed public space as a material expression of actually "existing democracy". For Mitchell, the right to the city is the right to inhabit all the spaces of the city and particularly public space.

Additionally, Habermas (1962) used the term public sphere to describe the manner in which the public space is filled with ideas opinions and debates about public interests. As such, public spaces become spaces of public discussions and consensus building, thereby providing a platform for participation. In as much as people would use public spaces for their participatory efforts, it is equally important that the making or design of these spaces become practically ideal projects for participatory processes.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the concept of participation it highlighted on the origins and the evolution of the concept since the 1960s. Furthermore, the chapter highlighted the multifaceted outlook of the concept. It also considered the invited and invented spaces of participation and how these can accommodate different actors as well as power dynamics which can be in involved there in different spaces depending on who provides these spaces. Likewise, depending on who uses it and what goals they want to achieve, participation can take varied forms and varied methods accompanying varied rationalises as well. In addition, the chapter it highlighted on the role of civil society in processes of participation. Furthermore, it also briefly considered the conceptualisation of public spaces and the relevance of participation when creating these spaces. The following chapter provides a background to the case study overview.

CHAPTER III: MAMELODI'S EXERIENCE OF THE APRATHEID STRUGGLE AND THE COMMEMORATION OF THOSE WHO CONTERIBUTED TO THE CAUSE FOR LIBERATION

3.1. Introduction

The City of Tshwane Department of Sport, Recreation, Art and Culture had embarked on upgrading the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square (SMFS) by 2007. This project has been implemented with a purpose of creating a symbolic public commemoration space devoted to Solomon Mahlangu and other apartheid struggle heroes form Mamelodi. This chapter covers the brief history of Tshwane and Mamelodi. It highlights some of the key events though which the township has contributed towards the liberation struggle. Furthermore, it covers the historical, political, memorial and policy context as well as the scenery in which the SMFS project is being implemented currently. Firstly, the next section briefly covers the history and early administration of Mamelodi.

3.2. The City of Tshwane

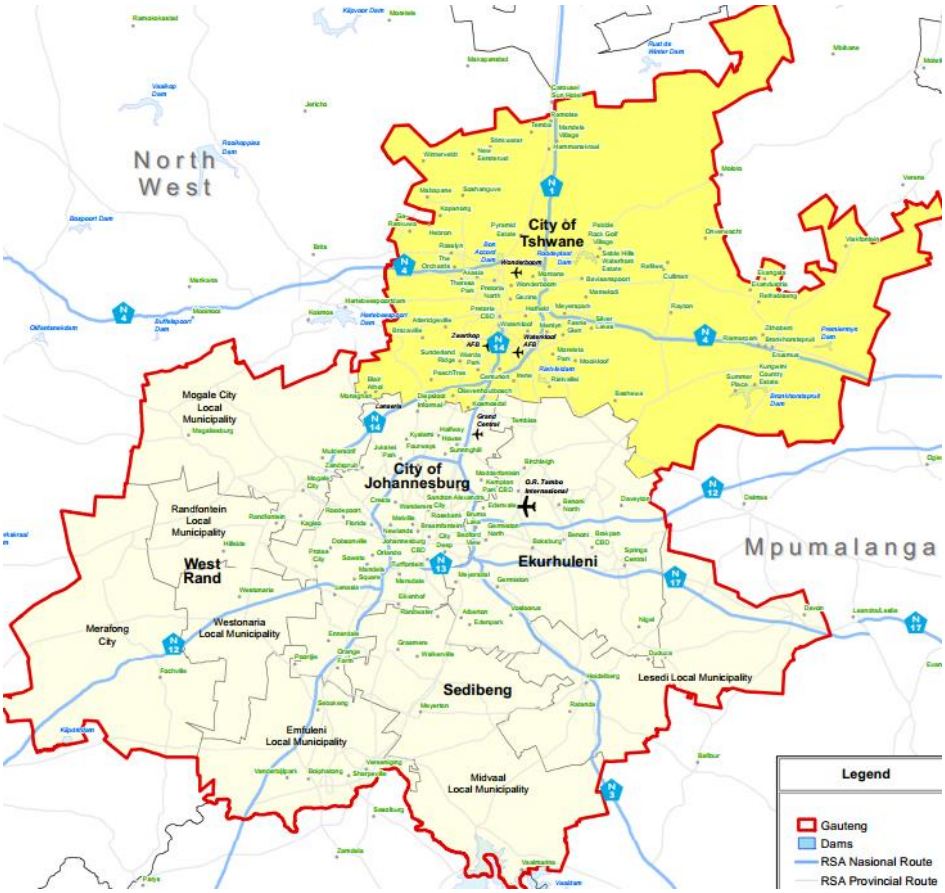


Figure 5| Gauteng map showing the Tshwane Metropolitan Area (CoT, 2014).

Tshwane refers to the metropolitan municipality which is a local government of the Northern Gauteng and it includes South Africa's capital, Pretoria as shown in the map (figure 5) above. The City of Tshwane was named after king Tshwane who settled in the Pretoria before the Vootrekkers. Also, Tshwane is an African name which means "people who live together because they are one or the same" (Tshwane Tourism Centre, 2003). Pretoria which is now a CBD to the surrounding area of greater Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, was declared a capital city and the seat of government of the Republic of South Africa during the liberation struggle.

On 9 August 1956, a year after the historic signing of the Freedom Charter, Pretoria was to be a stage for the Women's Anti-Pass March to the Union Buildings. This was one of the many demonstrations which would eventually see the dawn of a new and free South Africa. The first democratically elected President of the country, Mandela, made his inaugural speech at the same Union Buildings in 1994 (CoT, 2013). Tshwane as a capital city is said to be the primary site where the country's collective image is translated into reality through public architecture, cultural artefacts, and performance of national rituals. Being a political and administrative capital of the country, it assumes the "quality of monumentality" (CoT, 2013). According the City, this monumentality can be seen in the design of the Union Buildings, of the Voortrekker Monument, the Universities of South Africa (UNISA) and Pretoria, and more recently, the modest Freedom Park. The City has the rich heritage intimately linked to the history of the country's liberation struggle as it was at the centre of apartheid government. Tshwane's townships such as Atterigeville, Mamelodi, and Soshanguve have contributed a lot in the struggle against apartheid. Amongst these townships, Mamelodi is said to have had a highest number of activists who have contributed in cause for liberation. The focus of this research study is in the township of Mamelodi located in ward 38 within region 6 of the administrative area of the City to Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, approximately 20 km to the east of Pretoria CBD. The map below (figure 6) shows region 6 of the Tshwane administrative area.

3.3. Mamelodi Township

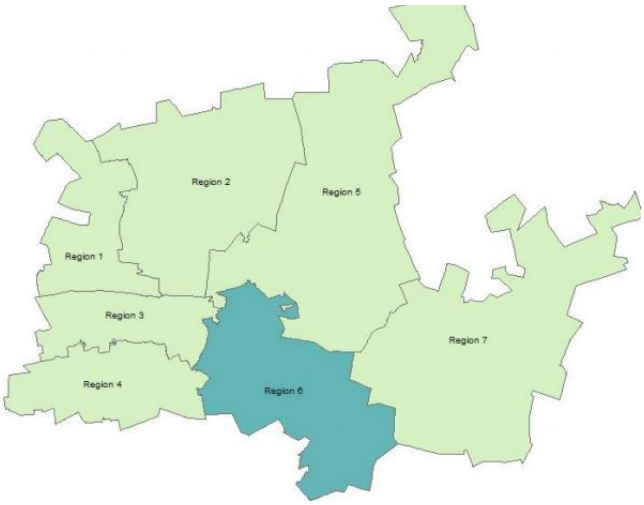


Figure 6| Tshwane map showing the Metropolitan area of Tshwane and Region 6 (in a bluish-green colour) where Mamelodi is located (Tshwane Economic Development Agency 2014).

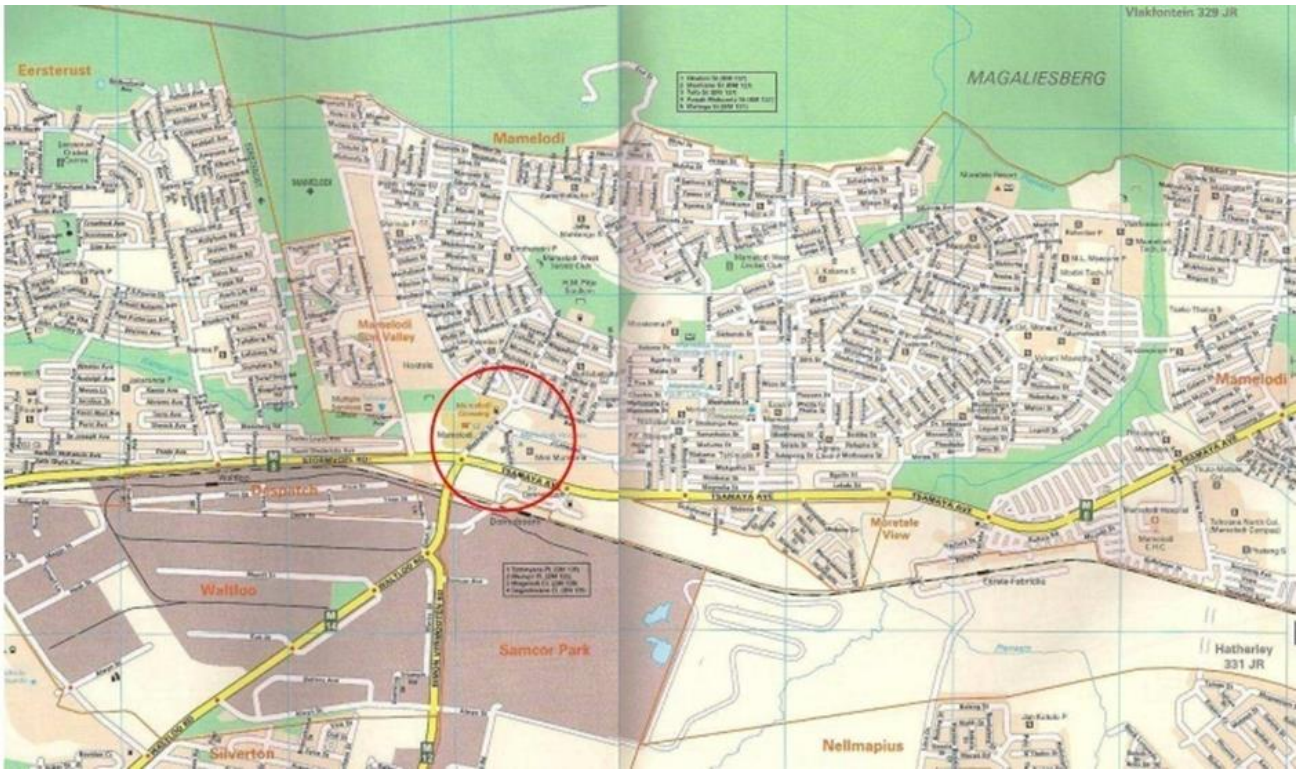


Figure 7| the Map showing Mamelodi Township (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012 p 13).

In the above map (fig 7) ,the circled area on the map shows the original site where the township where the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square is located.

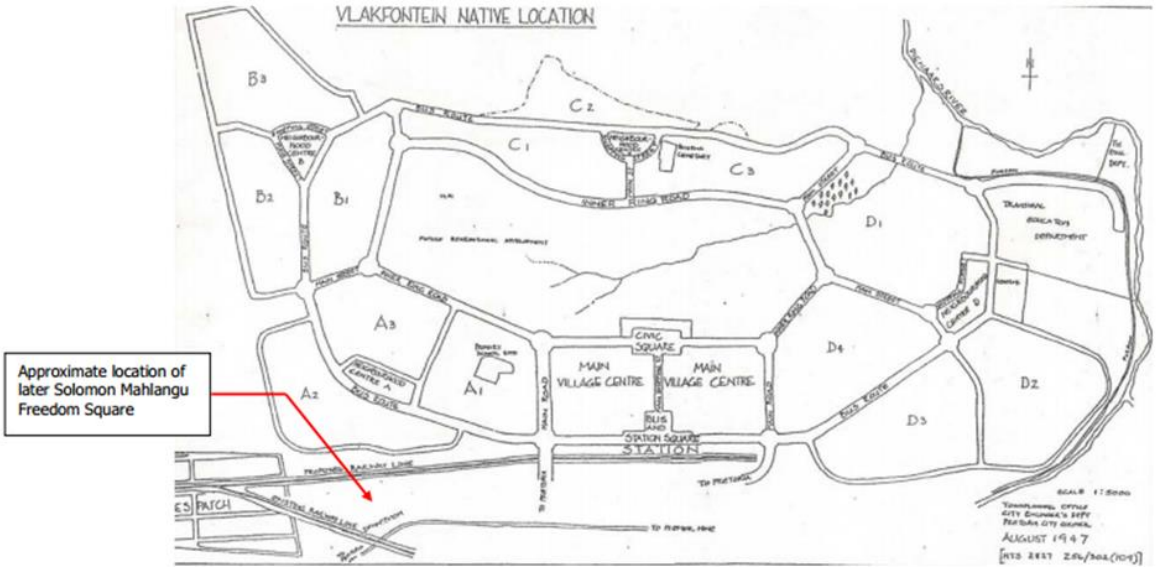


Figure 8 | Showing the Original Site of Vlakfontein where Mamelodi was laid out and the approximate location of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012 p 20).

The township of Mamelodi is located at the base of Magalesburg (See figure 7 above). It was laid out on what used to be known as Vlakfontein farm established in the 1870s (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012 p 14) (refer to figure 8 above). The actual Mamelodi Township was founded in 1945 under the Black Areas Consolidation Act and its layout was prepared in 1947 (Walker et al, 1990). Mamelodi is a Tswana name meaning the “place of joy” (Walker et al, 1991 p 2 and Marschall, 2008) and others have argued that the name means “mother of melodies” (Mailula, 2009 and Osman, 2006). The reasons for establishment of Mamelodi encompass the fact that government wanted to develop a segregated township according to the needs of Pretoria’s manufacturing industry to serve as a labour reserve (Chiloane, 1990 p111). Also, the township was developed to serve as an urban housing scheme since there was demolition of old locations in and around Pretoria and this meant that they could find alternative accommodation in Mamelodi. As Chiloane (1990 p 160) accounts, the first residents of Mamelodi where from such demolished areas such as Bantule, Eastwood, Lady Selbone and Eersterus as well as from the farming area of Vlakfontein. The Native Advisory Boards were set up in Mamelodi by 1955. These bodies served as advice-givers to the local authority as well as representatives of the residents. Also blockmen were appointed to represent groups of dwellings and matters affecting residents were communicated to them. The Native Advisory Boards were superseded by the Administration Board established in 1971 and it later became a community service division of provincial government. The Administration Board was supposed to represent public interests. However, according to HM Pitje (in Walker et al 1990 p 34), these boards were often biased to the apartheid government and causing trouble township residents.

3. 4. Establishment of a Black Council in Mamelodi

In the late 1970s, the Mamelodi Community Council was established in accord with the Community Councils Act of 1977. This Act represented the first attempt to introduce, in black urban residential areas, elected local authority structures to which real executive powers could be granted. The Mamelodi Community Council came to be named the Mamelodi Town Council (MTC) in 1984, and later the Mamelodi City Council (Walker et al, 1991 p 7). Twelve Councillors, two for Mamelodi and Kingsley hostels as well as ten for the wards were elected respectively. The MTC and its Councillors were perceived by residents as being controlled by white officials. These black officials were tasked to collect rents on behalf of the MTC. There would be recurrent rent boycotts and people would show disapproval to the Council and councillors and the officials were continuously protected by the police and security forces (Boraine, 1989). In the vanguard as far as organising grass-root rent boycotts was the civil society. For instance, the Lesedi Party and Vulamehlo-Vukani People's Party were established in 1981 to counter the MTC in Mamelodi. Equally, the Mamelodi Civic Association (MCA) belonged to the greater civics association established in 1982, which spread throughout South Africa via black grassroots movement to challenge the perceived white domination of black urban councils (Walker et al, 1991, p 23).

3.5. Riots and Grassroots Activity in Mamelodi

While not as renowned like other townships for the role it played in opposing apartheid, Mamelodi has hosted several of important movements and demonstrations. The most politically significant ones took place in a form of 1976 youth uprising and between 1985-1986 in a form of "People's Parks" and the "organs people's power" (Marschall, 2009). In the 1985-1986 period, rent increases gave rise to community riots and the Mamelodi Massacre. Furthermore, rent caused people to organise a rally at the HM Pitje in July 1990 and the crowd was dispersed by means of tear gas and rubber bullets (Marschall, 2007). The following section highlights on the significance of the 1976 uprising and how it relates to the armed struggle and Solomon Mahlangu's life.

3.5.1. The 1976 Uprising

The participation of youth in the liberation struggle followed the student uprising of 1976. The uprisings were intensified by the government's resolution of instituting Afrikaans as mandatory language medium in schools. Following the Soweto riots, school children in Mamelodi took to streets and rioted (Walker et al, 1991, 30). The 1976 uprising raised the political awareness of students and introduced a renewed sense of independence and initiative among the youth, inspiring them to change their surroundings and schools being their point of departure. Today these young people are described as being courageous and

altruistic heroes of the liberation struggle as they laid down their lives as the foundation for today's youth to take the country forward. "The Youth Day marks not just the sacrifices made by the youth on that day, but also of those children who defied 'Bantu Education' and took up arms in the struggle for freedom" (South African Online History, 2014). These uprisings saw many students leaving South Africa to join UMkhonto WeSizwe (MK) (the ANC military wing) to undergo military training (Williams, 2000, Martinson and Bruwer, 2012). "Known as the June 16 Detachment, these youths included Solomon Mahlangu" (South African Online History, 2014).

