

Empowerment of the urban poor through participation in decision making and delivery of physical infrastructure.

Philisile Dorcas Khawula

A discourse submitted to the Faculty of Architecture, Department of Town and Regional Planning, University of the Witwatersrand Johannesburg, in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science in Development Planning.

DECLARATION

I declare that this discourse is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Science in Development Planning in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

P.D. KHAWULA

_____ day of _____ 1996.

DEDICATION

**To my parents
Mavis and Petros
with all my love**

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and Problem Statement

Opportunities for public involvement in planning and decision making especially among the marginalised groups have always been limited in South Africa. This state of affairs is related to the traditionally centralised and deeply authoritarian style of government of the National Party. The apartheid system was designed to exclude the majority of South Africans from political participation and thus necessitated the development of administrative, legal and social structures which prevented people from effectively participating in matters which affected their day-to-day lives (Snowman and Gawith, 1994).

The approach to planning in South Africa (master plan) followed early British model, where planning was dominated by efficiency concerns. Planning thus came to be dominated by applied scientists such as architects and engineers who held the view that most planning problems had technical solutions. Through the system of apartheid, this traditional approach was nurtured. Such an approach removed decision-making processes from the broader public and politically marginalised groups.

The public, particularly the poor communities who are mainly Blacks, have always insisted on their right to be consulted on decisions affecting their lives since the 1970s. Service and community organisations such as civic associations have helped to transform decision making process by demanding a say in the planning decisions. After the democratic elections of 1994 community participation has been made a legal requirement. Reconstruction and development programme is a people driven process aimed at providing peace and security for all, building the nation, linking reconstruction and development, and deepening democracy (RDP, 1994).

1.2 Objectives of the Discourse

1. To examine the planning approaches relevant to participation
2. To analyse the concept of community participation
3. To show the relevance of community participation to the delivery of urban infrastructure

1.3 Scope of the Discourse

This thesis will concentrate on community participation in development projects, and the focus will be on the involvement of the urban poor in the planning and delivery of physical infrastructure (water; sanitation-roads, electricity). These areas have been identified as critical in addressing the needs of the poor who have been marginalised in the past. The focus on the urban areas was influenced by the fact that 65% of South African live in the urban centres at present and the urban population is expected to grow. However it is realised that the urban strategy must function within the broader national development context and should be coupled with rural development strategies.

Again, although the thesis focuses on the community involvement in development projects, these individual projects are viewed within the context of the broader reconstruction and development programme advocated by the RDP.

A review of literature on community participation showed that various approaches exist and that each has its strengths and some major shortcomings in practice. Challenges that the planning profession face have been highlighted.

Finally a planning approach that may be implemented for community involvement in the delivery of physical infrastructure has been proposed. The strategic choice approach is proposed, and it is hoped that it will enable development planners to successfully facilitate community participation in the delivery of physical infrastructure.

1.4 Outline of the Thesis

In Chapter one the study is introduced, by identifying the problem statement and what motivated the author to undertake such a study. Objectives are then derived from the problem statement. Chapter 2 highlights the issues related to development in South Africa.

Chapter three, four and five sets the theory base of development, planning and participation within the global and national context.

Chapter six looks at the emergence of the civic movement in South Africa and how it has influenced participation in decision making. Chapter seven looks at community participation within the South African context. Using a case study of the Wattville/Tamboville development project key issues related to C.P. are identified. The case study provides an example of one of the very few cases where community induced C.P. has led to successful development. In Chapter seven a planning approach is developed which can be used as a strategy for facilitating community participation in decision making generally and with specific reference to delivery of and physical infrastructure.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

Development pattern in South Africa has been shaped by the apartheid policies, which promoted separate development. The apartheid policies and in particular the creation of homelands or bantustans in the 1970s, have produced distorted settlement patterns.

2.2 Regional Development

The Goodhope Conference of 1981 led to the division of the country into 8 regions on the basis of common development problems and resources. Subsequently it has been divided into nine, namely .

Northern Province, Northern Cape, Free State, Gauteng (PWV), Eastern Cape, KwaZulu/Natal, North West, Mpumalanga, (Eastern Province) and Western Cape. Northern Province (Seshego/LebowaKgomo, Pietersburg) and KwaZulu/Natal (KwaSthebe and Newcastle) were identified as Industrial Development points under the Regional Industrial Programme after 1981.

"Decentralisation policy traditionally sought, inter alia to give economic and political credibility to the bantustans, which were treated as developmental units in their own right. When in 1975 the physical planning branches of the state divided the South African space into 44 planning regions... it was forced to take as its starting point the confirmed centrality of bantustan development and homeland policy" (Cobbett et al, 1985 : 100).

The quote suggests that the South African government's policy on the development of the bantustan was to make them economically viable and thus organise them into potential employment centres. The thinking behind industrial decentralisation was, apart from its economic rationale, the indirect curbing of African labour movement into established metropolitan areas. Industrial decentralisation was the state's economic intervention measures to restrain the tendency for industry, commerce and people concentrate on South Africa's metropolitan centres (Cobbett et al., 1985) and as the state viewed them, to encourage a more even geographical distribution of jobs, income and welfare.

The division of South Africa into 8 developmental regions in 1981 included what the state termed the "soft-borders" approach to planning, for the boundaries and of the spatial planning units cut across bantustans boundaries, therefore, undermined the constraints imposed by "political borders" (ibid). As a new planning approach by the state, industrial decentralisation was also intended to provide the basis for the future political and economic map of South Africa. Cobbett et al., (1985) argue that 8 regions did not simply represent abstractions superimposed on the map of South Africa, but that they correspond to the changes in the spatial reproduction patterns of capital and labour that have been taking shape since the late 1960s. They continue,

"The development regions define the contours of emergent labour supply and demand areas which have become interconnected through the growth of bantustan towns and informal settlements abutting the suburban peripheries of key metropolitan areas in white South Africa" (Cobbett et al, 1985 : 101).