3.5.2. Solomon Mahlangu's Brief Life Story

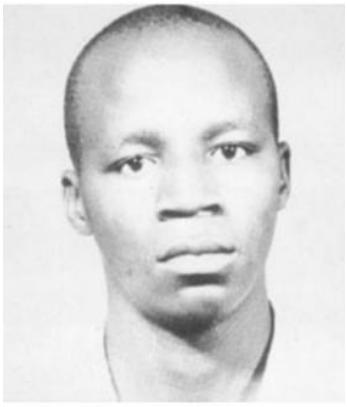


Figure 9| Solomon Mahlangu (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012 p 60)

Solomon Mahlangu was born in Pretoria in 1956. He attended Mamelodi High School, however, he did not complete his schooling due to the schools closure as a result of riots. He then joined the African National Congress (ANC) in 1976 and left the country to be trained as an MK soldier in Angola and Mozambique and returned to South Africa in 11 June 1977. Immediately after re-entering the country as a militant of the MK, Solomon and a colleague, Mondy Motloung, were captured after a fight with the police and several white civilians (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012 p 58).

On 13 June 1977, the trio (Mondy Motloung, Solomon and Lucky Mahlangu) were in Johannesburg at Diagonal Street on their way to Soweto. They were confronted by a policeman who insisted on finding out what was in the bags they were carrying. The policeman uncovered that they were carrying an AK-47 rifle and a hand grenade and they panicked and ran away from the taxi rank. While Lucky Mahlangu ran in the direction of Johannesburg Park Station and avoided being arrested, Solomon and Monty fled towards Fordsburg along Jeppe Street, not knowing that they were approaching John Vorster Square (Bruwer and Martinson 2012 p 58-59).

It would appear that the two got into to a combat with an off-duty policeman who fired at them and wounded Solomon in the ankle. However, the two continued running and entered into John Orr's warehouse where Monty Motloung panicked and fatally wounded two John Orr's employees to death. Within minutes the warehouse was immediately surrounded by police and Mahlangu and Motloung were arrested and taken to nearby John Vorster Square after being beaten by onlookers and the police (Bruwer and Martinson 2012 p 58-59).

Even though it was found that Solomon had personally played no direct part in killing the two civilians, he was found guilty of murder through 'common purpose'. He was then sentenced to death on 2 March 1978. The day before of his hanging in Pretoria Central Prison on 6 April 1979, the United Nations Security, held an emergency meeting to object Mahlangu's execution. Despite the commutation appeal by President Jimmy Carter of the US, Mahlangu immediately became martyr of the liberation struggle and icon of the prevailing justice. His death prompted a new wave of international condemnation of apartheid (Martinson and Bruwer, 2012 p 60).

"Let my blood nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom', in the context of the new democracy and its opportunities".

These were the last words from the Solomon Mahlangu (Marschall, 2009 p 99, ANC, 2014). The youth of today are growing up in a democratic country and they are called upon to emulate the youth of Solomon Mahlangu's generation. His blood is indeed nourishing the tree that will bear freedom fruits today because the organisation he fought for is supposedly leading the country to a better democratic future. While Solomon reflects the spirit of the 1976 youth, the 1985 -1986 activities highlight the strength of grassroots organisation.

3.5.3. The 1985-1986 Riots and Grassroots Activity in Mamelodi

The most prolonged and memorable of the mass demonstration events occurred in the mid-1980s in a form of what can be viewed as the "culmination of the 'People's Parks' phenomenon" (Marschall, 2009 p 47). The People's Park phenomenon manifested itself in Mamelodi and several other townships in the region and it was linked to the ANC's 'clean-up' operations that encouraged township residents to actively take charge of the cleaning up and beautification of parks through creative and artistic expressions. A number of 'People's Parks' existed in Mamelodi and they were organised with a strong sense of urgency and cooperation from the local residents (Boraine,1990). ANC comrades and youth organisations were the key inspirational force behind these spaces. This phenomenon can be understood as an expression against control by security and police forces that discouraged any form of community gathering and activity in the townships. Also, people were becoming unhappy with the spatial layout of the new townships which were deliberately designed as dormitory locations. During this period, the townships were designed without major public spaces,

partly because these might have encouraged public gatherings, a sense of community, organisation and political activism (Marschall, 2009 p 47). The purpose of the People's Parks was to reclaim public spaces, to enthuse people and to conscientise them about the liberation struggle (Boraine, 1990), by promoting deliberations around local issues of concern and national politics (Marshall, 2009 p 47 and Walker et al, 1991 p 27). These parks played a crucial role at grassroots level as spaces for self-mobilisation of residents in Mamelodi. Being the popular creations, the People's Parks were often named after banned popular heroes such as Walter Sisulu of the ANC, and they were frequently destroyed by official government bodies (Walker et al, 1991 p27-28 and Marshall, 2009 p 47).

On November 21 in 1985, thirteen people were killed in what is known as the Mamelodi Massacre which transpired consequent to a rent boycott by local residents. A mass of 8000 people assembled outside the MTC offices in the then open space or vacant land that is now called the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square. Despite rent increases, these heated residents had a number of grievances which resulted in the calling of the boycott. They called for the withdrawal of police and army forces in the township and for no restrictions regarding the holdings of funerals. A march was to set off to present these requests at the police station. It never materialised as teargas was dropped on the crowd, from the helicopter and shorts were fired. It was at this juncture that the crowd was scattered and thirteen people were murdered (Walker, 1991 p 28).

As Boraine (1989a) observed, at the funerals after the 1985 Mamelodi Massacre, a call was made on residents to boycott rents and join street committees. Similar kinds of boycotts were happening in other townships like Soweto, Alexandra, Sebokeng, Boipatong, Shappeville. These boycotts were largely inspired by the United Democratic Front (UDF), an anti-apartheid body that incorporated many anti-apartheid organisations. "The UDF and the MK were a broad collision of anti-apartheid organisations united for their political support of the ANC (Jones and Jones, 2002). The MK employed a more aggressive approach as an armed wing of the ANC, while the UDF was more about grassroots mobilisation.

The UDF served as an umbrella for such anti-apartheid organisations as civic associations, trade unions, as well as religious, cultural and student organisations. As it coordinated boycotts, it received considerable support from people in the townships. In Mamelodi, within a short time, a network of 'organs of people's power' was stretched across the township under the leadership of MCA which an affiliate of the UDF. To a large extent, the MCA was becoming more like an opposition party to MTC challenging the Council's political legitimacy and urged people to plead solidarity against the council by boycotting rent increases (Boraine 1989, 1989a). as a result the MCA started to gain increasing domination over day to day events in the township as it was advocating for a common 'tax-base' in black and

white areas (Boraine, 1989a and Walker et al, 1991 p 9). As residents attended meetings of the street and section committees they continued to discuss the township and national political issues. Many of the grassroots organisations and activities were state crackdown in June 1986 when a nationwide state of emergency was declared. The next section highlights how the state attained urban control in the township through the military and security forces.

3.6. Militarisation of Urban Management and Control

With the 1986 State of Emergency, the state was able to gain domination and control of activities in the township by 'provision of services' and suppression of grassroots coordination through the National Security Management Systems (NSMS). The NSMS is a military intelligence, information gathering and security system was that used by the apartheid government. It co-opted existing structures from private and public sector in a comprehensive security apparatus as it was not only required to coordinate government functions, policy and actions, but also to coordinate, develop, and implement policy. It was also a repressive system which sought to gather information as well as to control movement and activity at local level (Boraine, 1990). The state of emergency was declared nationwide a result of increasing popular resistance in the South African townships (Boraine, 1989). In the main, the NSMS was deployed in order to address economic and social problems in local 'hotspots' over which the state intended to win the support of the populace. In South Africa, 34 townships were designated target bases by officials as hot spots of the Joint Management Centre. According to Swilling (1988) the Joint Management Centre (JMC) "is a term borrowed from American military strategists in Vietnam, which refers to the establishment of strategic bases from which the security forces believe they can regain control over the population". Mamelodi, Atterigeville, Alexandra and Mbekweni, or New Brighton, were amongst the townships targeted as such and were identified as military bases (Boraine 1989, 1990).

In Mamelodi, the NSMS strategy was implemented such that the emphasis was on recasting the civil society foundations so that political access points could be structured in a way that does not threaten the system as a whole (Boraine, 1989, 1990). The Joint Management Centre (JMC) and the Mamelodi Mini-Joint Management Centre (Mini-MJC) were responsible for the implementation of this repressive strategy. The strategy was accompanied by housing and infrastructure upgrade programmes. In Pretoria, particularly after the second half of 1986, the JMC was assigned with overseeing the security or 'hard-war' and the welfare or 'soft-war' functions. The security (hard-war) operations were coordinated through Joint Operations Centre (JOC), a branch of JMC based in the township of Mamelodi itself. The JOC coordinated the SADF troops and the police (Boraine, 1989). The JOC's 'hard-war' functions also involved intelligence gathering and monitoring operations which were performed through the intervention of Joint Intelligence Committee

(JIC). The JIC comprised of members of the security office, military intelligence and the National Intelligence Service (NIS) (Boraine, 1990). The JOC would try to gather information as regards all social, religious, business, sporting and political organisations in Mamelodi and to keep track of where activists resided. As a result, control was gained over day to day administration (Boraine, 1989). House to house raids, road blocks and foot patrols were increasingly becoming daily occurrences and this resulted in the detention of over 200 activists in 1986.

Those detained included civic and youth leadership, trade unionists and membership of the sections and street committees (Boraine, 1990). Some of these activists were killed, some bodies were found dumped in the streets and some would disappear. For example, a group of young activists named Mamelodi 10 were misled by Constable Joe Mamaseka, posing as an MK agent and lured them to their death. After telling them that they were to be taken to join the MK in Botswana, these youths were driven in a minibus to a desolate place near the Botswana border where they bombed by the SADF (South African Press Association, 1996). Also, Stanza Bopape (one of the prominent activist), the secretary general of the MCA who, amongst others, disappeared 1988 and his body was never recovered (Kgalema, 1999 p 21-22). In 1988 the UDF was restricted from performing various activities and it was in effect banned. Other organisations like COSATU and their leaders were restricted as well. Despite the declaration of the State of Emergency, the operations of the MK continued in Mamelodi.

While the JOC security side was executing the controlling and repressive strategy in the community, the JMC and the Mamelodi Mini-JMC implemented an upgrade programme late in the 1980s. The programme entailed upgrading of housing and infrastructure as well as provision of services (electricity, water, paving of roads, sewage disposal, parks and schools). This welfare (soft-war) strategy co-ordinated the actions of various government departments and finance for such programmes would be sourced from those departments. Also, the then Transvaal Provincial Administration, which received most of its budget from the Department of Community Development and Planning, allocated subsidies to most of black local authorities in order to make up for the shortfalls in their budgets because of the rent boycotts. Furthermore, the security forces themselves would also draw funds from their budgets to finance the upgrading programme propaganda (Boraine, 1989).

The Mamelodi Mini-JMC would quickly identify problems, where actions needed to be taken and immediately put forward a relatively coherent upgrading programme. This does not mean that these programmes were being implemented as intended, but they were selective, based on security and not welfare considerations and there was no real effort of solving the urban crisis but merely to contain it (Boraine 1989a). The aim was to divert focus from greater political issues and to paint a picture that government is doing something as regards

service delivery. This was one strategy to avoid grievances that would spark community resistance. The upgrading programmes received good media coverage and bolstered the position of the MTC (Boraine, 1989a). However, the black local authorities were still perceived as being under the control of the white government and they did not receive much in terms of the people's support as they were perceived as being corrupt.

The state of emergency was an authoritarian instrument used by the apartheid government to detain and control people. Others could be arrested, hidden and killed without the police or state security apparatuses being held accountable (Boraine, 1990). Even though this strategy included upgrading programmes and service delivery, it was about winning the people's minds, containment, control and neutralisation. Despite the repression strategy implemented in Mamelodi, organisations such as the MCA and the Youth Association (MYA) continued to function at a fairly low level though. Also, the UDF continued to function on a low profile at least until 1991. By 1990 civic organisations in the townships were negotiating with provincial governments in an attempt to advert the collapse of the black local authorities. During these negotiations, "the civics articulated their demands as including non-racial municipalities based on one tax base, and end to offs for services, the upgrading of services and conditions in townships, affordable service charges, the right to organise and report back and the resignation of 'illegitimate' councillors" (Coovadia, 1991). On 9 July 1990, a rent rally was held at the local Pitje Stadium and 230 people were injured when tear gas and rubber bullets were fired. Subsequent to this event, all Pretoria councillors, and some in both Mamelodi and Atterigevile resigned (Walker et al. 1991).

3.7. The MK Memorial Marking

The MK memorial marked a new important trend where the MCA together with the ANC decided to memorialise the victory of their organised rally against authorities considered illegitimate by commemorating the fallen cadres of MK. Although the MCA was not officially party-affiliated, majority of its members were ANC supporters at the time. As the UDF was disbanded in 1991, most if its leaders joined the ANC. The ANC, MCA, MYA and the community as well maintained good relations amongst themselves during this time. The idea of the MK memorial is said to have originated from the community and it was led by the MCA. Funds for the construction of this memorial were collected from the residents themselves" (Bruwer and Martinson, 2005 p 43 and Marchall, 2009 p 4).

Discussions about the need for change in the South African heritage landscape had begun in the late 1980s and intensified in the very early 1990s (Marchall, 2009 p 21). It was proposed that there should be a democratisation and multicultural adjustment of the county's heritage sector. This adjustment meant that the majority of white biased memorial markings of colonial and apartheid regimes would not be removed. Rather, these would be

complemented with the new memorials representing previously marginalised groups. The meaning of the underpinning legend for such new memorial markings was to be portrayed by the “meta-narrative of the struggle for liberation” (Marschall, 2009, p 23). The MK Memorial was the first of this kind. It was marked by a commemorative monument dedicated to all MK cadres from Mamelodi who passed away in the armed struggle against apartheid, including the victims of the Mamelodi Massacre of 21 November 1985. It was unveiled in what is now called Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square (SMFS) on 6 April 1991 at the 12th anniversary of Solomon’s death (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012 p 43 and Marshall, 2009 p 41). According to Marshall (2009 p 41-42), this memorial is somewhat a “make-shift” commemorative sculpture of immense historical importance as it was implemented during the phase of negotiations for political transition towards the dawning democracy. It constitutes the very first such memorials officially erected in a public space by one of the liberation movements, the ANC.



. **Figure 10 | the MK Memorial Marking (Marschall 2009, p 43)**

The MK Memorial is a simplified representation of a figure, a person holding a shield and spear in the left hand and the ANC flag as well as a wheel in the right hand, and it faces towards the east. The shield and spear jointly represent the early wars of resistance, the armed struggle against apartheid and the ANC`s ongoing struggle against racial oppression. The wheel represents the Congress of the People and the resulting Freedom Charter (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012 p 43).

The memorial was set up adjacent to the site where the 1985 Mamelodi Massacre occurred, thereby marking a site of significance. According to Marschall (2009 p 48) the surrounding square was named after Solomon Mahlangu two years after the unveiling of the MK

memorial. “Mahlangu became a symbolic figure for MK memorial as a courageous member and a martyr of the liberation struggle”. However, the tribute was not dedicated to him only an individual hero, but also to all those who died with him for the course of liberation. It is a tribute to ANC as a liberation movement (Ibid). This approach to memorialisation is can be justified as ‘personalising the struggle’ to an individual so that people can relate. However, representing a group with one individual can sometimes be unacceptable to people who might want their family members’ names to be represented as well.

3.8. The Solomon Mahlangu Precinct Upgrade

The CoT successfully applied for the Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant (NDPG) in 2007 for implementing its Tsosoloso Programme. The city was awarded the NDPG funding to implement its neighbourhood renewal programme in a form of Tsosoloso. The NDPG is afforded in a form of a provisional grant to municipalities through the Division of Revenue Act (DoRA), 2007. DoRA stipulates that the goal of the NDPG is to support neighbourhood development that provides community infrastructure and creates a platform for private sector development (CoT, 2009). Its focus is to shift infrastructure investments towards the creation of efficient and effective urban centres through an approach of spatial targeting of public investment and primarily infrastructure. One of its objectives is to create urban centres that will increase economic growth, create employment and increase access to urban amenities, especially for the poor located in marginalised settlement areas, such as townships (Department of Nation Treasury, 2014). Accordingly, the Solomon Mahlanu Precinct was identified as a key centre with great potential to stimulate investment and economic growth.

As explained in chapter I the precinct upgrade project was launched under the Tsosoloso Programme which focuses on rehabilitation of public spaces. This programme was implemented in the context of township or neighbourhood regeneration strategy which is an area-based intervention that aims to create a platform for growth and development to ensure that township communities have access to good and quality environments. (Neighbourhood Development Programme Unit, 2010). Mainly the rationale to develop township regeneration strategies is informed by the concern that these areas tend to lack community and commercial infrastructure such as town centres, nodes, high streets and other activities which allow communities to live work and play within their neighbourhoods. Despite their proximity to major urban economic nodes, townships often host high populations which contribute little to their municipal GDPs. Hence, it is deemed necessary to unlock the resources to an initiating property developments required to transform townships into economically functional neighbourhoods (Neighbourhood Development Programme, 2008). The township regeneration strategy involves many sector departments and different spheres of government i.e. the National Treasury (NDP), SACN, the Department of Cooperative

Governance as well as institutions like DBSA as well as Urban Land Mark. These partners are also supported by occasional associates (Adatia, 2011). The initiative is in place to ensure that investment becomes less ad hoc in township.

In the case of Tshwane, the precinct upgrade mission was to be realised through the implementation of projects in support of the City's five-year strategic plan in accord with the Growth and Development Strategy (GDS). The GDS is intended to unlock real and accelerated growth in the city. However the Tshwane's GDS is not intended to cover all elements of a comprehensive development plan the city but it focuses on initiatives that can catalyse accelerated and shared growth (CoT, 2006). Hence, the various departmental planning initiatives would be implemented in harmony with the five year plan and the City's GDS. As such, the Tshosoloso programme would be in place to align the short-term initiatives with the medium-term and the long-term strategies with particular focus on nodes of economic potential. Accordingly, the Solomon Mahlangu was identified as one of the key nodes identified as having a potential to stimulate economic development.

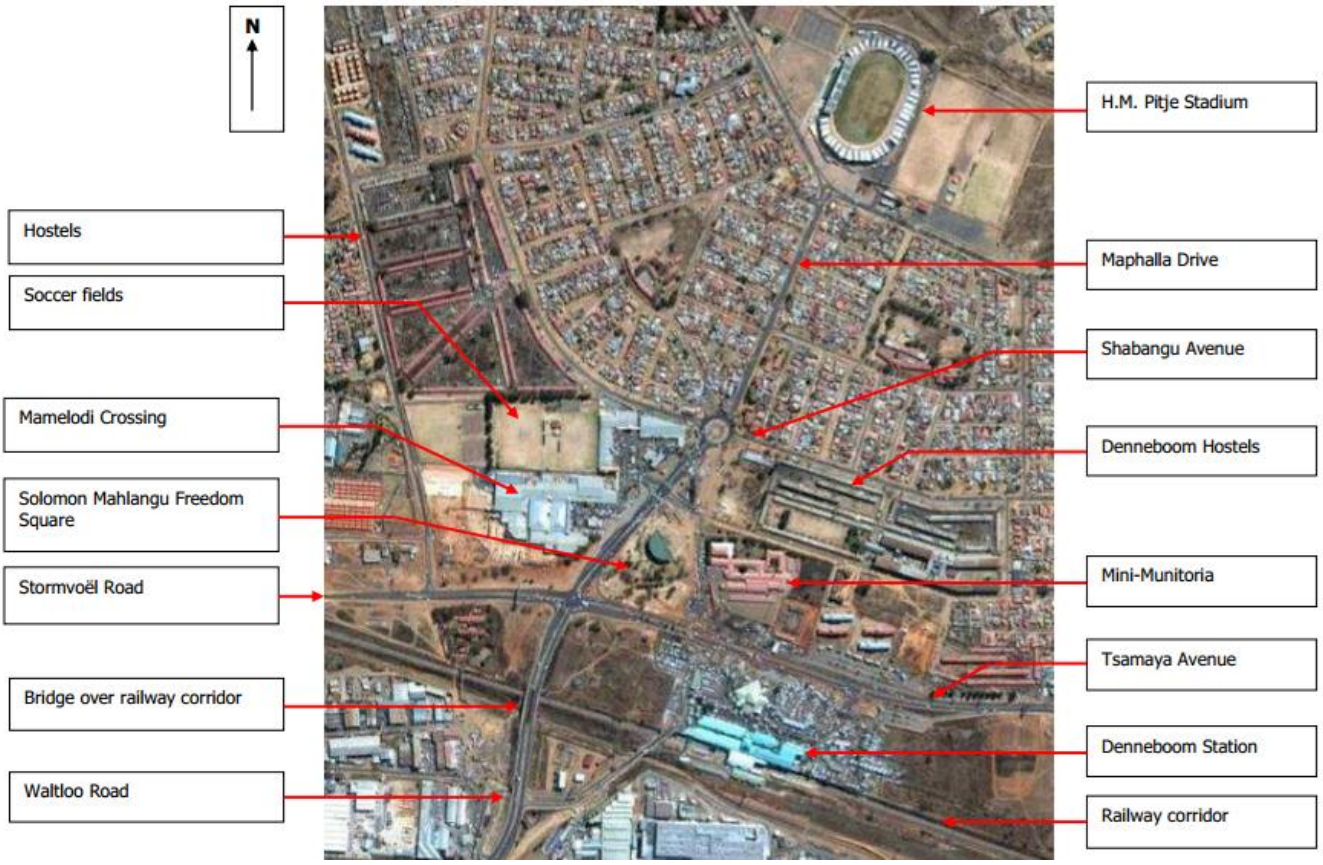


Figure 11| Solomon Mahlangu Precinct area (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012 p 14).

Through realising the rapid growth and economic potential of the area, its neglected public environment as well as the pedestrian and vehicular conflict, the city sought to upgrade the precinct. Here the plan was to implement individual Departmental projects, allowing private initiatives and making land available for investment (CoT, 2011). The CoT made lease

agreements with few several corporations and some of these headed some projects or partnered with the City's in its sectoral projects. The City wanted to enhance the competitive advantage of Mamelodi though improving quality of the public environment and clustering public sector infrastructure in this important centre. It sought to invest in the economic infrastructure and transport system that promotes efficiency. Furthermore, the City aimed at accommodating the local business community, including formal traders within the centre. Most of these plans were addressing sectoral issues and they led to conflict and ad hoc projects (CoT, 2009). The importance of the precinct was emphasised by plans and initiatives that have been developed over the past years. By 2007, the following projects were underway:

- The Solomon Mahlangu freedom Square Urban Design Framework by the CoT Planning Division and Educational Services Division.
- Denneboom Local Integrated Development Plan by the Transport Division.
- Roads Improvement Planning, Plans for the new public transport in Maphalla Drive by the Transport Division.
- Roads improvement planning by the CoT Roads and Stormwater Division.
- A Business plan for Hostel Upgrading by the Housing Division.

These projects proposed projects were incorporated in to the Urban Design Framework (UDF) which was to guide integration and coordinated investment in precinct. However, as revealed in chapter I of this report, none of the above mentioned plans dealt with the problem holistically or in an integrated manner and many of the proposals contained in different plans were contradictory. In addition there were other proposed projects that were unknown and were not incorporated into the UDF as they also did not cognisance the proposed UDF. A significant amount of traffic, land use, urban design and transport planning was done but with no or very little integration. Implementing departments also did not harmonise their actions. Furthermore, there were land and lease agreement issues. As a result, by 2008, none of these projects could be implemented without communication and integration between the different role players.

As alluded in the first chapter, the precinct is a public area encompassing the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square, Mamelodi hostels, the Mini Munitoria (MTC) building, Denneboom Station, and Mamelodi Crossing shopping complex. These facilities are highlighted below:

3.8.1. Mamelodi Crossing Shopping Complex



Figure 12| Mamelodi Crossing Complex western view from SMFS (Martinson and Bruwer, 2012 p 15)

This shopping complex houses stores and loads of parking providing shoppers with convenience and access an array of services to health, food, banks fashion etc. (see Fig 12 above). The proposal to upgrade this complex was done 2008 by Safari Investments (CoT, 2009).

3.8.2. The Mini Munitoria

The Mini Munitoria is a Council administration building with municipal offices. It is also used as a customer care centre for local residents (see the photo below).



Figure 13| A Photo showing a Mini Munitoria in Mameolodi; a western view from the SMFS (Khanile, 2014) .

In 2008, the Mini Munitoria Upgrade (Customer Care facility) was proposed and headed by the CoT Regional Spatial Planning.

3.8.3. Denneboom station



Figure 14| Denneboom station south eastern view from SMFS (Khanyile, 2014).

This facility is a public transport facility consisting of a train station, a taxi rank, and retail facility with a number of shops such as Pick n Pay, Fish n Chips, and wholesales as well food shops and restaurants. It also consists of an informal trading facility for hawkers (refer to Fig 14 above). The Denneboom Station upgrading encompassed the renovation of the train station, integration of intermodal facility (bus and taxi and a pedestrial deck), traders' and formal retail centres. The project was headed by the City Council and Intersite from the private sector. The other project was the Maphala Road Pedestrian and Taxi and Bus Facilities Beautification project as well as New Access Road catalytic project for access into Danneboom Station and both these were driven by Public Works Department (CoT, 2011). Mainly, the focus of this research study is on the square which has heritage significance in the precinct and it was named after Mahlangu to mark its commemorative significance to the apartheid heroes from Mamelodi. The square is discussed in the section below.

3.8.4. Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square

In 1999, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square (SMFS) was officially launched as part of the general upgrading and development of the Solomon Mahlangu Precinct area (Shonisani, 2001 and Mr Molepo, 2014). The original idea of initiating such a commemorative project was headed by the organisation of Mamelodi local artists who came to be known as the Mamelodi Arts and Culture Forum (MACFO). These were performing artists who did music and poetry, as well as visual artist who did painting, sculpturing and crafts. MACFO wanted to develop an Arts Centre and they chose the area where the MK memorial is located. They proposed that the Arts Centre should encompass, the park in honour of Solomon Mahlangu, the stature of Solomon, commemoration of all fallen heroes of the struggle, including the victims of the Mamelodi Massacre as well as a museum, to highlight the 21 November

occurrence, and also to capture the history impacted by the people of Mamelodi within the culture of South Africa (Mr Molepo, 2014: interview).

This proposal was then submitted to the Department of Sports Recreation Arts and Culture Gauteng and the CoT. In 1997, the CoT required that the artists establish the heritage structure so that it could use department's heritage funds to the arts centre project. Thereupon, the Mamelodi Arts Forum (MAHEFO) was established as MACFO's subcommittee to deal with heritage related matters. A lease agreement was established and an arrangement was made that the Council and MAHEFO to work as partners in the project (Mr Ratlou, 2014 and Mr Molepo, 2014: interviews). The Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square project was therefore integrated into the City's Mamelodi Tourist Route and plans for upgrading of the memorial emerged (Ratlou, 2003: cited in Marschall, 2009, p 97). It was also integrated into the City's Development Strategy and it was planned to be implemented under as one of the sectoral projects in the Solomon Mahlangu Precinct as explained in chapter I. The square was then launched as proposal site of the general upgrade. The square project was implemented as one of the sectoral projects in the precinct.



Figure 15| Solomon Mahlangu Square (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012 p 32)

The SMFS occupies the triangular site within the precinct (figure 15 above). It is a heritage site of the Mamelodi Massacre of the protesting Mamelodi residents by the former Apartheid Government on 21 November 1985. Collectively, the heritage site, the community park and the vacant land are referred to as the SMFS by the CoT. The square then becomes the site of the development or site of the upgrade proposal. This site is bounded by Tsamaya Avenue to the south, Makhubela Street to the east, J. Letwaba Street to the north, and Maphalla Drive to the west (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012 p 20).

Before upgrade the site encompassed the community park, the old amphitheatre at the centre and the old shrine, the MK and Mahlangu statues as well as the vacant land on its northern edge (see the images below).



Figure 16| showing an amphitheatre (a) a front from the north and (b) a view back from Maphalla drive (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012 p 44-45).



Figure 17| Chief Mahlangu's House also refered to as Mamelodi house (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012 p 52)

All these form a significant facets of heritage and the component of history of the site. The proposal of the upgrading the SMFS is therefore geared at celebrating and protecting the site in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012 p 19). The Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture of the City of Tshwane sought to create an area with a dignified urban commemoration space, commensurate with the national heritage significance and its symbolic association with one of the heroes of the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa, the late uMkhonto Veterans cadre, Solomon 'Kalushi' Mahlangu (CoT, 2009).

3.8.4.1. Solomon Mahlangu statue

Figure 16 bellow shows a bronze stature of Solomon Mahlangu (sculptured by Angus van Zyl Taylor on a high pedestal) which was unveiled in 2005, directly opposite the UMkhonto Memorial which had been enacted in 1991 as discussed in section 3.7. Commissioned by the CoT and the Mamelodi community, this statue was dedicated to the life of the 'freedom fighter' Solomon 'Kalushi' Mahlangu (Marschall, 2009, 97). The statue depicts a young man dressed in military clothing and holding a globe. According to the attached plague, the globe represents a combination of Africa's richness and the world of opportunities that is now open to all (Marschall, 2009 p 98).



Figure 18| Solomon Mahlangu Statue unveiled in 2005 (Marschall, 2009 p 97)

According to Marschall (2009 p 98), this monument represents a shift from a collective to an elitist approach to commemoration focussed on individual leaders, martyrs and heroes. This manifest itself in wide erection of bronze statues of individuals (usually male) leaders and memorials dedicated to one named person as a representative of an unnamed group. Examples of such statures include Steve Biko in East London, Nelson Mandela in Hamanskraal and Sandton, Mahatma Ghandi in Johannesburg and Chatsworth Albert Luthuli in KwaDukuza (Stanger) Chief Tshwane in front of the Tshwane city hall, Chief Mogale in Mogale City (Marschall, 2009 p 98).

In South Africa, many new memorials have been built or proposed since advert of the post-apartheid era. Most of them commemorate important events in the history of popular resistance against oppression and they pay tribute to those who died the townships through apartheid violence as activists in the liberation struggle. The Solomon Mahlangu Freedom square is as important as those memorials. It shares similar attributes to the Hector Peterson Memorial and Museum in Orlando West in Soweto. Like the Mahlangu and the MK memorials, the Hector Peterson memorial is devoted to a key event in history of the liberation struggle paying tribute to the victims of the 1976 Soweto Uprising. Particularly, these memorials in Mamelodi and in Soweto pay particular tribute to young men who immediately became international symbols of apartheid oppression.

It may be argued that the monuments are meant to teach the youth to appreciate and not to take for granted what the preceding generations fought for. As such, it is important to remember and represent history because the present is always seen in the context that is causally connected with past events and objects. From the very dawn of the emergent new socio-political era, the ANC has pointed to the heroes in enhancing their public profile and legitimising their claims to sacrifices made in their contribution to the freedom struggle

(Marhsall, 2009, p 71). This institutionalised remembrance of selected dead martyrs, victims and fallen comrades in the form of memorials, monuments and statues, does not only complement the existing 'white' memory landscape with 'black' commemorative markers, but also engage in a competitive process of using heritage for such organisations as ANC's own political ends. The ANC continues building monuments in honour of their own leaders and their contributions, which they declare to be the heritage of the post-apartheid nation.

The next section discusses the SMFS upgrade project. It briefly highlights on the history of the project, the design elements which were considered in the upgrade as well as some envisaged benefits which should come with the upgrade.

3.9. The Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square Upgrade Project

The SMFS Urban Design and Implementation Framework had been approved by the Council in 2009. Due to insufficient funds, the project was unfortunately not implemented. In 2012, the City secured funding for the redesign and implementation of this project. The objective of the upgrade was "to create a dignified urban square that presents itself as a living outdoor museum with a narrative that honours the legacy and sacrifice of the late Solomon Mahlangu" (NMA, 2012). This objective was attained through a fluid merging of memory, art, nature, identity, entertainment and experience. The redesign of the square comprised an intensive consultation process. NMA Effective Social Strategists (NMA) was appointed to implement the Public Participation Process (PPP) and the whole of this process is discussed in the next chapter. The diagram below (figure 19) shows a detailed design of the square with the important elements considered as highlighted below.

3.9.1. The detailed design of the SMFS

The implementation of the square's upgraded version included the demolition of the old amphitheatre and the construction of a new one, accommodation of exhibition pavilions and public artworks that relate to the Mamelodi Massacre, lighting and signage for the artworks as well as alteration of the height of the existing Solomon Mahlangu statue to increase its visibility.

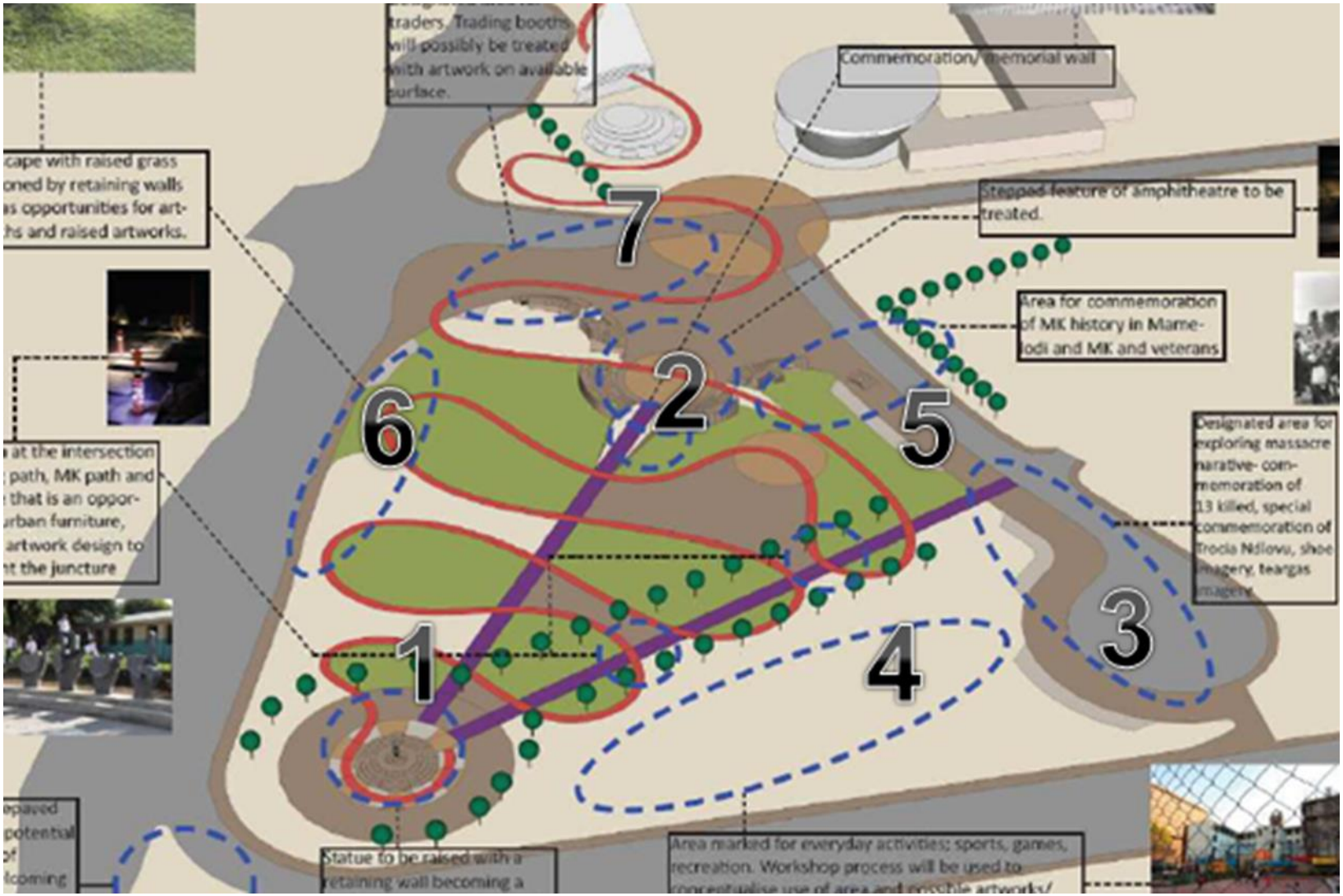


Figure 19| A detailed design of the SMFS (NMA, 2012b).