In embarking upon deconcentration, the state might have been attempting to encourage private sector participation in industrial decentralisation. This is evident from the decentralisation incentives which have not been accepted by all sections of the private industry since they were perceived as "an artificial attempt to redistribute resources between regions than allowing regions to compete freely against each other" (Cobbett et al., 1985 : 103).

2.3 Reconstruction of Urban and Regional planning in South Africa

DFA marks a start to a process for the restructuring of urban and regional planning in South Africa, DFA, is based on the aims and principles of the RDP; namely

- * To initiate projects which fit new priorities such as housing and land reform.
 - * To use the public money more efficiently and to lever resources to match RDP initiatives
 - * To plan according to the needs of the poor and involve them in decision-making.
 - * To create jobs and transfer skills to people, thus integrating them into the economy.
 - * To transform government institutions and harness their energies to RDP.
- (RDP, 1994).

DFA is not a replacement for comprehensive and integrated development planning. It anticipates a restructured development planning process, it links strategies to key performance indicators and plans, ultimately to programme, budgets and monitoring activities.

DFA permits the setting of development performance measures, such as housing targets as a fast track alternative to time consuming current procedures. In this way, the development performance of local government can be assessed by provincial government. DFA also defines land development procedures for the submission, servicing and zoning of urban and rural development, and schedules for the amendment of legislation now in force.

Through the RDP and DFA, the planning powers have been decentralised to local governments. Therefore the local government is the key delivery and co-ordinating agent for the implementation of the RDP and therefore must ensure public participation..

Besides legislative requirement for participation, international experience show that the adoption of participation by most development agencies has several other origins, these includes:

- a) recognition that many of the failures of development originates in an attempt to impose standard, top down programmes or projects on diverse local realities where they do not fit or meet the needs.
- b) concern for cost effectiveness
- c) preoccupation with sustainability, and the insight that if local people themselves design and construct the development project, they are more likely to meet running costs and undertake maintenance and
- d) the recognition by some professionals that it is morally right that people should be empowered (Paul, 1987,; Swilling, 1988; Chambers, 1995).

2.4 Delivery of Urban Infrastructure

"Engineers (and other actors) view services as a static product, so that the core of the debate to date has been viewed as a problem in which the development of a process (community participation) has to be reconciled with the supply of a product (infrastructure)" (Abbot, 1993 :2).

Top down approach to delivery of infrastructure in Black townships led to poor level of services provided. Poor maintenance and high rates for services provided led to the emergence of civic movement during the late 1970s (detailed discussion in Chapter 6.2).

2.5 Identifying the Poor

"Poverty" is commonly measured by income level. UNDP use Human Development Index (HDI) to measure the level of poverty. HDI includes factors such as literacy (and thus access to employment opportunities) and life expectancy (which is linked to nutrition and health).

HDI is a measure of people's ability to live a long and a healthy life, to communicate, to participate in the life of the community and to have sufficient resources to obtain a decent living"

(HSRC 1995 : 22).

National average of households living in poverty is 35.2 per cent while the number of individuals living in poverty is 45.7 per cent. Northern Province has the highest incidence of poverty, followed by Eastern Cape then KwaZulu Natal (See Table 1, for interregional comparison).

Table 1 : Poverty per province (head count)

	No of poor households	% households in poverty	No of poor individuals	% indivs in poverty
Western Cape	125 208	14,1	635 557	17,9
Northern Cape	51 466	38,2	267 992	48,0
Eastern Cape	10 257	56,8	4 115 332	64,0
KwaZulu/Natal	26 889	40,4	4 216 184	50,0
Free State	63 112	36,1	1 331 649	47,1
Eastern Province	08 419	33,8	1 275 517	45,1
Northern Province	08 528	61,9	3 565 492	69,3
North West	32 947	29,7	1 248 724	41,3

Gauteng	299 821	15,4	1 443 204	21,1
Total	3 126 647	35,2	18 099 652	45,7

Source : HSRC, 1995

2.6 Urban Development Strategy in South Africa

Estimates of the present urban population vary between 19, 6 million and 26 million ; by the year 2020, 75 percent of the population will live and work in the major cities and towns. Better performing urban areas are vital for alleviating poverty and to create a more equitable society.

The government's vision is that, by the year 2020, the cities and towns will be planned in a highly participative manner, marked by good infrastructure for all and will be centres for social and economic opportunity for all. Strategic goals will be to create efficient and productive cities with less poverty and sustained by dynamic economies, to reduce existing infrastructure and service disparities, to provide better housing and shelter and greater security of tenure for all urban residents

Presently the urban sector is characterised by stark contrasts; well-serviced suburban neighbourhoods versus under-serviced lower-income neighbourhoods with few economic opportunities (Government Gazette 16679, 1995).

There is also a severe urban service backlogs which has been estimated as follows:

* About 4 million population (15 percent) of the urban population only have access to water which is untreated and not articulated.

* About 8 million (30 percent)of urban population only have access to minimal sanitation that is, shared toilet facilities and/or unimproved pit latrines.

* About 8 million people (32 per cent) of the urban population do not have access to electricity.

About 8 million people have no immediate formal access to their residence, nor any form of stormwater run off control.

(Source : Department of Housing in Government Gazette 16679, 1995).