Figure 19 above shows the key design elements considered in the upgrade of the square. For instance, area marked 1 shows the positioning of the Solomon Mahlangu statues with a sloping plinth. Area marked 2 shows the area sacred to public artworks and the wall of remembrance and it is also where the new amphitheatre is located. Area 3 shows the contemplation space sacred to November 21 Massacre memorial. Area marked 4 is the space for everyday activities. Area 5 is the MK commemorative marking, while 6 is the grassy area and 7 is the trader's facility a pavilion and change rooms.



Figure 20| the newly built amphitheatre in the square (Khanyile, 2014).

The amphitheatre was built as different fragments of the gathering area in a pattern of a semicircle with the focal point at the centre (refer to fig 20 above). The photo of the long run envisaged square shows exactly how the segments of the amphitheatre are arranged (see fig 21 below).

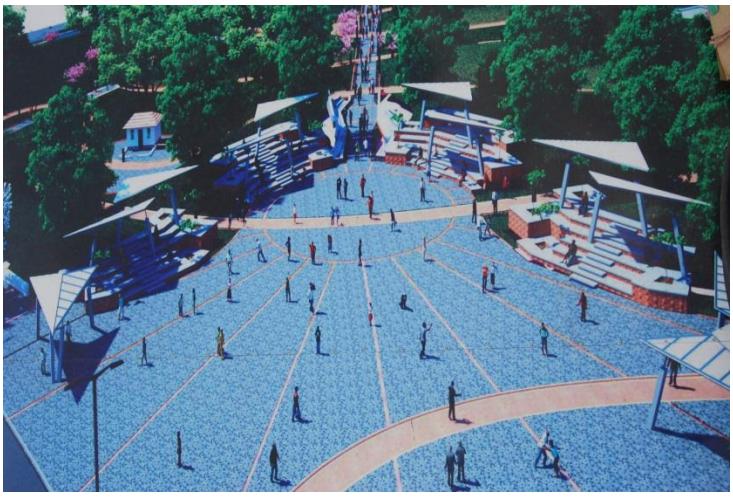


Figure 21| An amphitheatre of the envisaged SMFS in the long run, a view from the north (Khanyile, 1014: a photo taken from the bill board on SMFS site).



Figure 22| Public artworks (Khanyile, 2014)

Figure 22 above show the public arts area where the wall of remembrance will erected and where public arts and the names of the commemorated heroes will be displayed.

Furthermore the upgrade of the square also included the addition of several other design rudiments. Significantly, the design of the project was anchored by the two narrative spines, namely the November 21 spine and the Liberation spine (NMA, 2012).



Figure 23| The November 21 spine on the left is a view from the east and on the right is the view from the west (Khanyile, 2014).

The November 21 Spine traces the route of the 1985 march by Mamelodi residents along Makhubela Street to the Municipal Offices, connecting a number of historically significant sites related to the march and the shootings and the stampede that followed. Interventions along this spine focus on the marking of important sites through public artworks, plaques and exhibition boards, as well as through sensitive upgrading of the public environment. The original alignment of Makhubela Street from the 1980s was preserved as a visual corridor. Original elements from the 1980s, such as the sidewalk, located north of J Letwaba Street, were retained (see figure 23 above).



Figure 24| Liberation spine (Khanyile, 2014)

The Liberation Spine links the existing Mahlangu statue to a shopping complex at the corner of Makhubela and J. Letwaba Streets (figure 43 above). Towards its north-eastern end, the spine enters a new gathering space intended for commemorative events. As the spine bisects the seating beam that envelopes the gathering space, a pair of memorial walls are planned to commemorate fallen heroes of Umkhonto we Sizwe and other organisations and political parties who participated in the liberation struggle.

The Liberation spine and the November 21 spine are criss-crossed by a meandering ribbon pathway which divides the park up into a series of discrete pockets, some of which are paved, others ornamental ground cover, and others grassy mounds. The meandering ribbon can be seen properly in the conceptual design map in figure 19 above. The points of intersection between the ribbon pathway and the spine are earmarked as public art sites. The ribbon pathway also links to a new paved area around the existing thatched Mahlangu house, which is earmarked for sensitive renovation (NMA, 2012).



Figure 25| Behind our friends in the above photo, one can see the meandering ribbon intersecting the spine (Khanyile, 2014).



Figure 26|The reoriented and raised stature of Mahlangu (Khanyile, 2014)

The stature was re-orientated to face the spine across the new park. A new sloping plinth was constructed around the statue to accentuate its importance and to create a vertical surface for a gateway artworks intervention facing Tsamaya Avenue and Maphalla Drive.



Figure 27|Chief Mahlangu's House which was preserved, painted in Ndebele colours and used as a Shrine (Khanyile, 2014).

Chief Mahlangu's house has been preserved as it forms part of the heritage on site (see fig 13 above. It has been painted in Ndebele colours and it remains to be used as a shrine.





Figure 28| showing the pillars which are the remnants of the apartheid access gate to Mamelodi Township (Martinson and Bruwer 2012 p 37-38 and Khanyile 2014).

The two pillars which stand in the square have been preserved (see fig 28 above). These pillars are the remnants of the main access gate to Mamelodi which was erected for influx control purposes. The pillars have been preserved as they also form part of the heritage on the SMFS and now they have a plague giving information about the Mamelodi heritage route.



Figure 29| showing a newly constructed facility with change rooms and traders compartments (Khanyile, 2014)

The above photos show a facility with change rooms, and trader's stalls constructed on site. This facility is meant to accommodate the traders who sell foods and drink and those who sell crafts exclusively.



Figure 30| vacant land on the northern edge of SMFS (Khanyile, 2014)

A future Museum building which will be located on vacant land at the northern edge of the square (figure 27).

3.9.2. Socio-economic benefits to be derived from the square

In the short run, major benefits accompanying the upgrade project fundamentally relate to the construction period. It is envisaged that opportunities would be created for the employment of Local SMME's, sub-contractors and general labour from the immediate community. Associated with the construction activity would be the usual support services that would be established temporarily on the periphery of the site and catering for the needs of the work force during the day (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012). Also, procurement of building materials should ensure employment and work opportunities in the area as a whole.
The most significant long term social impact to be generated by the completed upgrade of the SMFS Square will be the upsurge in pride of the people of Mamelodi. Being able to point to and visit a world-class heritage resource on their doorstep would indeed create confidence and pride in the local residence. The second most significant long-term social benefit is that the completed upgrade of the square will create a significantly scaled heritage and tourism node within Mamelodi, around which other development and upgrade initiatives will flow (MNA, 2012).

Furthermore upgrade would create opportunities for local residents of Mamelodi to benefit economically, primarily from the associated economic opportunities that will naturally develop with the upgraded heritage site. These include, but not limited to, tour guiding, township tours, the manufacture and sale of memorabilia, the provision of refreshments and meals for tourists as well the accommodation for travellers and the like. (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012 p 34).

Socially another important benefit of the project would be to create a safe, secure and managed heritage precinct, with lighting. The heritage precinct falls between a major railway

station, the Municipal offices and two substantial commercial developments. The local residents moving between these adjacent facilities would now be afforded a safe, secure and most importantly an informative passage through the site. The existing thriving informal traders will hopefully be accommodated within the precinct (Bruwer and Martinson, 2012 p34).

Conclusion

This chapter stared by highlighting the history of Mamelodi where the case study is located. It highlighted the key events that relate to the struggle against apartheid, including the riots, and the militarisation of urban management. Furthermore, it also underlined the enactment of the commemorative markings as seen in the form of the MK and Solomon Mahlangu memorials. Furthermore, the chapter on highlighted the Solomon precinct which the broader area where the actual case study SMFS is located. Finally, the chapter reviewed the SMFS project. The next chapter presents the findings of the research study. As it gives an analysis of these findings, it attempts to answer the questions which were raised by the study.

CHAPTER IV| THE NATURE OF THE PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROCESS IN THE SMFS PROJECT

4.1. Introduction

As discussed in chapter I, this research aimed to investigate the nature of the PPP followed in the SMFS project. This chapter presents the findings of the study as they related to the SMFS public participation process. The study sought to evaluate the participation process in the project in the experience of the SMFS. This was done through an examination of the rationale for participation in the project, the methods used in the PPP, as well as the inputs, interests and perceptions of different stakeholders on the overall process followed. The study gathered information on a number of meetings which were held by NMA and various stakeholders in Mamelodi between 20 June and 30 August 2012. Furthermore, this qualitative research utilised questionnaires and the participants were interviewed in face-to-face interviews thereby exploring their perception about the PPP. Overall, the chapter provides an assessment of the PPP as it was practiced in the SMFS project leading to the conceptual design draft. At the outset, the next section uncovers the rationale behind the promotion of public participation in the project.

4.2. Rationale for public participation in the SMFS project

According to the CoT (2013 p 83), the core objective of remaking South Africa's capital city is fundamentally about forging a new identity. The legitimacy of that identity is dependent on how the City's leadership and residents reconcile various historical experiences with a collective vision of the City's reform agenda. This objective necessitates mobilisation of other spheres of government, the residents, civil society, and private sector to oureach and stakeholder consultation processes. As a result, this will concretise the process that leads to a shared understanding of a capital city (CoT, 2013 p 83).

The City draws lessons and inspirations from the Freedom Charter and embraces participation as a legal matter. However the city claims to recognisae participation beyond legislation, but as means of eliciting ownwership of projects by the people. Therefore, this provides a logic and platform for people to accept their responsibility and ownership of the City's problems and to work with all sectors of society in finding solutions (Mr Mbhokodo, 2014: interview). According to Mr Mbhokodo (2014) of the City's Department of Sports Receation Arts and Culture (SRAC), it was necessary for the SMFS project to involve the communty for the sake of their "ownership" because the prooject is community based.

Hence, the project technical implementation could not continue until the community and local stakeholder organisations were consulted.

> The project is community based and its lifeblood was based and is still running in the stories of the community. The people's past and projected recovery of healing and moving forward are to be understood through the memorialisation project at the SMFS. Since it is community based, this project required input from the community for their approval and also to enjoy community support on completion for sustainability and effective appreciation. (Mbokodo, 2014: interview).

According to this statement, the ratonale behind promoting particpation in the SMFS project seemed to have taken into considerartion the fact the community woluld have emotions attached to the project because they directly or indirectly relate to the individuals from Mamelodi who were involved in the apartheid struggle. It is true that people, particulaly those that were already living in Mamelodi by the mid-1970's and mid-1980s, would have memories of the events that unfolded in the township during this time. Assuredly, these momories have been shared to the younger generations to concientise them about history. Being a heritage site dedicated to honouring those individuals who died for the liberation cause, the SMFS is certainly respected by people because of the commemorative meaning it bears. This means that local people would have had a more experiencial or mutual pespective on the stories that were shared about the apartheid struggle insofar as it relates to the SMFS project. Learning from the stories told by the community contributes to social learning and it is a step towards valuing the principles of bottom-up and participatory planning. Suppositionally, the PPP was, to a certain degree, meant to served as a remedial process because the city Council acknowledged that the essence of the SMFS project is embedded in the omitted stories that the community had to tell. The SMFS becomes an arena where memories converge and condense. From the onset, it was therefore a rational decision from the CoT to invite the community to share their stories and memories which related to this memorial project.

Furthermore, the City argued that since the project was community based, it required input from the community for their "approval" (Mr Mbhokodo, 2014: interview). Following the notion that the project is supposeldy community owned implies that their acceptance of the proposed upgrate by the community would render legitimacy in terms of the way forward. On one hand, this means that the community would participate in order to own and legitimise the decisions taken therein regaldles of effect of their inputs and the comprehensiveness of their involvement. On the other, it implies that the project could either be handed over to the community for 'ownership' of decision making as well as organiational, procedural and managerial authority. It would then remain to be seen later whether the community owned the decisions and the management proceedings that relate to the project or their paticipation

served to give a go ahead for implementation. Judging from the statement made by Mr Mbhkodo of the SRAC Department, it is safe to presuppose that the PPP was used as means to legitimise action and to mobilise support through the community's approval.

Moreover, according to the Department (SRAC), the PPP was important for support on completion, sustainability and effective appreciation" (Mr Mbhokodo, 2014: interview). If the community would justly own the project and be empowered from its organisation and resources allotment, the PPP would have achieved its outcome as not only empowering but also as means to sustainability. Here empowerment implies that the local people would have been treated as partners in the decision making and they would have been capacitated to be part of the organisational and managerial aspects of the project. Because people would have learnt how to organise, manage, direct resources and what it takes to implement a community project at local level, it follows that they would have been capacitated to sustain community facilities like the SMFS. Moreover, they would be willing to maintain it since they would have owned it or been part of decision making from its inception. However, participation could be used as means to mobilise popular support and appreciation without any emphasis on people's empowerment and ownership. Even though people would have been consulted to support the project, they would not appreciate it if they did not feel any sense of ownership of the decisions that were taken. Hence, they may use it but not have it maintained as their own. In the case of SMFS, it would seem that the, CoT sought to involve the community in the project so that it can be appreciated by locals when it is complete and possibly take care of it as their own. This would of course need to be supplemented by some form of educational dealings or skills enhancement within the PPP. On one hand, one can argue that sharing the history and memories of the square with the community would suffice as regards conscientising the community to identify with the space and thereby be willing to have it sustained. On the other, one can also argue that the local mutual knowledge and identity attached to the space still needs to be supplemented by skills enhancement of some kind.

Additionally, since the SMFS project is a heritage site, it was therefore a pre-requisite that a Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) be conducted as prescribed by the National Heritage Resource Act (NHRA) of 1999. Accordingly, Osmond Lange Planners and Architects were appointed to undertake the HIA. The HIA necessitated that communities affected by the proposed development and other affected parties be consulted in order to elicit the impact of development on heritage resource. The SMFS HIA report which was submitted to the Provincial Heritage Resources Authority – Gauteng (PHRA-G), included results of the consultation process that was done with all the affected parties. A 30 day comment period was scheduled between 30 August and 02 October 2012 and all the I&APs were invited to comment or raise concerns as regards the heritage impact of the planned activities (NMA,

2012b). All the stakeholders listed in Page 12 (Chapter I) participated in HIA except for Mamelodi Business Forum and Denneboom Traders. The following section explores the methods of participation which were employed in the SMFS PPP.

4.3. The main methods of participation in the SMFS

The main forms of consultation in the SMFS were the meetings. Prior to the meetings with the local organisations, a meeting was held with the Region 6 Regional Executive Director (RED) on 4 June 2012. The aim of this meeting was to introduce the SMFS Project, the project consultants as well as the design elements that would be taken into consideration during the project scoping. The RED office was represented by the Director for Strategy Implementation who was officially mandated for the approval of the PPP. Representatives from the SRAC Department, Ikemeleng Architects and NMA Effective Social Strategists were present at this meeting which served as a means to outline and agree on the PPP and the project's design brief. The RED representative explained that the Community Liaison Officer (CLO) should be appointed. The CLO is the person that liaises between the contractor, the community, the community organisations, ward councillors and other government or private stakeholders to communicate and coordinate their activities (Expanded Public Works Programme, 2012). The RED office also indicated that the CoT had approved a strategic land parcel development, including the redesign of the SMFS and that a number of concepts are available and the various teams' designs must be integrated. The emphasis on integration was prompted by the lack of integration which had happened in the past in the Solomon Mahlangu Precinct. Furthermore, it was proposed that there should be a project risk plan and that and that co-operatives should be targeted and involved in the project (NMA, 2012).

Following the meeting with the RED, the appointed consultants presented the project to Mamelodi Ward Councillors at a meeting held on 12 June 2012. The purpose of this meeting was to introduce the project and the consultants appointed. The design team (Ikemeleng Architects) presented the design brief, while NMA Strategists (the consultation team) presented the PPP brief for the SMFS project. It was agreed that three Ward Councillors would be appointed to assist the consultants during the PPP, probably because these councillors are close to the community since they operate at ward level.

Following the Meetings with the RED office and councillors, NMA was given approval to convene meetings with stakeholder organisations and the public so as to obtain a design brief for the Square and that would guide the formulation of the conceptual design. The list of stakeholders that needed to be invited to the meeting was provided to NMA by the Region 6 office. These stakeholders are listed in page 12 in the first chapter of this report. Each stakeholder was consulted to give their inputs into the SMFS upgrade project. In the context

of this research study, the stakeholders have been classified either as civic society or state organisations. They were consulted by NMA assisted by the ward councillors in consultative meetings. The NMA Public Consultation Report revealed that three types of meetings were used as the main mechanisms or methods of consultation. These were public meetings, one-to-one focus group meetings as well as workshops. These meetings will be discussed below as they materialised and unfolded.