The level of services provided is a local choice, which is subject to local affordability within the context of national and provincial guidelines. Public involvement is critical in the delivery of infrastructure because it will ensure :

- * greater accountability and integrity of local government
- * appropriate types and affordable levels of service
- * payment of services
- * competitive pressure on services suppliers

Types of services have been categorised as follows:

basic services, intermediate services and full services (See table 2)

Table 2 : indicative definition of service standards

Service	Basic	Intermediate	Full
Water	Communal stand pipe	Yard tap or tank	House connection
Sanitation	On site e.g. VIP	Simple water borne	Full water borne
Roads and	Graded with gravel,	Narrow paved, no	Paved, with drains
Electricity	Streetlights, perhaps 5 amps	30 amps. prepaid meter	60 amps

Basic services will be targeted at incomes less than R800 per month, intermedial services per income between R800 and R1 700 per month while full service is anticipated for households in the R1 700 - R3 500 monthly income.

(Government Gazette. 16679, 1995).

CHAPTER 3.

PARADIGM SHIFT IN PLANNING

3.1 Introduction

Planning is rooted in the positivist (empiricist) epistemology based on Geddes work of 1904, survey - before-plan. Mayerson and Banfield introduced the concept of rationality formally in planning during the mid 1950s. They equated good planning with rational decision making. Mayerson and Banfield defined rational decision as one that is made in the following manner :

1. the decision maker considers all of the alternatives (courses of action) open to him, i.e. he considers what courses of action are possible within the conditions of the situation and in the light of the ends he seeks to attain;
2. he identifies and evaluates all the consequences which would follow from the adoption of each alternative; i.e. he predicts how the total situation would be changed by each course of action he might adopt; and
3. he selects that alternative the probable consequences of which would be preferable in terms of his most valued ends, (Muller, 1994).

Horkheimer and Adorns (in Muller, 1994) argues that the logic of the enlightenment's notion of rationality is a logic of domination and oppression, of exclusion and suppression of other modes of thought. Decisions made in the rational model are based on a top down approach; all decisions rest on the planner who is seen as an expert in the field.

Rational planning focused mainly on procedural issues of planning, where the purpose of planning was to maintain social order, maximum efficiency and rationality in the use and allocation of resources. The style of planning aligned with the procedural planning was predominantly engineering or technical problem-solving endeavour (Ratcliffe, 1974; Checkoway, 1983, Forester, 1989).

Planners functioned on the assumption that the "public interest" was the embodiment of community values and that the "public interest" could be articulated and identified. Therefore, planners regarded themselves as apolitical, value-free technocrats, concerned mainly with facts or procedural issues of planning, and values or substantive issues were regarded as the concerns of politicians as representatives of the community (Becher, 1971). This type of planning promoted top-down approach to planning. By mid 1950s there was disillusionment with rational model because of its irrelevance in practice.

3.2 Rational Comprehensive planning

The late 1950s saw the coupling of rational and comprehensiveness. Comprehensive planning came to be seen as a process which interpreted the city as a system of interrelated social and economic variables extending over space. During the same period interests developed in the development of fields of operation research, cybernetics and systems analysis took hold in the planning discipline (Muller, 1992).

3.3 Participation

By the 1960s in most western countries planning started undergoing radical changes. These changes were basically brought about by the persistent increase in political, economic and social inequities and inequalities in the context of urban planning.

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It was realised that urban decision-making processes were not responsive to the needs and the values of the disadvantaged citizens (Davidoff, 1965), as a result, the outcome of the planning processes was less reflective of the needs, interests and values of the poor segment of urban community (Blecher, 1971). During the same period, social movements were in place in America, and citizen came to realise the potentially destructive aspects of planning undertaken without adequate public input, increasingly they demanded a role for citizen participation (Grant, 1994).

Procedural planning aligned with the technocratic style of planning could not respond adequately to justify the goals and outcomes of planning. Increasing disillusionment with procedural planning based on the rational model led to the search for an alternative approach to planning. Alternative approaches had to be centred around an attempt to rectify the social and economic inequalities.

Paradigm shift in planning led to the emergence of "participation." Early literature addressed the substantive issues while others focused on procedural aspects of participation (Muller, 1994).

3.3.1 Participatory Methodology

An early example of participatory methodology was provided by Kozlowski who presented four key points at which public involvement facilitates decision making, that is :

- * goal formulation
- * the selection of alternatives
- * the choice of the preferred alternatives
- * the sanction of a plan

McConnel supported Kozlowski's view, he also emphasised that the public must be involved from the inception of the plan. He cited the following phases as critical for public input :

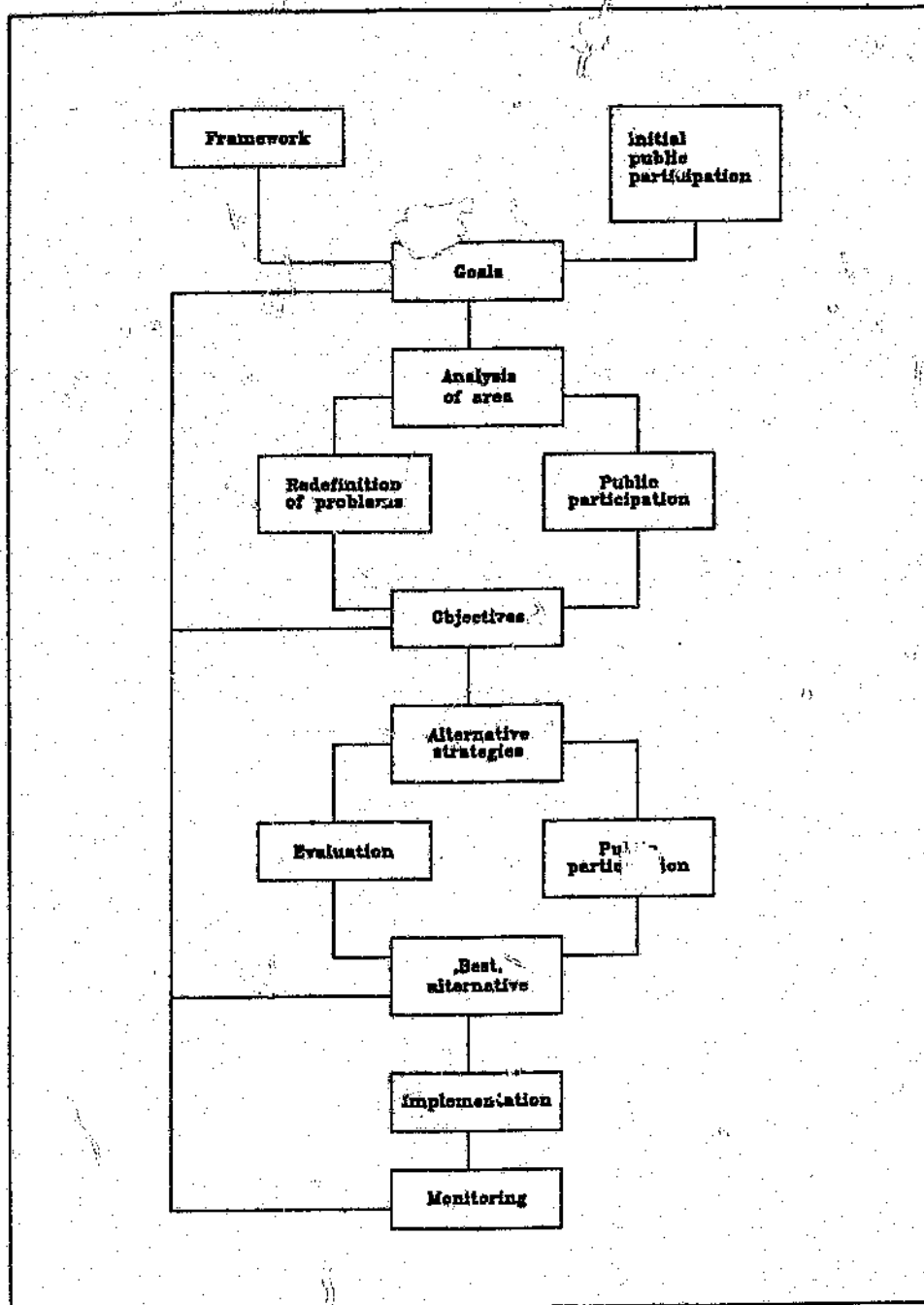
- * formulation of hypothesis
- * testing/reduction/refinement of alternatives
- * evaluation of alternatives

Local planning process set by Loew , illustrates public engagement in the conventional rational procedure. Provision for public participation is made at 3 stages i.e.

- * definition of goals
- * generation of objective and
- * survey and choice of the best alternative (See figure 1).

Local planning process (Leuw)

Figure. 1



Source : Muller 1994 : 11

3.3.2 Advocacy Planning

Advocacy planning is aimed at protecting the poor, disadvantaged communities who are exploited in the process of urban planning. Davidoff (1965) views the state as a creature of dominant interests in urban planning and therefore a planner becomes a servant of those interests. Davidoff calls for an advocacy planner, to ensure that the needs, values and aspirations of the poor are articulated to the plans.

Davidoff plead for pluralism in planning, where the alternatives can be presented by interest groups to the public agency. Where unitary plans prevail, Davidoff argues, advocacy role is not of paramount importance, advocate planner would be responsible for expressing their clients' views. As an advocate for a community, the planner translate the increasingly technical language of the professional planning.

Advocate planners take the view that any plan is the embodiment of particular group interest, and therefore they see it as important that any group which has interests at stake in the planning process should have those interests articulated. In effect, they reject both the notion of a single 'best' solution and the notion of a general welfare which such a solution might serve. Planning in this view becomes pluralistic and partisan - in other words, overtly political" (Peattie 1968 : 81).

Rotthblatt proposes multiple planning, which ... "attempts to articulate the points of view of the major individuals, groups, and organisations (actors) involved with a metropolitan problem to foster a diplomatic rather than an authoritative resolution of a problem to the satisfaction of the actors involved" (1978 : 193 - 194).

The method of multiple advocacy draws on Davidoff's advocacy planning mostly for the poor and disadvantaged minority groups, multiple advocacy aims to provide "advocate planning services to all actors associated with a particular planning problem." This would include all groups, rich and poor, public and private, regional interest and local interest. This approach is aimed at providing the parity, fairness and information needed to examine and reconcile systematically the diverse views associated with a large scale of metropolis wide planning problem.

Advocacy and multiple advocacy are two methods of incorporating the views of the public into the planning process. The advocacy methods, however, do not incorporate direct involvement of the public. Their views are incorporated indirectly via the advocate, the success of these methods therefore hinges directly on the ability of the advocates.

3.3.3 Collaborative planning

The collaborative planning approach seeks to introduce the public views in the planning process through direct interaction between the public and the planning authorities. Instead of planner being involved on behalf of the citizens as in advocacy planning, the citizens themselves are directly involved in the planning process with the planners. This is seen as necessary because "the urban community consists of a number of multifaceted, overlapping and interdependent subcommunities. A successful democratic planning process, like a successful democratic government, must allow for representation of the interests and identities of its subcommunities" (Goldschalk and Mills 1966 : 86).