4.3.1. Public meetings

Participants in the public meetings included general members of the public, CoT officials and the representatives of all the local stakeholder organisations. These meetings were formal and organised and they started with an introduction of the consultants, a brief on the project and a brief on the purpose of the meetings. Furthermore, it was made clear that the consultants were there to listen to the inputs community members. These meetings were mainly in a presentation format. A laptop and projector were utilised for the presentation process. After the presentation, community members and representatives of stakeholder organisations were given a chance to raise questions, opinions and concerns.

4.3.2 Focus group meetings

The focus group meetings also formal and organised in and they all commenced with an introduction of the consultants and the purpose of the meetings as well. Here it was also clarified that the consultants were going to collate inputs from Mamelodi stakeholder organisations for the purposes of the design brief. Also, these meetings proceeded with a presentation and later appeared to be in a form of debate. At some instances, participants were given papers and pens to white down their questions or concerns while the presentation continued. These meetings had some degree of flexibility in order to accommodate questions and concerns to be raised also during the presentation. The focus group meetings included the participation of all the representatives from the organisations listed in page 12 of chapter I with the exception of Rastafari Unity Foundation.

4.3.3. Workshops

The workshops mainly featured the Trinity Sessions, a group of 40 local artists who did artworks on site. These artists engaged in session over a four-week period. These workshops were driven entirely by the artists' narratives and story-telling (NMA, 2012c). Thorough this process, the artists were able to use their stories to inform their drawings, paintings and sculpture, thereby sharpening their skills and preparing do artworks on the site once the physical implementation of the project commenced. Furthermore, NMA convened two broader stakeholder meetings one of which adopted a World Café methodology in order to facilitate open discussion amongst the stakeholders. Here all the stakeholder representatives were invited. In addition there was also a public meeting held on 16 August

2012 and it was meant to serve as a workshop where public members and local organisation members were present to interrogate the conceptual design and see how their inputs were integrated into the design.

4.3.4. Methods of invitation used

Different invitation methods were used since different groups have different ways in which they access information and communication. Stakeholder representatives were invited through phone calls, RSVP invitations, e-mails and SMSs. As far as public meetings, local newspaper advertisements were used and loud hailing was done by the ward councillors. Some community members were invited by SMSs and it was also announced on the local radio station. Furthermore, the public meetings were advertised in posters which were distributed to strategic places around Mamelodi in public places such as libraries, community halls and the Mamelodi Mini Munitoria. These posters contained a project brief informing people about the project and the dates and times of public meetings which were scheduled (NMA, 2012c). It is necessity to highlight the methods of invitation which were used to make sure that people attend the meetings because these methods affect meetings attendance. Certainly, the consultants did a great task in carefully considering different methods of invitation.

4.3.4. Language used

The study reveals that the standard language used for communication in meetings was English. However, in the case of public meetings a translation in SeTwana was done. The posters which were published in order to brief people about the project and to invite them to meetings were written in English, IsiZulu and SeTwana (NMA, 2012c).

The next section briefly highlights each of the meetings that were held. Furthermore, it makes reference to the purposes of each meeting, the participants, and inputs as well the interests pursued. In addition, the main issues or concerns and outcomes of meetings respectively are discussed.

4.4. The Meetings, Inputs, Issues and Decisions

4.4.1. 21 June Public Meeting

On 21 June 2012, a public meeting was held with to introduce the background to the proposed development project and the consultants to the Community. The meeting proceeded with a presentation made by the consultants' team identifying the key elements to be considered in the redesign of the SMFS. Following the presentation, a number of anonymous community members were able to raise their opinion and questions. For

instance, community member suggested that the project should be able to create permanent employment, another member suggested that a museum should be built to capture the history of the place, another member said that the square was initiated by Mamelodi artists and they should be properly consulted, anonymous asked if there were no consultants from Mamelodi who could undertake the project (NMA, 2012d). Despite some of the positive comments, it was the researcher's observation that some of the community members like the last above mentioned community member did not seem initially to understand the role of NMA and Ikemeleng Architects well in the project. Some of these locals perceived these consultants as developers from outside who wanted to invest and develop the area without understanding the local matters and history. As a result, the community disbanded the meeting through a boycott demonstration. However, this did not affect the PPP as the process continued and it was later clarified in the stakeholder meetings and the public meeting held on 16 August 2012 that the consultants are appointed by the city to assist with the PPP and the design and they are not in Mamelodi to invest.

4.4.2. World Café

A Broader Stakeholder Meeting was held on 28 June 2012 at the Mamelodi West Community Hall. NMA distributed invitations to all key stakeholder organisations within the area. The purpose of the meeting was to obtain detailed input from the stakeholders regarding the design of the Square (MNA, 2012c). NMA had identified a specific public participation technique, known as the World Cafe, for gathering stakeholder input into the design brief using a series of focused questions. However, this process could not be implemented due to the issues raised by stakeholders. These issues were primarily historical in nature and focused on prior processes and projects in relation to the Square (MNA, 2012d). For instance, a meeting attendee indicated that the CoT had planned to implement the same SMFS upgrade project and this was not done but now there is another one underway. One of the participants indicated that that are they are anticipating the implementation of the design that was presented three years ago. Furthermore, some stakeholder representatives argued that the stakeholders present at the meeting were not necessarily representatives of the Mamelodi community and suggested that more stakeholders should be invited and the community should be engaged as well (MNA, 2012). However, the stakeholder meeting was constructive in guiding the project team on the process that should be followed to obtain stakeholder input. It was thereafter concluded that one-on-one stakeholder interviews would prove a more appropriate technique to obtain stakeholder input.

4.5. One to one Stakeholder meetings

One to one meetings with a variety of stakeholders from within the development area were held on 2, 3, 5 and 9 July 2012. The purpose behind convening such meetings was to

amass ideas from various stakeholder organisations to inform the redesign of the SMFS. A sequence of focused questions was developed by the consultants' team to provide guidance as regards deliberations to make sure a consistent approach is applied across all stakeholders (NMA Effective Social Strategies, 2014). To provide guidance to the consultants team in collating inputs into the design of the Square upgrade and its heritage and public art components, the following questions posed by the design team:

- "What does this place mean: to Solomon Mahlangu's family and comrades, to people who were present on 21 November 1985 and their families, to the broader Mamelodi community, to South Africans and to the World?
- How do we remember: through commemoration, contemplation, celebration or ritual?
- How do we tell the story of the place: through exhibitions, artworks, performances, or guided tours?
- What kind of place do we want to make: a sacred place, an everyday place, a square, a park, a garden or a mix of these?
- What can we change: the Solomon Mahlangu statue (can we raise it, can we move it, can we rotate it), the amphitheatre (can we move it, make it smaller or put a roof), the existing trees (should we keep it, should we plant more), the Mamelodi house (how should we treat it)?
- The future (what needs to be changed: paths (how do people walk across the site, do we need new paths); Fences (do we want to close the site with a fence, where should the gates be); the Everyday (what activities should be allowed/ accommodated: braais, picnics, music, sport, games); Traders (can we accommodate them, where and how), and Lighting (do we want to use the Square at night)?
- Participation (how can we involve the local people) – community members, workers, artists, local businesses and local people with a story to tell?"

(NMA, 2012c)

These questions were probing, showing that the consultants' team treated the consultation practice as a learning process and most of the questions were not close ended and this allowed participants to share their perspectives without limitations. Stakeholders were also afforded opportunities to raise any general comments or issues of concerns (NMA, 2012). Furthermore, the attendants were allowed to take these questions to their constituents and for more time to contemplate around what they desired and send back written comments to the consultants' team.

4.5.1. ANC Youth League meeting

At a meeting held with the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) representatives on 02 July 2012. The Youth League showed support and that it is interested in projects that develop residents and the youth from within the area. The representatives of the YCL said they would discuss the questions with its constituencies, who would then provide inputs into the design and development of the SMFS. The ANCYL represents a constituency of young business people and those who want to acquire skills. The ANCYL indicated that they would like to assist the consultants in facilitating the PPP.As the state organisation, the ANCYL is in principle expected to represent the interests of the community, especially the youth. However, it is a political organisation representing interests of the ruling party. Thus, would have been problematic to have the ANCYL heading the PPP because the "dominant party syndrome" (Deacon and Piper, 2008) would come into play to dictate the process towards being biased to those who are within the ANC political camp. In this sense, the participation process would also be used as an instrument legitimising political control by the ANC. Nonetheless, NMA clarified that the PPP has to be led by neutral consultants who have no agenda or interests in the project. Although the ANC Youth League did not make lots of inputs to show their interests nor to pursue the interests of the community, they suggested that the inputs presented by all the stakeholders should be presented to the public (NMA, 2012d). This attests to the rhetoric that the organisation some degree of respect for the people.

4.5.2. SANCO meeting

On 02 July 2012, another meeting was held with the South African National Civil Organisation (SANCO). SANCO representatives suggested that exhibitions, information boards and a museum should be used to tell the story about what had occurred in November 1985. (NMA, 2012d) Mr Ratlou of SANCO said that SANCO would like to submit inputs that represent community and not certain individuals. SANCO represent a constituency of local organisations and the community. It is certainly a well renowned organisation that has played a crucial role in organising at grassroots level, thereby constituting a resource for community participation and collective action. A number of respondents suggested that SANCO is one of the key organisations in Mamelodi and have been involved in consultation processes since the inception of the SMFS project. It is reasonably inclusive as well and many community members have felt free to raise their views at SANCO gatherings (Mr Ratlou 2014, Mr Molepo, 2014, Mr Sialetsa, 2014 and Mr Mabena, 2014: interviews). Although this was not easy to verify within the PPP, however it was noted that the SANCO representatives indicated that SANCO would hold a meeting with the community on 04 July 2012 and they will be collating information and make a single submission. They suggested that people from the east and west of Mamelodi should be invited because they are having stories to tell regarding the events that occurred. Later on their written submission, SANCO

suggested that the SMFS should be a place that could be used by all including families and children and it should have play and picnic areas but no braai facilities and stalls and the SMFS should be a landmark used to host cultural activities and it should have an African theme. They further suggested there should be plaque with a list of names of the fallen heroes and the paths should be designed to connect with symbols and the statue of Mahlangu be raised. Additionally, SANCO suggested the entrance should be located next to the Mini Munitoria and if it is located next to the Mamelodi crossing mall (on Maphala Drive), an overhead bridge should be built to ensure safety of pedestrians. Judging from the inputs made by SANCO one can conclude that, to an extent, pursue interests of the community general because they are considerate of families, children and pedestrians (NMA, 2012d).

4.5.3. MKMVA meeting

Also, another meeting was held on 2 July 2012 with uMkhonto We Sizwe Military Veterans Association (MKMVA). The MKMVA representatives proposed that there should be a wall of remembrance with the name of all those who lost their lives in the 21 November 1985 Mamelodi Massacre. They suggested that it is okay to have various activities on the space, e.g. family picnics and children's play area but part of it should be sacred to commemoration. Furthermore, they also suggested that the story of Mahlangu and MKMVA must be told (NMA, 2012d). Organisations such as MACFO and MAHEFO supported that the story MKMVA be told. According to MKMA's inputs the story of their organisation and that of Mahlangu should come to the fore; however, they do want the space to be inclusive to the community and children. It is fair to the MKMVA story told through MK memorial since they played key role through the armed struggle. The MKMVA seem to be open for the square to be used by everyone and to accommodate various activities. This is a positive element which signals that they are willing to have all interests in the community represented.

4.5.4. ANC Women's league Meeting

At the meeting held with the ANC Women's League representative, on 04 July 2012, the participants representing the ANC suggested that the square should tell the story of the freedom struggle. They supported the idea of the wall of remembrance and suggested that the names of all those who played a role in the struggle should be captured on that wall. They also suggested that Solomon's statue should be placed isolated from everyday activities according to the Women's League, commemoration is more important in the SMFS than other activities.

4.5.5. Denneboom Traders meeting

Another meeting was held on 04 July 2012 with the Denneboom Traders who recommended that traders who have been using the square before the upgrade would have to be relocated to Denneboom. It was agreed that it would be improper to have the selling of fruits and

vegetables in the newly upgraded square. Rather the square should only accommodate traders who sell arts and craft. The Denneboom Traders representatives suggested that there should be no games played at the square because these have nothing to do with the history of the place. Furthermore, they suggested that the square should have ornamental gardens and benches and lawns for people to sit (NMA, 2012d). For this organisation the SMFS be used as a place to relax and reflect about history and it should reveal itself more as a commemorative space than other uses. Mr Kgapola (2014: interview) said that as Denneboom Traders, their role in the community is to advice ward councillors as regards developments and they consider themselves the cabinet of the of the Ward Councillor and they represent the community because they were elected and their constituencies are all the traders and informal businesses within the ward. Denneboom Traders claims to represents the interests of informal traders based on membership. Based on their inputs, the Traders organisation did not take into account much in term of community interests, even the ones of traders. For them the square should be treated as sacred as possible and everyday activities should be minimise as much as possible.

4.5.6. KwaNdzuza Tribal Authority Meeting

At a meeting held on 04 July 2012 with the KwaNdzuza Tribal Authority, Chief Mahlangu, the elder brother of Solomon and the spokesperson for the Mahlangu family, indicated that he was amongst the first settlers when Mamelodi was established. He indicated also that he constructed that the Mamelodi house that was supposed to be shrine. He said that when the Solomon Mahlangu Statue was erected, a ritual was performed. If the stature is now to be removed, raised or rotated, a ritual must again be performed. The Chief also suggested that the Mamelodi house should be preserved and be used to provide information regarding Ndebele culture and also to serve and as an information office (NMA, 2012d). For the Tribal Authority, the space should reflect more the culture and tradition of the Ndebele tribe. This idea was later challenged by such organisations as A For this organisation the SMFS be used as a place to relax and reflect about history and it should reveal itself more as a commemorative space than other uses MACFO and MAHEFO for being biased as it only represents the one cultural group.

4.5.7. The ANCPCO meeting

Again on 04 July 2012, a meeting was held with the ANC Parliamentary Constituency Office (ANCPCO) representatives. The ANCPCO representatives suggested that the SMFS should be used as a place for celebration and remembrance. They suggested that a place like a museum should be built where videos and recordings would be used to tell the story of the area and the Mamelodi Massacre. They proposed that the story should relate to the fact that Mamelodi is the only place in South Africa where all political prisoners were sentenced to death. They said that SMFS should not be politicised around the ANC but it should capture

Mamelodi history (NMA, 2014). For ANCPCO, the emphasis was on telling the story of freedom struggle through the experience of Mamelodi and not the ANC nor its military wing. The ANCPCO did not want the square to be politicised around the ANC.

4.5.8. Mamelodi Massacre Committee meeting

On 04 July 2012 another meeting was held with the Mamelodi Massacre Committee. The representatives of the committee suggested that a fully-fledged theatre should be built instead of an amphitheatre. They suggested that the Mamelodi house should be used as a reception office, to be painted in Ndebele colours and it should capture the images of those who lost their lives. They suggested that also the two pillars should be retained as part of the heritage and that the MK statue be retained, the square be fenced and arts and craft traders be accommodated through designated stalls within the square (NMA, 2012d). For the Massacre Committee, the art is an important technique of telling the story of the square and local artist should showcase their by being afforded an opportunity to lead the process of doing artworks on site.

4.5.9. Mothong African Heritage Meeting

Another meeting was held on 04 2012 July with the Mothong African Heritage Trust. The Mothong representatives recommended that the SMFS should tell the South African history and its prospect as a democratic country; it should be a national 'calabash' representing the national diverse cultures and traditions and may not be in function at night time, however, it needs lighting. They further recommended that the Mamelodi house be refurbished and redesigned such that it blends with the architecture of the area. Small House (Mamelodi house) should be converted into Indumba (a shrine) where people's calabash and other ritual utensils could be kept. The painting of the same house must be Rainbow colours. For the Mothong African Heritage Trust, it is important to for the space to highlight the significance of SMFS in the context of the narrative of a democratic rainbow nation and unity in diversity, thereby reflecting the principles of social equality.

4.5.10. The SACP Meeting

Another meeting was held with the South African Communist Party (SACP) on 04 July 2012. It was agreed that the South African Communist Party (SACP) representatives would refer the questions posed to their constituency and a collective submission will be made on 5 July 2012. "The SACP represents a constituency of all poor and working class people in Mamelodi" (Mr Tshabalala, 2014: interview). On their written submission, the SACP suggested that the subcontractors should be from Mamelodi and locals should be employed (NMA, 2012d). For SACP the emphasis was on the fight for community interests in terms of local procurement and job creation so that people could participate for material incentives afforded by the project.

4.5.11. MACFO and MAHEFO meeting

On 05 July 2012, a meeting was held with the Mamelodi Arts and Culture Forum (MACFO) and the Mamelodi Heritage Forum (MAHEFO) where intense issues were raised. Mr Molepo said that as MACFO and MAHEFO they would like to raise issues regarding the project background and ownership. He said that the Mamelodi artist community developed a plan for the SMFS between 1995-1996 that was submitted to the Council and adopted by them. He said that MAHEFO and MACFO therefore believe that they are the rightful project owners and view the Council as project partners. He said that the artists had an approximate ten year lease agreement with the Council and during the lease agreement signing; they had mentioned that they require a 99 year lease in order for them to develop the Square and due to the apartheid laws of the time, they were provided with a shorter lease. He requested that Councillor Ndlovana inform the CoT that MAHEFO and MACFO are the rightful owners of the project; and they are concerned about the lease because since 1996, and the Council should treat them as a strategic partner in the SMFS project (NMA, 2012d).Therefore, he proposed that a memorandum of agreement should be signed between the Council and MACFO and MAHEFO.