The collaborative planning approach proposes to bring citizens and planners together in a common effort where society participates in planning rather than being manipulated by planning. This involves a genuine interchange between all citizens and the planners throughout the planning process. Godschalk and Mills state that "Communications between planner and client are considered as dialogues rather than monologues. In this way planners not only learn about their communities, but the communities also learn about themselves and their potentials" (1966 : 88).

There have been varying arguments by different writers as to the degree of collaboration and the scale of collaboration as well as the meaningfulness of the concept. Public Associations or citizen groups have developed where collaboration has not been seen as taking place sufficiently (Godschalk & Mills, 1966).

3.3.4 Transactive Planning

In transactive planning, Friedman (1973) emphasises the importance of communication between the planner and the community in order to make planning practice responsive and relevant. Transactive planning approach holds the view that the lack of face to face contact between the planner and the affected community leads to a communication gap. Friedman argues that the gap is a result of the differences in the knowledge and language held by both the planner and the community...each has different method of knowing, the planner works chiefly with processed knowledge abstracted from the world and manipulated according to certain postulates of theory and scientific method..... his client works primarily from the personal knowledge, less orderly and systematised than processed knowledge" (Friedman 1973 : 172).

The client's knowledge based on experience of the world complements the planners professional knowledge. Therefore Friedman calls for a continuing series of personal and primarily verbal transactions between the planners and their clients through which processed knowledge is fused with personal knowledge and both are fused with action" (1973 : 177).

In order to empower communities Friedman proposes a process of mutual learning through dialogue. It is believed that through sharing of knowledge the community will participate meaningfully and effectively. The planner as well, will be able to articulate the values, interests, preferences and needs of the community in the plans.

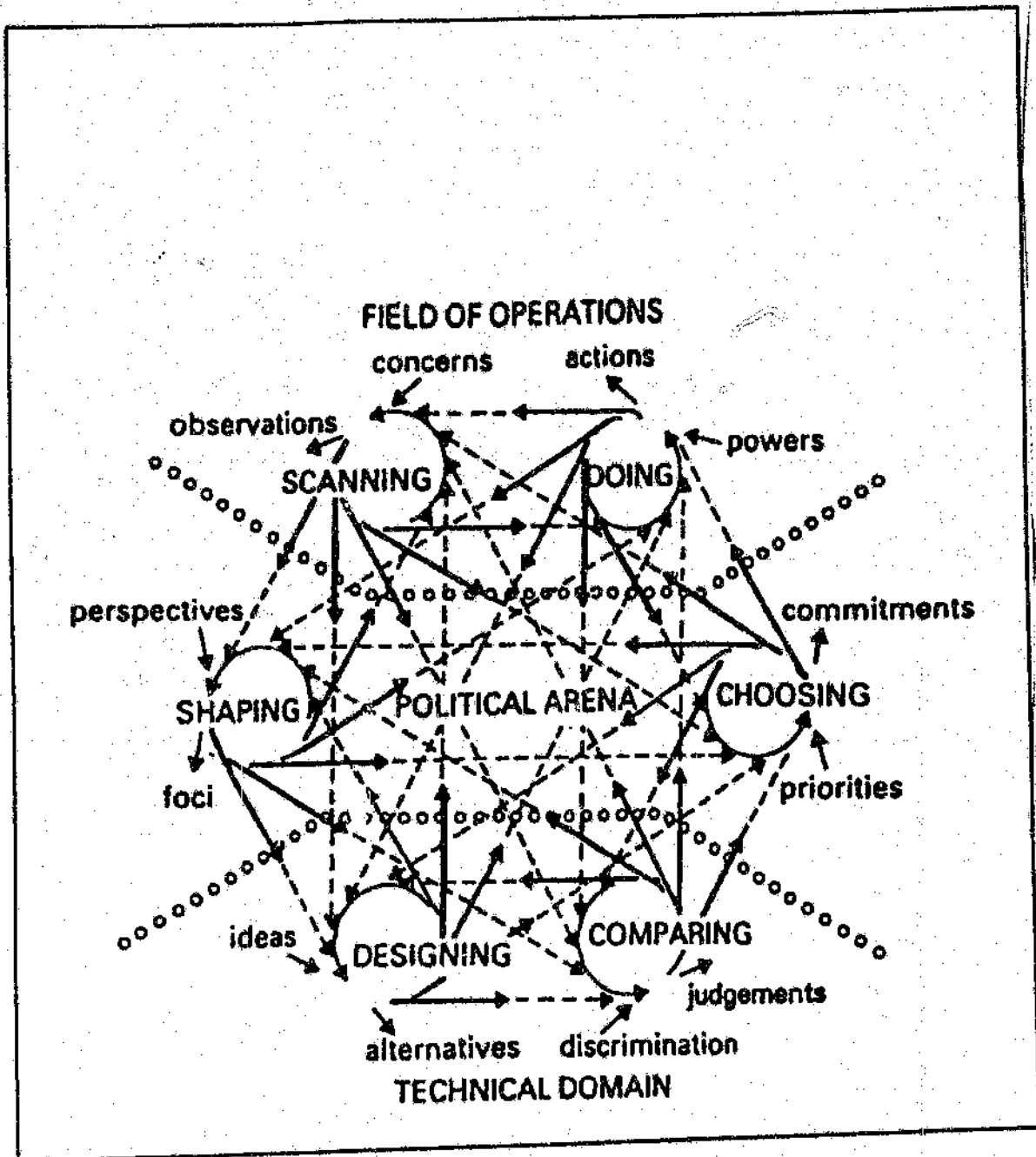
3.3.5 Strategic Choice

Strategic choice allows sequenced and cyclical communication between all those concerned in decision making, it incorporates past and future decisions. Friend and Jessop adopted this planning procedure for local government decision-making process (cited in Muller, 1994).