Despite the issues of ownership and the lease agreement, the MAHEFO and MACFO representatives were willing to participate fully in the processes and provide their design input. It was suggested by Councillor Ndlovana that the MAHEFO and MACFO should convene a meeting with the SRAC department in view of the issues highlighted (NMA, 2012). The MAHEFO and MACFO representatives suggested that: the new amphitheatre should be built in the same position and sunken into the ground, the statue could be raised for visibility purposes, the square should be sacred for contemplation and the Mamelodi house be restored to house the artefacts and information regarding the history of Mahlangu family. Furthermore, they suggested that the project should be a green project and all the trees should remain so that people would be environmentally conscious and the trees should be named after fallen heroes of the liberation struggle. In their written comments, MACFO and MAHEFO suggested that there should be a change room and ablution facilities, a workshop for arts and sculpturing, an art gallery, flea market space, cafeteria kiosk, as well as retail outlets for arts and crafts. In addition, they suggested that the site should have palisade fence so that there would be no ingress and egress points except in the two gates (NMA, 2012d). The inputs made by MACFO and MAHEFO were quite detailed and encompassed a variety of design elements that showed a detailed understanding of arts and culture.

4.5.12. Mamelodi Crossing Meeting

The Mamelodi Crossing Representatives proposed that the Square should be treated as important because it is the entrance to Mamelodi and it should be treated as memorial site.

They said that access to the Square must be free because people of Mamelodi are not wealthy. Furthermore, they proposed that that there should be an arts studio for artists on site and that there should be exhibitions telling the story of Mamelodi. In addition, there should be guided tours on site. Lastly, the Mamelodi Crossing representatives suggested that the main contractor and subcontractors should be sourced from Mamelodi. These representatives seemed to have interests of the local people to benefit financially from the upgrading of the square.

4.5.13. Mamelodi Business Forum meeting

On 09 July 2012, meeting was held with the Mamelodi Business Forum with an aim of obtaining a design brief. At the meeting, it was noted that the site was being used by informal traders already. Thus the forum recommended that the SMFS be designed such that it has the infrastructure which would accommodate formal trading of informal traders, for example, formal areas should be designated for selling foods and refreshments (NMA, 2012d).

In addition to the suggestions raised the participants were asked were asked to respond with regards to fencing lighting, trees and the amphitheatre, whether the SMFS should be fenced and many stakeholder suggested that fencing should be there and with two access gates. Many of the participants suggested trees should not be cut and there should be lighting and the amphitheatre be demolished.

Using the input provided by the stakeholders, Mamelodi Ward Councillors and RED's office, the architects formulated a draft conceptual design of the Square. The draft conceptual design was then presented to the RED's office, the Mamelodi Ward Councillors, the stakeholders who participated in the one-on-one meetings and the broader public for comment. A meeting was arranged on 6 August by the Deputy Director of Tsosoloso Programme with the RED where the draft conceptual design was presented by the design team. On the same day, the draft design was presented at the meeting with Mamelodi ward councillors. One issue was raised with regards to the informal traders' accommodation on the site. The concern was that traders are unmanageable and they do not adhere by the by-laws.

4.5.16 August Broader Stakeholder meeting

On 16 August 2012, a broader stakeholder meeting was held with various stakeholders and its purpose was to present the draft conceptual design to the stakeholders. At this stage inputs had been collated to allow the design team to prepare the draft conceptual design for the SMFS. In order to ensure that their inputs were incorporated into the design, the stakeholders had requested that the conceptual design should be presented to them prior to it being presented at a public meeting. Still, the stakeholders were welcome to interrogate

the design and to provide further inputs (NMA, 2012d). According to NMA, the design team made a presentation and included the following aspects:

- “The importance of accommodating a museum
- Addressing security issues on site
- Demolishing the amphitheatre; Lighting for the site.
- Treating the southern site as sacred, with a mixture of a park and a memorial garden;
- The northern site should accommodate other activities such as a theatre, places for picnics, children’s play areas, music, arts and crafts traders, the wall of remembrance, exhibitions, artworks, performances and guided tours. (the northern site refers to the site where the amphitheatre, Mamelodi House and Solomon Mahlangu Statue are located)”(NMA, 2012c).

After the presentation was made, MACFO advised that the MK veterans were not the only organisation that played a significant role in the liberation struggle. Therefore, the proposed naming of the sidewalk spine as the ‘MK Spine’ would not be a true reflection of other people, organisations, and groups who were also actively involved in the fight for liberation. The SRAC Department suggested that the spine should be renamed to a general name. As such, the design team suggested that it should be renamed a ‘liberation spine’ and this was accepted by the all stakeholders (NMA, 2012d).

Furthermore, MACFO were in objection of the demolition of the amphitheatre and argued that the facility was assessed by qualified engineers who found it being still structurally sound. According to MACFO representatives, the amphitheatre had been in use immediately prior to the upgrade of the square. They argued that the structure should be preserved in terms of heritage or rather be upgraded into a fully-fledged theatre and an arts centre be created. They envisaged the arts centre to have galleries for the visual artists and crafters, an arena that will house dance artists and choreographers, as well as an information centre or a library for writers and learners. SRAC Department affirmed that the amphitheatre will be demolished and a new one will be constructed alongside the museum and funds would be allocated in future for the arts centre. Also, MACFO cautioned against a possible clash of cultures over the Mamelodi house that will be preserved. They argued that this house represents only one particular cultural group, the Ndebele group and it does not essentially reflect the Mamelodi houses which are the four-roomed match box types, thus, it should not be named a Mamelodi house. It was concluded that the design team would be have to attend the matter pertaining to renaming the Mamelodi house and giving the SMFS an African theme (NMA, 2012d).

At this meeting, an anonymous meeting attendee raised a concern that there might have been stakeholders that were excluded in the PPP. For example the Pan African Congress

(PAC) was not amongst the organisations consulted. If key stakeholders have been excluded, this would have cost implications for the project as the processes would be delayed. Indeed this would create tensions also amongst the stakeholders because others would think that there were other stakeholders that wished to side-line others for their own agendas in the project. In essence it would therefore seem as if the PPP was not open and democratic. On the same day, a public meeting was held after the stakeholders' meeting.

4.5.14. 16 August Public meeting

On 16 August 2012, a public meeting, which served as a workshop, was held and various stakeholders along with public were present. This meeting was convened with an aim of presenting the draft conceptual design to the community following the inputs that were given by various stakeholders. It was explained to the community that inputs were translated in to the design based on popular views and further inputs were welcomed to possibly alter the draft conceptual design.

An anonymous member of the community enquired as to who would be commemorated and how would their names be submitted? It was recommended that if people of Mamelodi want certain names to be commemorated on the remembrance wall, they should submit these names for verification. With regards to the submission of the names of fallen heroes, it was finalised that this would be done through the regional director. This process would be advertised and the submissions would be verified but in the interim, names could be submitted to NMA and they would forward these to SRAC Department (NMA, 2012). As the meeting unfolded, another anonymous community member inquired if there would be employment opportunities in the project, particularly for the unemployed.

Councillor Ndlovana said that once the design is completed, the way forward would then focus on the skills and SMMEs procurement. She said that the process of skills and SMMEs audit will determine the skills and SMMEs that are available within the targeted areas of possible employment in the project general workers will also be targeted during this process. It was then concluded that details of skills and SMMEs audit would be provided at the meeting scheduled in October. It was also indicated that the Department of Economic and SMMEs Development would assist in accommodating the traders. During the period when the meetings were taking place, workshops were also being conducted with involvement of artists where they were sharpening their skills (NMA, 2012d).

This section has highlighted all the meetings that took place in SMFS PPP. It has identified the participants and the inputs they made in each meeting respectively. Furthermore, the researcher has attempted to analyse the participants' positions and their roles insofar as they made their inputs. Additionally, the issues and concerns which arose in the meeting

have been highlighted. The following section explores the perceptions of various stakeholders interviewed about the PPP in the SMFS project.

4.6. Perceptions about the SMFS Participation Process

The respondents were asked about what they thought were the strong qualities and the downfalls of the PPP. A qualitative research method was used for this assessment, thereby gaining a deeper understanding of the participants' impressions and perspectives. This assessment was done by means of prepared questionnaire seeking to know how the participants perceived the PPP in terms of its fairness, openness and the efforts which were done to ensure community's involvement in the discussions, the objectivity of information shared, as well as how their inputs were taken into consideration. Most of the responded by saying that they appreciated and valued the process as they were able to voice out their opinions as regards the redevelopment of the SMFS. They felt that their inputs were valued and there were a number of subjects on which respondents felt they were well consulted and there were a few others which they detested about the PPP. Some of the positive aspects can be summarised as follows:

- The meetings were well organised and enough time was well allocated for each meeting to engage issues as a consultative process.
- A free environment was created, thereby making the participants free comfortable to give inputs.
- The PPP was justly about getting people's views and not to force them into anything else.
- People were fairly given an opportunity to disagree, raise opinions, questions and concerns during the PPP, as well as to seek clarification on matters.
- When questions were raised, the consultants answered well without showing any fear, favour, prejudice or animosity towards the participants.
- The public members were also given a fair and open chance to give their inputs in a public platform.
- The consultants were inspiring and stimulating the participants to engage.
- The consultants were objective and unbiased.

There were a few others who felt that the nature of the PPP tended to be more consultative rather than debating. Some of the responded felt that the overall period given to the PPP was no sufficient and it did not allow the participants enough time to reflect think about the design elements comprehensively and possibly consult amongst themselves so that they could participate meaningfully. Some of the community members indicated that they had no

knowledge about the project and the PPP and its meetings that were scheduled. They alleged that the ward councillors have a tendency of selecting certain sections or wards of the township where they issue information because they have support base in these selected areas. Furthermore, nearly all the respondents felt that the defect of the PPP was that they were not consulted in terms of the implementation progress on site.

4.6.1. Community individual's perceptions about the PPP

Certainly, not everyone in the community was appreciative and felt that they played a central role in the project from the elementary conceptual phase to the design shaping the project and ultimately partaking of economic opportunities for jobs. For instance, the researcher had an encounter with a total of eleven community members that responded with regard to the SMFS project. Six of the residents said that they were aware that there was construction taking place at the SMFS area but they had no knowledge about the project itself and what was actually being constructed on site. Actually, these residents asked the researcher to explain about the project and what exactly was under construction there. This was indeed puzzling to the researcher because all these residents were from Mamelodi extension AA where the SMFS is situated. The following five interviewed community residents knew about the project and they attended the public meetings which were convened. They gave their perception to the researcher as follows:

An anonymous community member (2014: interview) said that she got to know about the meetings through an SMS and because she usually attends meetings she registered her contact details in the attendance register. She said that, as residents of Mamelodi, they were in agreement with what was proposed by the CoT and other local stakeholders in terms of SMFS upgrade. She that their concern was that employment opportunities should be offered to the local residents and this was raised at the meetings and it was well considered because there was a promise by councillors that definitely the locals will be employed once construction starts. However, she said that at the moment she is not aware whether people have been employed in since meetings have not been held since the physical implementation of the project commenced.

Another anonymous member (2014: interview) said that if the community had not been consulted about SMFS; they would have stopped the construction as soon as it commenced. He indicated people were given an opportunity to raise questions and give inputs. Furthermore, questions were soundly responded to, thus the PPP was fair and open. Mr Skosana (2014: interview) there was no problem with the way the community was consulted. He said that they had time caucus, raising their issues and concern as well as informed questions with other affected parties outside the invited official meetings. Moreover, they agreed on everything and they were keen that the development should go ahead. Another

anonymous Mamelodi resident (2014: interview) said that people did have a fair chance to make suggestions but he did not because the SMFS Upgrade Project was promised some years ago and he perceived the project as an empty promise and he was not so captivated by it, even though he attended. Ms Phiri (2014: interview) said that she did not know who had organised the meetings and assumed that it was the consultants themselves. She said that the meeting seemed to be a presentation of a finished product and the community was not happy with that because they did not understand the role of the consultants in Mamelodi generally. She said she did attend other meetings but it was great that other local stakeholders were attending and giving inputs because she has faith in the local stakeholders as they represent the community well.

An Anonymous Mamelodi Resident interviewed (2014) said that they used their informal business at the square before it was upgraded. The said that they were told to vacate the square because it would be upgraded but they were not really given details of the upgrade. She said that when they were removed, they were told to use the space next to Denneboom station but that space is not properly managed because anyone can just come and takeover one's space. She said that the problem is that they are not registered. If this continues being the case they will use the square again once it is open.

4.6.2. Stakeholders organisations' perception of the participation process

Mr Sialetsa (2014: interview) of Mamelodi Massacre Committee noted that the information about the PPP was publicised through posters put up at places like the customer care centre, the libraries and municipal offices and the local newspaper. He said that the system used to communicate to the community was fair and approximately all the stakeholders were invited. He said that as the Massacre Committee, they were taken for a site visit were and consulted specifically in the subject of the Massacre but also there were ongoing meetings with various local stakeholders. Furthermore, he said that there was a tour planned by the city council to visit other commemorative sites like Sharpeville Massacre, and the Hector Peterson Square and all stakeholders were part of this tour. According to Mr Sialetsa (2012: interview) the massacre committee's inputs in the project was that there should be a wall of remembrance with the names of all the victims of the massacre, a spine of walk ways and the museum well as, and that SMFS should be a point of departure for Mamelodi heritage route.

Mr Sialetsa (2014: interview) said that when NMA was giving the background during public meetings, it seemed that their inputs were taken seriously. However, it would have to be confirmed once the project is complete. Mr Sialetsa indicated that after the appointment of the contractor or since the implementation commenced, there has not been consultation about the progress of the project. He said that it is hard to tell whether the community was

happy with the PPP or not but people are happy to see the implementation of the project. He said that, in the implementation phase, it was supposed to be communicated as to how people have benefited in terms of employment on site but instead information was taken to ward councillor who became the 'number one citizen'. She is the one who knows all the information in terms of the number of skilled and unskilled people, the percentage of women, men and youth who were employed, as well as the procurement of local SMMEs. Such information has not been communicated to the community because there have not been progress report meetings (Sealetsa, 2014). In concluding, he warned that if PPP is not corrected by focusing on involving people and capacitating them to manage and maintain the square, things are likely to go 'back to square one'. The upgraded area would be degraded, the statues 'vandalised', and the international image of Solomon Mahlangu be dented (Sialetsa, 2014: interview).

Mr Molepo (2014) of MACFO also indicated that as stakeholders, they have not been consulted in terms of the labour employment and subcontracting. Nonetheless, they are happy with the fact that their artists are involved in some of the works on the site doing sculpturing, painting and decorating. He said that going forward, they need to address the question of resources that they need as artists. Also, there is a need to address the question of how the new park will be used and a programme has to be drafted of activities that will take place in the park. This includes ways to monitor the type of trading that will be allowed to take place in the park and only arts and craft stalls and tourism should come into the picture. As soon as the park is finished that should be a ceremony to hand it over to the community and the community of artists should perform at the ceremony. The square should be handed over to the community so that the community would assume ownership. That would be key in avoiding vandalism by community residents (Mr Molepo, 2014: interview).

According to Mr Raltou (2014) representing MAHEFO and SANCO, the PPP itself was, to a large extent, open and fair. Stakeholders were well consulted and they were happy. There were also public meetings which were facilitated by the councillors and the community at large was given a fair chance to give their inputs through in a public platform at meetings (Ratlou, 2014: interview). To a large extent people were happy about way they consulted at the inception of the project to share their stories and memories. Furthermore they were happy about project because it puts Mamelodi good picture in terms of heritage, history and tourism. In terms of immediate benefits to the community, it is not easy to tell because it is not known who has been employed and how. Furthermore Mr Raltou (2012) said their inputs were well taken into consideration and where there were alterations made, the consultants and the design team would come back and present those alterations to MAHEFO. In concluding, Mr Ratlou (2014: interview) argued that the PPP is a difficult process "one

cannot say has done it", but is an "ongoing system" which must be improved, resourced and workshops should be arranged especially for organisations.

Mr Ratlou (2014) who is also a SANCO representative said that SANCO represents a constituency of local NGOs and local community that they coordinate local civic organisations. And they give strong voice to the local organisations as well as ordinary citizens. They provide strategies for collective action they are the voice of the people and they have always been tier voice from apartheid times. He said that SANCO was also part of the first organisations which worked with MACFO in initiating the Solomon Mahlangu project. SANCO had meetings outside with their constituencies outside the invited meetings where they had their discussed and made inputs to the project, which would later be submitted to the project consultants. SANCO also provides representatives for local participatory structures such as the community development forums and ward committees, as well as directly taking residents' issues to local officials and councillors (Mr Ratlou, 2014: interview).

Mr Tshabalala (2014) of SACP recalled that loud hailing was done in Mamelodi East and posters were also put up in community places such as Mamelodi community hall and the Stanza Bopape Hall. Thus people were fairly and stakeholders invited, stakeholders were and the residents were fairly consulted and given the opportunity to raise their concerns and make their inputs, the community was generally happy with the PPP and the consultation phase was given sufficient time. He said that they attended meetings as SACP and their inputs were that the SMFS should not be privatised, but it should be open to the community for use, but also, people should benefit in terms of employment. He said their inputs were taken well into consideration and the community has benefited in terms of labour employment and SMMEs subcontracting and this information is accessible from the Ward Councillor. He said that the ward councillor, together with the Community Liaisons Officer (CLO) coordinates labour employment and SMMEs' procurement around the ward (Mr Tshabalala, 2012: interview).