The provision for sequential referral to the community in each phase for discussions and decision making, facilitates involvement of community throughout the process.

At each phase (scanning, shaping, designing, composing, choosing and doing), the community is furnished with all relevant information which provides the basis for decisions and actions. The matter can be cycled back when the participant community experiences difficulty in resolving a problem or accepting a proposal.

fig. 2. Strategic Choice



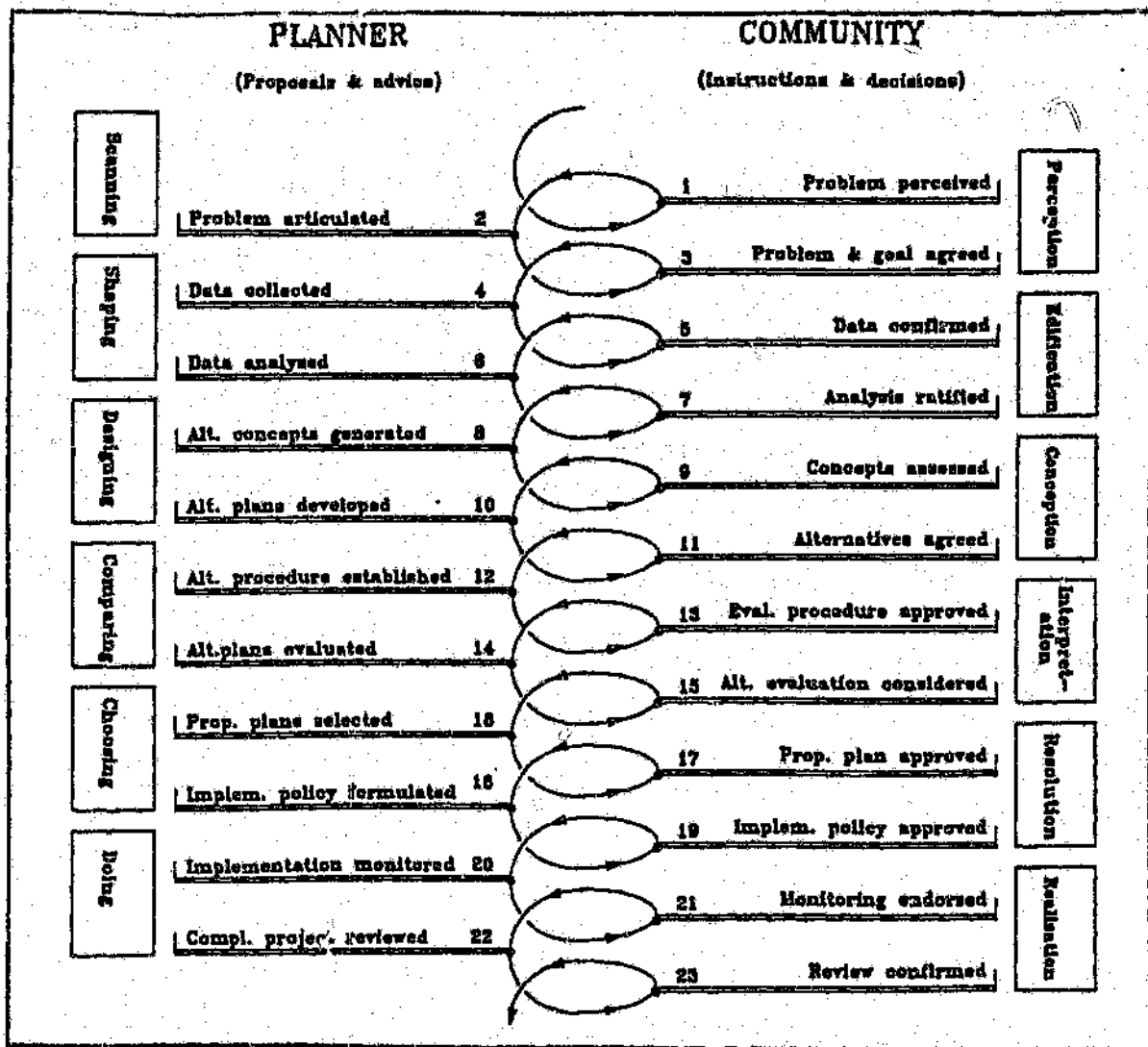
Source : Muller 1994 : 16

3.3.6 Promotive Planning

In promotive planning, advancement of the disadvantaged groups is promoted. In this approach Muller (1982) calls for setting of priorities of the disadvantaged as defined by them and also the acceptance of solutions generated by the disadvantaged. These priorities and solutions may be in variance with those rationally deduced through planning method but these must be accepted by the planner. "Feedback" and "feed forward" ensures continuous transactions between the planner and the affected community in planning process (see figure 3).

Truly democratic approach may be an illusion and the quest for human fulfilment by means of planning elusive (Muller, 1982), but the premise that planning should seek to promote democratic ideals is fundamental in planning for the disadvantaged. "Planning does not in itself have the power to create human liberty", Muller warns, ... "but it has the inherent capacity to promote the attainment of these attributes of democracy by means of goal-oriented guidance" (1982 : 225).

Figure 3. Promotive Planning



Source : Muller 1994 : 18

3.3 Paradigm - shift in South Africa

Planning in South Africa has always been dominated by "master plan" approach, such an approach has been in line with the traditionally centralised and highly authoritarian style of governance by the former National Party. With the emergence of democracy there is a paradigm shift from a "top down" to "bottom up" approach.