Mr Kgapola (2014), of Danneboom Traders said that they were telephonically contacted and invited to attend consultation meetings. He felt that the PPP was not sufficiently done as it was given a short time period whereas there were many stakeholders to be consulted and the community was not given enough time to prepare and develop their ideas. In the main, the community wanted the main contractor to come from Mamelodi. As Traders' representatives, they mainly wanted the traders who used the SMFS upgrade to be accommodated elsewhere and this was done because shelters were constructed adjacent to the square and stalls were designated to stalls. A far as the interests to the project, Mr Kgapola (2014) said that some stakeholders wanted to lead the participation and development process. He claimed that other stakeholders wanted to own the project while

others had vested business interests into the project. He suggested the PPP could have been done better if was given a longer period of time. However the community was happy with final design of the SMFS. The community was given labour work and a few businesses subcontracted. Nonetheless, the PPP "could never be improved because those in power dictate the tone and the tune" (Mr Kgapola, 2014: interview).

4.6. To what extent were the inputs of the participants taken into consideration in the final design of SMFS?

The various inputs made by different stakeholders in the PPP accentuated the notion that people wanted to see a space of remembrance that reflects the history of Mamelodi more than it tells the story of any organisation. Most participants emphasised the idea of it being user friendly and accommodative to users of different ages as well as every day and commemorative activities.

- Eight stakeholder organisations indicated that the site should be fenced;
- Seven stakeholder organisations indicated that the visibility of the Solomon Mahlangu Statue should be improved;
- Six stakeholder organisations indicated that the existing trees should remain with additional trees planted.
- six stakeholders suggested that there should be a museum.
- Five stakeholder organisations stated that the amphitheatre should be replaced with a theatre on the northern site;
- Four stakeholder organisations indicated that the new amphitheatre should have a roof;
- Many stakeholders indicated that the amphitheatre should be built at a different position
- Three stakeholders recommended that there should be a theatre to host performances.
- Almost all stakeholder organisations indicated that the Mamelodi House should be preserved.
- Many stakeholders indicated that the Mamelodi House should be decorated to reflect the Ndebele culture.

To a large extent, the conceptual design final draft of the SMFS did take the inputs of various stakeholders into consideration. Following the PPP, the final decision rested with the SRAC Department assisted by the design team regarding the incorporation of all the inputs that were made by the participants. According to Ms Moonoo and Mr Mbhokodo (2014:

interview), the final decision makers ensured that all the inputs from local stakeholders were incorporated into the final design in accordance with the project principles. For instance, the stories of liberation and the role of the MK were told through the MK and Mahlangu memorials and the Liberation spine, the story of the Mamelodi Massacre was told through the November 21 spine and the history of Mamelodi was told through the pillars reserved for heritage purposes. The statue of Mahlangu was raised, a new amphitheatre, change rooms and traders facilities were built, and also grassy areas with gardens were made. The memorial wall was constructed and the place does reveal itself as a commemorative space. The old house and trees were preserved. However, it was decided that an arts centre encompassing a museum, the arts gallery, a theatre, and the information centre would be built in the next financial year.

It must be noted that the design elements which were considered important and incorporated into the final design draft were not very different from those which had been considered in the initial conceptual design draft made prior to the PPP. From listening to the audio tapes of meetings recorded by NMA, the researcher discovered that, inasmuch as the PPP was guided through open ended and standard questions, it was also guided through a consideration of certain design rudiments. These were the elements that were deemed as important by the design team. For example, the Liberation and the November 21 spine, the everyday (play and picnic areas) and commemorative spaces (sacred areas with statues, the old house and ornamental gardens), pathways, museum were considered as the key rudiments. These were the elements though which the PPP was led, because the design team posed questions regarding how important the participants considered these to be and how they should be treated in the design.

Furthermore, the researcher discovered that Ikemeleng Architects completed an initial draft of the conceptual design for SMFS before the consultation phase commenced. For instance, the researcher observed that the draft design was presented at the public meeting held on 21 June 2012 and the 16 August stakeholder meeting where the researcher was present. However, the researcher cannot evaluate the extent of changes or improvements which happened between the date mentioned above and the date of completion of the PPP. It is only through observation in the above mentioned meetings that the researcher can maintain that the PPP was guided through a draft and certain elements were considered to lead the process. By its very nature, the PPP was not based on initiating a completely new product. Thus, it could have been the case that the residents participated to legitimise the conceptual design and rudiments proposed by the design team. For instance, in the case where the residents were in favour of the proposed design fundamentals, it was approval for those features. Therefore, PPP would have somewhat served to legitimise the decisions which had informed the initial proposal. However, the participants equally had the power disapprove of

certain features. The level of participation in this project could then be likened to delegated power, which is the second top rung in Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Participation, where it is possible for citizens to achieve a dominant decision. The residents did not formulate the design themselves but they had the power to vote and veto the design elements they were not in favour of. They had the power to alter the design rudiments determine the kind of a place they would appreciate.

Despite the fact that the participants were able to alter the design, it could still be argued that the PPP was treated as means to an end. Since the process was guided by the design team through specific design fundamentals, it could have been possibly channelled to a desired design outcome envisaged by the designer and CoT. Disappointingly, the researcher cannot support this argument since there are no plans which contrast the proposed design prior to and after the PPP. However, this point is important in assessing the extent to which the participants participated within the framework of what the CoT and its appointed designers had envisaged.

Another point that is worth highlighting, although hard to verify as well, relates to the claim that MACFO made in terms of having initiated the SMFS project. According to MACFO most of the proposed design elements had always been in their old plans. If this is true, it somewhat supports the point mentioned in the paragraph above, it could then be argued that the PPP was based on pre-set or pre-determined design rudiments. Nonetheless, considering the draft design or not, many of the inputs made by the participants in the PPP were still fairly reflected in the final design. Overall, the PPP had its successes and positive outcomes and likewise the obstacles to its success would have prevailed as well. The section below highlights some of these major successes and what could be considered as impediments to the success of the process.

4.6. Major successes of the PPP and/or obstacles to its success

One of the successes of the participation process speaks to the fact that the community was part of the making of the SMFS and they were able to share their aspirations. Most stakeholders agree that the participation process was fair and open to all. Even though PPP was not much capacitating to the community, it however, contributed much to the capacitating of the artists as they were involved in the workshops where their skills were enhanced and they were later employed to do artwork on site. Through the PPP, the relationship between the CoT and local stakeholders was strengthened. Indeed this is a sensitive project to families, the community at large, but also to other organisations such as MKMVA, ANC the Massacre Committee, MACFO as well as other organisations. It is sensitive politically as well; hence, it was necessary that local organisations and the community were invited to share their memories in this commemorative marking. Being

community based, the project virtually, required input from the community for their endorsement and appreciation. The PPP achieved its main objectives which were to inform the community about the project and involve them from its inception. Furthermore, the aim was to share views, memories and perceptions of the local stakeholders as well as the broader community and these would help the design team to obtain a design brief which would help develop a conceptual design for the SMFS (NMA, 2014). It was also a great achievement that the major stakeholder organisations were invited to partake in the PPP. Moreover, the major success of the PPP perhaps include the fact public awareness was raised and on the role the community and local stakeholders have to play in shaping their future and landscape transformation through inputs to initiated projects. According to Ms Moonoo of NMA, the PPP initially proved not to be successful as the stakeholders refused to allow the proposed process to continue. The initial process was not proving to be effective and had to be amended in accord with the terms of the stakeholders. Nonetheless, the amended process proved effective. Furthermore, the stakeholders were frustrated as input on the project had been sought from them on numerous previous occasions, but nothing had come out of this. Some of them therefore came into this process with negative perceptions (Ms Moonoo, 2014). However, the PPP changed the negative perceptions and feelings which the local stakeholders had towards CoT as regards the background of the SMFS project. Also, the community initially had its queries as they did not understand well the role of NMA and Ikemeleng Architects in the project. They were expecting everything to be handled by city the council officials and local stakeholders. However, it was later explained well to the community that these are the professional consultants appointed by the city council to assist in the PPP and the design of the SMFS project.

The CoT was aware of the frustration from MACFO and MAHEFO and it did not advise the consultants about the issue of a lease agreement that needed to be resolved between this organisation and City. The City could have explained this to the consultants so as to devise an approach to address the matter with the organisation in question and the consultants would assist in allaying MACFO's frustration. It was somewhat puzzling to the consultants when such profound issues as ownership were raised. This could have potentially been detrimental to the PPP, however the matter was handled well by the organisation itself and the Councillors alongside the facilitators.

Some of the obstacles to the success of PPP include the fact that varied opinions on how to commemorate and upgrade the square were raised. Form the data gathered around the study, it would seem that the participants had different views regarding certain design elements, for instance some would suggest that the amphitheatre be demolished while others thought that it should have been kept. Others would suggest that the statue be raised and rotated while other though it was fine the way it was positioned. Other organisations

wanted the Ndebele culture to come to the fore while others objected to this idea as being biased to one cultural group. Some stakeholders would mention that there were other stakeholders who had business and political interests in the project. In addition, the PPP was, to a large extent, able bridge some of local politics dilemmas which might have existed among local organisations and residents After all, it would seem that the project was able to incorporate different views and to create community and stakeholder consensus.

Perhaps what might have been an obstacle to the success of the PPP was the limited time given to it. According to Ms Moonoo (2014: interview) of NMA, the time given to the PPP was not sufficient because there were many stakeholders to be consulted. The period from June to August 2012 was a tight schedule pre-set by the CoT and NMA had to consult all stakeholders within such a limited time period. Sometimes there would be four different stakeholder meetings held in one day. Essentially, there was only one meeting held with each stakeholder and if stakeholders needed more time to contemplate on the design, they were only given a chance to make their inputs via written comments and submit after a couple of days. There would otherwise be no second chance in terms of another meeting. We should be cognisant of the view that a "high level of participation is often contradictory to efficiency or efficacy" (Sinwell, 2005). It is true that participatory approaches to development require more time for both beneficiaries and developers of the project. "It is much easier, and takes significantly less time for developers to implement a development project for which they come up with the plan". On the contrary, "it is much more time consuming to engage with the community and to actually develop plans in accord with their exact interests, not to mention handing the project over to them completely" (Sinwell, 2005). Genuine participation which leads to proper development of plans according to people people's needs and sincere visions might make it possible for the project to reach its goals in terms of time allotted. For example, a project may take long since developers would have to allow enough time for the community to address the project plans in order to ensure that their real interests are reflected. This might also require more resources to be used to ensure that the people participate meaningfully to their satisfaction.

In the case of SMFS, one can conclude that the CoT had targets to reach in terms of lime allotted to the project. This means that the participation phase had to be minimised to a certain period such that the time allotted for project implementation does not lapse. It could be argued also that the shorter the consultation period, the lesser the resources required. It would therefore seem that the SMFS PPP was implemented such that it increases efficiency, to avoid costs and time delays. This might bypass the idea of emphasising on the act of participation as means in itself, but channel the focus on minimising time and cost so as to achieve implementation targets set by the Council. Therefore the PPP was more used as a technical fix to render efficiency.

Additionally, one can conclude that the SMFS PPP was treated as an “event”, a project episode or phase which would come to pass even though the overall implementation is incomplete. While the project was practically underway from 2012 until the end 2014, the participation process was only scheduled for two months of the year 2012. Coming into the implementation phase of the project from 2013 to 2014, there has not been consultation, even to keep all stakeholders updated about the implementation progress on site. Certainly, one can conclude that the participation process was treated as a two months “event” of a three year project. In this way people were treated as partners in every aspect of the project because the physical implementation aspect went on without people’s involvement. It can thus be argued that people’s participation was perhaps only limited to fulfilling a legal requirement, legitimising decisions, mobilising support or even to rendering effectiveness by limiting time and resources.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the study findings and attempted to answer the research questions in terms of the participation rationale. The main rationales that come out clearly to relate to the SMFS project speak to effectiveness, approval or legitimacy and local support. Furthermore, the researcher has explored the methods, the participants and their inputs as well as interests they pursued in the project. Moreover, the chapter has evaluated the participation process and different and presented participants’ perspectives on it. It has also endeavoured to examine the extent to which stakeholders’ inputs were taken into consideration, successes shortcomings of the PPP. The next chapter serves as a concluding remark on the overall report and provides some lessons learnt as well as a few recommendations.

CHAPTER VI CONCLUDING REMARKS

5.1 A brief overview, lessons learnt and recommendations

Motivated by the importance of public participation and planning transparency in the development or public projects, this research has explored the nature the of public participation process (PPP) in the experience of SMFS. Captivated by the multiple significances and procedures of participation, the study has explored the rationale for public participation and the methods of participation employed in this project. Stimulated by the assortment of stakeholder organisations that participated in the project, the researcher sought to explore the roles and interests and perceptions of these organisations and how they affected the end product.

This research report began by setting the context in terms of situational analysis, the project and theoretical background to which the nature of the public participation process was investigated. The researcher had no qualm as regards the methods of public participation used in the PPP as these proved to have been open and procedurally fair to the participants. However these methods could have been more encouraging as far as debating is concerned rather than formal presentation and procedural probing. Having a participation process does not mean that the public will necessarily impact the decisions. Equally, participants are neither experts nor unbiased but is important that participation techniques become thought provoking stimulating, and encouraging debates. The more they encourage debates; the participation techniques allow participants, especially the public, to improve the quality of decisions in many ways. For instance, by offering local or site specific knowledge, generating alternative solutions or uncovering mistakes.

It can be argued that the methods of invitation used in this project were fairly diverse and considerate of different ways in which interest groups get to access information. However, there were few community members that had no knowledge of the project. Perhaps this might be a relevant lesson to be learnt about Ward Councillors targeting certain areas where they distribute information because they have a support base as it was alleged by some community members in Mamelodi.

In an attempt to determine the level and the extent to which this process contributed to the design and how it was perceived by those who participated, interviews were conducted with some of the I&APs. Through these interviews, some general issues pertinent to stakeholder effective involvement and models of decision making were identified. The study has proven to be a success in terms of examining the nature of the participation process. The participation process itself has likewise been successful in as means to achieving some of

the goals for the implementing agency (CoT). Very little can be deduced about the PPP revealing itself as an end in itself in the SMFS project. Numerous advantages and shortcomings have emerged from this study, thereby presenting planners with lessons to learn. As concerning the PPP itself, the study concluded that the process revealed itself partly as a remedial process because the community was invited to share their stories about SMFS. Furthermore, people had some power to influence decisions and to be specific in terms of how certain design elements should be treated. However, this had nothing to do with the participants developing a new plan, or taking initiative in organisational and managerial aspects of the project. Despite people's participation, it was the researcher's conclusion that the consultation process revealed itself less of as an empowering process perhaps to what Arnstein (1969) called "citizen control" or where citizens wold be initiating action. It was concluded that the process revealed itself also a technical fix, means to achieving efficiency, mobilising support and legitimising decisions. This conclusion by the researcher was based on the procedure of this process, time allotted the rationale provided by the SRAC Department. While the rationale is clear on "ownership" "approval", "effectiveness", and "support" and "sustainability", the limited time allotted to the PPP makes one question the process as to whether it allowed meaningful participation of the people.

In terms of the participants, civil society organisations were the main vehicles for representative participation. These organisations somewhat constituted a resource for citizen participation. Most of them laid claims to representing a constituency of local people and some of them would indeed hold meetings with the locals in their own invented spaces. These organisations were the main associations through which inputs were made. Furthermore, the civic associations have a key role to play at local level and they are particularly relevant for collective action of communities. Therefore, their relations should be strengthened. In the case of Mamelodi, the researcher observed that civic organisations have good relations with one another and different representatives seem to know one another well. They claimed to have a good culture of consulting with one another regarding any matter that involves the Mamelodi community and this is surely a good foundation for an irrepressible civil society. However, we should be warned against relationships that are based on personal dealings where leaders are elites who want to dominate, control and co-opt civil society organisations. Nonetheless, the development of such organisations should be encouraged at local level and these organisations should be in place to complement the ward committees in enhancing public participation. Furthermore, these organisations together with the ward committee themselves should be given training at local level through workshops. Moreover, spaces of interaction should be expanded and made flexible to allow more space for deliberations.

To avoid personal agendas and interests from being too influential and to satisfy the concept of 'planning with and for the community', it is important to have representative participation processes. However, civil society organisations' views must not be considered in isolation. This means incorporating the views of all the groups and individual values. Also, objectivity is important and it must be understood that certain civic associations merely represent the views of their individual members and not the entire community which they might claim to represent. Accordingly, planners' attention should be divided to establishing group and individual values and goals. Part of this could be achieved by planners attending and observing meetings of civic associations in order to understand their principles and objectives. Furthermore, time has to be devoted to observing individuals' behaviour within civil society and outside these organisations, for instance in executive meetings and in public meetings. Organisational and individual values and opinions need to be assessed as far as possible by discerning both individual and group values held within wards or neighbourhoods. Furthermore, civil society associations together with ward committees should be given time for contributing into planning even to such an extent that they develop their own plans and doing their own surveys and interviews at local level. In this way, they may be capacitated and the culture of consultation would be entrenched through their organisation at local level.

In order to create room for responsiveness, the planning authorities should institute a strategy for public participation as early as possible for public participation processes to be effective. It must be organised and it should include provision for the public to be involved throughout the planning process especially from problem identification and goal formulation stages. This would somewhat create sense pf ownership of the participation process itself to people. Furthermore, planners should strive to encouraging citizens to be owners of the plans instead of simply shaping the plan by making inputs. This could be achieved through allowing agendas and participation techniques to be as flexible or less rigid as possible. Moreover, people should be allowed to shape the participation processes themselves i.e. to suggest ways in which they want to participate instead of following set sequences of participation. Furthermore, government's agenda should be made clear to the public and local civic organisations before the PPP is underway. Likewise, the agenda of the consultative meetings should be made available early enough for the public to conduct their own in-depth research and for civic organisations to hold their meetings should they feel the need to do so. This would not only allow public access to the state's decision-making processes, but it would also allow the people's views to be accessed during procedures and them to develop visions and eventually make informed inputs.