Participatory approaches with their emphasis on public involvement in the planning process are very relevant during this period in our country. Decentralisation of power to the legitimate local government is conducive for public involvement. People need to be directly involved in local governance and decision making. In my opinion the people do not need an advocate planner who will forward their needs and aspirations to the planning team. Instead they need to have their views presented by their organisation. Indirect involvement of the public in advocacy planning, may lead to further dependency whereas the aim of participation is to ensure self-reliance and independency which empowers the poor. The main weakness of employing an advocate planner is that, his or her own values may influence the decision that is made. Eventually the plans that are implemented may be based on the advocacy planners values.

In South Africa during the apartheid era, when the government was insensitive to the needs and aspirations of the poor, advocacy planning by private organisations played a crucial role in representing the poor. Now that a democratically elected government is in place, the previously disadvantaged groups must be afforded a chance to be directly involved in decision making through their elected representatives. Direct involvement will give the poor a chance of carrying their views, needs, values and aspirations, as opposed to advocacy planning. The development planners role should be to help strengthen the grassroot organisations.

Legitimate local government should be sensitive to the needs of the previously marginalised. The planners within the government are the ones who must perform the advocacy role to ensure that the resources are fairly distributed. To prevent marginalising the "haves" in favour of the "have nots", multiple advocacy planning will be more appropriate to prevent conflict. Through dialogue with all interest parties, the decision to allocate a bigger slice of the cake to the "have nots" must be jointly agreed upon.

3.4 Conclusion

Although the two way communication between planner and the public planning is widely accepted for its democratic structure, planning for people by people, it is criticised for "the replacement of professional and unbiased expertise by relative ignorance in matters pertaining to planning the virtual abandonment of planning per se as undermining the major role of the discipline" (Muller 1971 : 27).

CHAPTER 4

PARADIGM SHIFT IN DEVELOPMENT

4.1 Introduction

In development field, the traditional approach, modernisation theory has been under attack since the late 1960s. The theorists in the less developed countries found modernisation theory to be irrelevant in explaining and addressing the problem of poverty. The attack on the modernisation theory has led to a search for an alternative strategy.

4.2 Modernisation theory

Modernisation theory dominated the development field since 1950s. Modernisation theorists argued that all nations will go through the same path to reach a level of development. For instance, WW Rostow who was an American economist published a theory of stages of economic growth in 1960. Rostow argued that each country passes through the same stages during the course of development.

This theory was based on the empirical observation that a rise in per capita income in different countries was accompanied by a fall in the proportion of labour force employed in secondary and tertiary activities. This indicated that countries became more industrialised and service oriented as development proceeds (Fourie & Associates, 1995).

Development theorist of the 1950s and 1960s, like Rostow regarded saving, investment and foreign aid as critical elements for development. Although such capital-centred development helped to improve material livelihood of some people in some Third World countries, Oakney et al (1991) argues that the poor people benefited little or became worse off.

According to Planact (1991), there are two tendencies that are observed within this growth centred or capital centred approach; namely

4.2.1 Conservative free market tendency, which is often referred to as "trickle down" approach. This approach is based on the assumption that if greater wealth is generated, more will trickle down to the poor.

4.2.2 Left-wing version of the growth-centred approach, attempts to link industrial output to the expansion of the domestic market through either the restructuring of industrial production and/or the stimulation of demand in the market. In other words, growth is linked to redistribution via the orientation of productivity and the expansion of demand in the market.

Although the left wing orientation is more sensitive to the relations of power in society that determine the distribution of resources, the growth-centred approach as a whole suffers from one major weakness; it asks us to focus on inputs and outputs as measured by the market, instead of on the needs of those who cannot participate in the market. This is why the growth centred approach is inherently anti-developmental. It has either benefited the rich if the conservative orientation is dominant, or the unionised industrial workers and their employers if the left wing orientation is dominant.

In short, it tends to enlarge the number of beneficiaries of the economic system without fundamentally challenging the relations of power that form the basis of this system.

Chambers (1995) argues that modernisation theory is based on technical and financial aspects of development, ignoring social and cultural aspects which are also crucial, thus refer to it as paradigm of "things." Based on the technocratic and engineering approach, the approach is top-down.

4.3 Dependency Theory

Dependency theory which originated in the 1960s in response to disillusionment with modernisation theory in the less developed countries (LDC) sought to explain why many LDCs found it difficult to develop to the level of the developed countries.

Bavan (in Vilakazi, 1994) argued that development and underdevelopment are the two sides of the same coin. The development in the industrialised countries (core) seen as being dependent on the poverty and the underdevelopment of the (periphery). Accordingly the development of the urban areas (core) is seen as being dependent on the poverty and underdevelopment of the rural areas (periphery) Bavan further argues that underdevelopment of the LDC will only be eliminated if they free themselves from the domination by developed countries (Mohr, Fourie & Associates 1995 : 26-27).

4.4 Basic Needs Approach

This approach is commonly known as "spend-and-service" approach, it was propagated as a modification rather than an alternative strategy to modernisation theory during the 1970s. During this period it was realised that development must be people centred if it was to benefit both the rich and the poor (World Bank, 1992).

In spend-and-service, a programme is derived that focuses on the goods and services that must be "provided" to "meet" basic needs. The driving force of this programme becomes, in turn, huge financial packages of grant and loan finance. The money is spent on providing the goods needed to meet "basic needs." The flow of resources is inevitably top-down, i.e. from the rich national

and international sources to the poor local communities. Planact (1991) identified two orientations within this broad approach, namely Conservative orientation and Left-wing orientation.