Participants and all the IA&Ps should be afforded feedback from the Council and facilitators of the PPP even if their inputs had no effect to the final decisions taken. With adequate

feedback and reasoning behind the decisions taken and why certain inputs were discarded, public disappointment may be avoided. In the case of SMFS, there were instances where the participants were given feedback on their inputs and how these were or not incorporated into the design. If rational explanations are given to the participants as regards the decisions taken, the PPP then becomes a learning process. Similarly after the official participatory meetings, feedback should be given to the public in a form of minutes of meetings and results of their inputs. One of the strong points about the nature of the PPP in the case of SMFS is that the minutes of meetings were well documented and made available to all local stakeholders who were involved in the PPP. In addition to this, local government should be available and prepared to answer to any questions or concerns raised regarding the results of meetings and follow them up to ensure accountability.

One main shortcoming of the PPP in the SMFS project relate mainly to the fact that the consultation phase was scheduled for a certain time period, somewhat limited, and it did not last up to the physical implementation phase. Regardless of the end of MNA's contract with CoT, the participation process could have been carried on with the aid of ward councillors and other city officials as well as leaders from local organisations. It is the researcher's opinion that participation processes should run from the inception of projects alongside all other activities pertinent to projects' progress until completion. For instance, in the SMFS project implementation phase, there were supposed to be meetings where the people are informed as regards progress and employment and procurement matters.

It is always an advantage to have a local authority's official or planner facilitating the participation process. This person can actually ensure that those with formal authority to implement the results of a participatory process will indeed follow up. This is key in guarding against a situation which Balducci in Forester et al (2013 p 262) warns us in writing that "too often, we have seen an exciting participatory planning process wasted after its results vanished into a black box of prevailing administrative procedures". Independent PPP facilitators like NMA are often dictated by those who appoint them (Councils) in terms of how the PPP should be carried out. They might be hired to only concern themselves about the consultation process scheduled for a certain period and be limited to certain matters while bypassing others. After that period, their involvement is automatically terminated. As such, certain matters which would have been addressed in PPP may then be bypassed when the independent facilitators are gone. Whereas, having a city officials as PPP facilitators also gives them the responsibility of ensuring implementation does not divert from the outcomes of the PPP. For instance in the SMFS PPP there was a promise that there would be a meeting in October 2012 to follow up on employment and SMME procurement. However, there were no meetings until end of 2014 and people had no idea in terms of what had happened ass concerning labour and SMME procurement. Having someone from within the

local authority facilitating the PPP should also place responsibility on them in making sure that the initial purpose of PPP is not defeated going forward.

When planning, designing and implementing public participation processes, consultants are faced with a number of challenges it is important therefore that planners are aware of the importance of some of the lessons which were drawn from the study. Planners play an important role in determining the quality of the participation process. Therefore, it is important for planners to be objective in facilitating these processes and to make sure that information is scrutinised and criticised. A final lesson found from this research suggest that public participation needs to be an ongoing process and one cannot really come to a point where one can say it is enough and the participation has been done. It is a never ending and an enduring process that needs to be natured, remedied, and resourced and methods of participation will need to be improved from time to time. Municipalities need to constantly allocate funds and promote programmes in which planners, city officials, local residents and civil society leaders are equipped with leadership and communication skills and engage in deliberative processes about development of their communities.

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- Regional Executive Director's at 10:30 Office Meeting 04 July.
- Mamelodi Council Meeting 12 June 2012 at 10h00.
- Mamelodi Council Meeting 18 June 2012 at 10h00, Mamelodi Mini Munitoria
- Mamelodi Public Meeting 21 June 2012 at 15h00, Mamelodi West Community Hall..
- Mamelodi Stakeholders Meeting June 28 June 2012 at 15h00, Mamelodi West Community Hall.
- ANC Youth League Meeting 02 July 2012 at 10:30, Mamelodi West Community Hall.
- South African Nation Civil Organisations Meeting 02 July 2012 at 12:30, Mamelodi West Community Hall.
- UMKhonto WeSizwe Military Veterans Association Meeting 02 July 2012 at 14:00, Mamelodi West Community Hall.
- ANC Womens' League Meeting 04 July 2012 at 13:30, Mamelodi West Community Hall.
- Denneboom Traders Meeting 04 July 2012 at 10h00, Mamelodi West Community Hall.
- KwaNzuza Tribal Authority Meeting at 04 July 2012 11:30, Mamelodi West Community Hall.
- ANC Parliamentary Constituency Office Meeting 04 July 2012 at 10:20, Mamelodi West Community Hall.
- Mamelodi Massacre Committee Meeting 04 July 2012 at 13:30 Mamelodi Amphitheatre site.
- South African Communist Party Meeting 04 July 2012 at 15h00 Mamelodi West Community Hall.
- Motong African Heritage Trust Meeting o4 July 2012 at 15:35 Mamelodi West Community Hall.
- Mamelodi Arts and Culture and Forum Meeting 05 July 2012 at 13:30 Mamelodi West Community Hall.
- Mamelodi Crossing Meeting at 05 July 2012 10:50, Mamelodi West Community Hall
- Mamelodi Business Forum 09 July 2012 at 14h00, Mamelodi Mini Munitoria.
- Stakeholder Meeting 16 August 2012 at 11h00, Mamelodi West Community Hall.

- Mamelodi Public Meeting 16 August 2012 at 15h00, Mamelodi West Community Hall.

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Mr Molepo, V. (2014) representing MACFO and MAHEFO, interview on 11August 2014 in Mamelodi

Mr Richard, R. representing SANCO and MAHEFO, interviewed on 18 August 2014 in Mamelodi.

Mr Sealetsa, A. representing Mamelodi Massacre Committee, interviewed on 18 August 2014 in Mamelodi.

Mr Kgapola, K. representing Denneboom Traders, interviewed on 14 August 2014, in Mamelodi.

Mr Tshabalala, P. representing SACP, interviewed on 14 August 2014 in Mamelodi.

Mr Mbhokodo, I. representing the City of Tshwane, interviewed on 19 August 2014 in Mamelodi.

Ms Moonoo, U. representing NMA, interviewed on 22 August 2014 in Parktown North.

Ms Phiri, community member interviewed on 13 August 2014 in Mamelodi.

Mr Skosana community member interviewed on 13 August 2014 in Mamelodi.

Anonymous one, community member interviewed on 13 August 2014 in Mamelodi.

Anonymous two community member interviewed on 13 August 2014 in Mamelodi.

Anonymous three community member interviewed on 13 August 2014 in Mamelodi.

Anonymous four community member interviewed on 13 August 2014 in Mamelodi.

Anonymous five community member interviewed on 13 August 2014 in Mamelodi.

Khanyile N (2014) SMFS site visit photos Mamelodi.

ANNEXURE A

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET and CONSENT FORM

Good day

My name is Ntokozo Vincent Khanyile, a student currently undertaking a study as a requirement for BSc Urban and Regional Planning with Honours at the University of the Witwatersrand. The study aims at establishing the perceptions of different stakeholders about the Public Participation Process that was undertaken by the City of Tshwane with its appointed consultants (NMA) in the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square project. It is hoped that this information may enhance our understanding of the experiences and perspectives of local people and community organisations in participation processes at local level.

On the basis of the findings of this study, the researcher hopes to make recommendations for future interventions and participatory processes at grassroots level. The result of the study will be written up in the form of a research report and will be made available for reading at the Council's Department of Sports Recreation Arts and Culture.

I therefore wish to invite you to participate in my study. Please note that participation is totally voluntary and refusal to participate will not be held against you in any way. If you agree to take part, I shall arrange to interview you at a time and place that is suitable to you. The interview will last approximately for one hour. You may withdraw from the study at any time and you may also refuse to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with.

Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the study and I shall answer them to the best of my ability. Should you wish to receive a summary of the result of the study; an abstract will be made available to you on request. I may be contacted on 076 8755 862.

Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in my study.

Yours humble:

Ntokozo Vincent Khanyile

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY

I hereby consent to participate in the research project. The purpose and procedures of the study have been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may refuse to answer any particular items or withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences.

Name of Participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

ANNEXURE B

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROCESS QUESTIONAIRES FOR MNA

I am Ntokozo Khanyile, a student from Wits University currently undertaking a Public Participation research on Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square (SMFS) in fulfilment of a Bachelor of Urban and Regional Planning Honours Degree. I am currently doing interviews, gathering different perspectives on the SMFS Participation Process that was scheduled between June and August 2012. I am therefore consulting with different stakeholders that were involved this process to hear their views. Please note that participation in these interviews is completely voluntary and participants are free to stop the interview at any time should they feel uncomfortable. Below is a list of questionnaires asked to each interview?

1. EVALUATION OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROCESS

1.1. Was the public participation process Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square (SMFS) public participation process (PPP) sufficient?

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1.2. Were the mechanisms applied to the PPP effective?

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1.3. If not what were the areas of concern?

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1.4. Were all the stakeholders, including the public, happy about the PPP?

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1.5. Do you think the PPP was given sufficient a time period?

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1.6. Which stakeholders were involved in the final decision making process (that informed that design) after all the inputs were collated (following the PPP)?

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1.7. What do you think were the major successes of the PPP?

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1.8. What were the obstacles towards its success?

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1.9. What could have been done better to maximise PPP successes?

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1.10. What other PPP mechanisms could have been relevant?

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ANNEXURE C

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROCESS QUESTIONAIRES FOR THE CITY OF TSHWANE

I am Ntokozo Khanyile, a student from Wits University currently undertaking a Public Participation research on Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square (SMFS) in fulfilment of a Bachelor of Urban and Regional Planning Honours Degree. I am currently doing interviews, gathering different perspectives on the SMFS Participation Process that was scheduled between June and August 2012. I am therefore consulting with different stakeholders that were involved this process to hear their views. Please note that participation in these interviews is completely voluntary and participants are free to stop the interview at any time should they feel uncomfortable. Below is a list of questionnaires asked to each interview?

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON RESPONDENT

Mr/Miss/Mrs …….

Name of organisation……..

Contact details……..

Where do you live?……

What is the role of your organisation within the community?

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1. RATIONALE FOR PARTICIPATION

1.1 Was there a need to have a PPP in the SMFS project?

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1.2 Why was it necessary for the community to participate in the project?

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1.3 Why was it necessary for the local organisations to participate in the project?

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1.4 What did the council want to achieve by ensuring participation of the community and local stakeholders in the project?

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2. EVALUATION OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROCESS

2.1. Was the public participation process Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square (SMFS) public participation process (PPP) sufficient?

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2.2. Were the mechanisms applied to the PPP effective?

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2.3. If not what were the areas of concern?

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2.4. Were all the stakeholders, including the public, happy about the PPP process?

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2.5. Do you think the PPP was given sufficient a time period?

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2.6. Which stakeholders were involved in the final decision making process (that informed that design) after all the inputs were collated (following the PPP)?

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2.7. What do you think were the major successes of the PPP?

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2.8. What were the obstacles towards its success?

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2.9. What could have been done better to maximise the PPP's successes?

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1.1.0. What other PPP mechanisms could have been relevant?

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ANNEXURE D

STAKEHOLDER PERCEPTIONS QUESTIONAIRES FOR THE SMFS PARTICIPATION PROCESS

I am Ntokozo Khanyile, a student from Wits University currently undertaking a Public Participation research on Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square (SMFS) in fulfilment of a Bachelor of Urban and Regional Planning Honours Degree. I am currently doing interviews, gathering different perspectives on the SMFS Participation Process that was scheduled between June and August 2012. I am therefore consulting with different stakeholders that were involved this process to hear their views. Please note that participation in these interviews is completely voluntary and participants are free to stop the interview at any time should they feel uncomfortable. Below is a list of questionnaires asked to each interview.

1.1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON RESPONDENT

1.1.1. Mr/Miss/Mrs …….

1.1.2. Name of organisation…….

1.1.3. Contact details……

1.1.4. Where do you live?……

1.1.5. What is the role of your organisation within the community?

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1.2. KNOWLEDGE OF THESOLOMON MAHLANGU PROJECT

1.2.1 How did you get to know about the Solomon Mahlangu project?

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1.2.2. What processes were followed by officials or facilitators in consulting with the community about the project?

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1.2.3. What processes were followed by officials or facilitators in consulting with various stakeholders in the project?

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1.3. INVOLDEVEMENT IN THE SMFS PROJECT

1.3.1. As an organisation, did you participate in the Solomon Mahlangu consultation process?

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1.3.2. How did the public participation start and how did you get involved in the project?

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1.3.4. Did you attend meetings or workshops? Please tell me how did these meetings happen?

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1.4. INPUTS, DEBATES AND ISSUES IN THE SMFS PPP

1.4.1. What were the debates and what was the community saying?

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1.4.2. As an organisation, what were your inputs into the project?

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1.4.3. Do you feel that your inputs taken into consideration during the formulation or design of the project?

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1.4.4. Whose inputs do you think were taken into consideration?

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1.4.5. Were there any conflicts of interest between your organisation and other stakeholders?

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1.4.5. Were there any conflict of interests between your organisation and the community? What do you think, who are the other important stakeholders/ organisations in this process? Why are/ were they important?

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1.5. PRESSENTATION OF INTERESTS

1.5.1. Does your organisation consider itself a representative of the community and why (e.g because you elected to respond politically for this community, you are 'their voice' to public authorities, you work in partnership with them or because you are trying to provide some structure to the community)?

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1.5.2. Who are your organisation's constituencies?

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1.5.3. Did your organisation have any meetings with the community or constituencies besides the meetings which were organised by the city council?

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1.6. ASSESMENT OF THE PPP

1.6.1. Do you think that the public participation process was done sufficiently?

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1.6.2. Do you think that the participation process was given enough time?

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1.6.3. What were the major successes of public participation in the project?

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1.6.4. What were the major obstacles for public participation in the project?

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1.6.5. What could have been done better in the participation process?

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1.7. STAKEHOLDER SATISFACTION ABOUT THE PPP

1.7.1. In your view, were all stakeholders happy with the public participation outcomes? If not, what are the areas of concern, and why?

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1.7.2. Were there any conflicting interests amongst the stakeholders?

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1.7.3. Was the community happy about the final outcomes i.e. the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square design?

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1.7.4. How did you or the community benefit from the project?

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1.7.5. How can the public participation be improved in the future development projects in Mamelodi generally?

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ANNEXURE E

Mr NV Khanyile

138-3rd Avenue
Alexandra

2090

14 May 2014

Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (Department of Sports, Recreation Arts A and Culture)

PO. Box 6338

Pretoria

0001

Re: Request for Permission to Access the Solomon Mahlangu Project Data

Dear Mr Mbhokodo

My name is Ntokozo Khanyile, an Honours student in Urban and Regional Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am currently pursuing a research study in participation and civil society's role in the design of public spaces. I am a former intern at NMA Social Strategists where I worked as a Project Coordinator and Public Consultant. Through being temporarily involved in the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square Upgrade Project with NMA, I have developed an explicit interest in this particular project as a case study. Here I am interested in the mechanisms which were set up by the Tshwane City Council to promote participation in the project, the main participants and how the process was actually carried out.

Fundamental to this study, is the data which was preserved by NMA, who facilitated the participation process in the project. This data includes material which was kept on record through the utilisation of such techniques as field notes, after action reports, minutes of meetings and audiotapes pertaining to the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square Upgrade Project. With all due admiration, I am therefore humbly requesting permission from the Tshwane City Council to have access to the project files from NMA. Please rest assured that the data will be treated as confidential as possible and it is going to be used solely for academic purposes. The City Council will receive a copy of this research report once it is completed in November.

Furthermore, I would like to conduct face-to-face interviews with the city officials and other subsidiary stakeholders who were involved in the participation phase of the project. I will need your guidance regarding the best way this can be done without interfering with the city's process.

I have been communicating with NMA concerning this request and they provided me with your contact details. For further inquiry, you are welcome to liaise with my research supervisor, Claire Benit-Gbaffou: claire.benit-gbaffou@wits.ac.za, tel: (011) 717 7718 or the postgraduate co-ordinator/ senior lecturer, Amanda Williamson: amandawilliamson@wits.ac.za, tel: (011) 717 7713 both in the School of Architecture and Planning. My personal contacts are 0419602v@students.wits.ac.za, cell: 076 8755 862.

Please let me know if there is anything outstanding from me. I would like to give thanks in advance. A positive response will be highly appreciated in this regard.

Yours Sincerely

NV. Khanyile

CITY OF TSHWANE
IGNITING EXCELLENCE

Sport and Recreational Services Department

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Email:ishmaelmb@tshwane.gov.za | www.tshwane.gov.za | www.facebook.com/CityOf Tshwane

My ref:
Your ref:
Contact person: Ishmael Mbhokodo
Section/Unit: Heritage Management

Tel: 0123588632
Fax:
Email:ishmaelmb@tshwane.gov.za

Dear Ntokozo Khanyile

Re: Request for Permission to Access the Solomon Mahlangu Project Data

Your request as detailed above is well received and favorably considered as you have outlined the intent to conduct research on the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square Project- Public Participation process.

In the light of measuring and evaluating the impact of the public participation process which was one of the first to be implemented in the department and also benchmarking the strategies applied in community infrastructure development. The Department welcomes your interest in this regard and would request two copies of the research report to be shared with the Department of Sport and Recreational Services and the Regional Services- Region 6- Mamelodi Munitoria.

Wishing you all the best in your research endeavors

30/06/2014

I.M MBHOKODO
DIRECTOR: HERITAGE RESOURCES MANAGEMENT