4.4.1 Conservative orientation

The conservative orientation mechanistically goes about accumulating large quantities of finance in centralised resource pools. This money is then 'allocated' to "projects" that must produce "products" to "meet" the most "basic needs."

Underlying this approach is the assumption that material resources can be used to "level the playing fields" for a set of players who hitherto have been "playing" on a field that has internationally "disadvantaged" the poor. It follows that a quick set of material interventions will put everyone on an equal footing in the economy so that the "normal" workings of the market can take over. It is compatible with the growth - centred approach, but simply focuses on the need for some stimulative injections to shock the patient into a healthy behavioural mode so that it can perform as an effective producer/consumer in the market. The paternalism inherent in this view is obvious.

4.4.2 Left-wing orientation

The left-wing orientation within this approach shares the view that resources must be pooled and spent, but proceeds from a welfarist as opposed to a "level playing fields" assumption. The welfarist assumption is that the playing fields will never be permanently levelled and so society has a moral obligation to ensure that the poor are always "provided for." In practical terms, the state has a "duty" to ensure that provision is made for all "necessities of life." This will be an ongoing task because, welfarists assume, the unjust distribution of resources is a permanent feature of a productive market-based society.

Although the language of the 'spend-and-service' approach can be very radical at times (and this way cement together into alliances a surprisingly wide spectrum of interests), it is also fundamentally anti-developmental for one very simple reason ;it usually involves a top-down process of pushing money downwards to produce products. The institutional outcome is the logical conclusion of the funding which focus on material "needs" as the only problem that requires redress, the complete relations of power and powerlessness are ignored.

The result is that this approach does not recognise the critical institutional and organisational weaknesses of local people and communities and therefore does not commit sufficient resources to capacity building. This, in turn, leads to a gap between the official rhetoric of 'community participation' normally advocated by the "spend-and-service" agencies and the hard realities on the ground. In the end, a set of developmental products get placed on the ground, but sustainable development skills and capacities either never emerge during the implementation of the projects or else are actually undermined. Development stops when the money that has driven the project dries up.

4.5 People-Centred Development

Planacts (1991) articulates the view of people centred development by, giving a broad definition of development as :

- * a process rather than a delivery of a set of products to individual consumers
- * about empowering people and communities with the skills, knowledge and capacity to act effectively
- * aimed at gaining greater control for communities over resources especially at local level

- * about sustainable production of needed goods and the just distribution of these goods, and
- * about meeting basic needs and continuously improving the lives of as many people as possible

According to Baun (1992), human centred development involves;

- a) Development **OF** people - through investments in education and training, health, nutrition and other social services generally associated with **"human capacity building"**
- b) Development **FOR** people - by means of expanding opportunities for all to participate in economic, political, social and cultural life in order to pursue the satisfaction of their own needs and interests often associated with **"democratic participation"**
- c) Development **BY** people - through consciously self reliant, creative and productive contributions towards expanding the production of goods and services. This aspect is closely related to the search for more effective patterns of **"equitable economic growth"** (World Bank, Baun 1982).

For Chambers (1995) shifting from the paradigm of "things" to the paradigm of "people" means that, top-down becomes more bottom-up, uniform diverse, simple complex, static dynamic and the controllable uncontrollable.

(See table 2)

TABLE 2 : Two paradigms : things and people

Point and departure	Things	People & reference
Mode	Blue print	Process
Keyword	Planning	Participation
Goals	Preset closed	Evolving / open
Decision making	Centralised	Decentralised
Methods / rules	Standardized / Universal	Diverse / Local
Technology	Fixed package	Varied basket
Professional interaction with client	Motivating / controlling	Enabling / empowering
Force flow	supply push	Demand - pull
Outputs	Uniform / infrastructure	Diverse / capabilities
Planning and action	Top down	Bottom up

Korten states that :

"An integral part of the policy agenda of people centred development is to reverse the tendency towards concentrating power in impersonal and unaccountable institutions, returning it to people and communities and assuring its equitable distribution. This empowerment process is advanced in part through developing strong member accountable institutions and strengthening local resource control and ownership. There is no question that local organising is integral to people centred development" (1991).

4.6 Community participation and the Project Cycle

1. Project identification
2. Project preparation (including design)
3. Project appraisal (including design correction)
4. Project implementation (including monitoring)
5. Project evaluation

(Cernea, 1991).

Stages of the project cycle are equivalent to those of the planning process in policy making (as discussed in chapter 3.2). Like in the policy making, the process has excluded beneficiaries of the project (top down approach). Development agencies have now realised the importance of people centered approach (i.e. bottom-up approach) to development process. In South Africa it has become a legal requirement for the implementation of RDP.

For effective participation in the project cycle, it is important that the community organise itself, with the help of the external agency where necessary. The community should be involved from the initial phase of the project. Where the group lacks the capacity the training must be provided to facilitate participation.

The type of skills needed will be determined by the nature of the decisions to be made, the type of the project and the level of sophistication of the group.

4.7 Development and Empowerment

There is a close relationship between community participation, capacity building and empowerment during development process. Arnstein (1969) equates community participation to power which stretches along a continuum from non-participation, to tokenism and finally to complete citizen power (see details chapter 4. 3.1).

Community empowerment in Arnstein's ladder is achieved through increased beneficiary's role through partnership in decision making and eventually transfer of power when complete citizen control is achieved. Paul (1987) argues that where community participation is an instrument of empowerment, development should lead to an equitable level of power and higher level of political awareness.

Although widely supported by international development agencies as a policy objective, Paul find that in practice, empowerment and capacity building emerge relatively as less important by the World Bank. For example, only 8 per cent of the projects he evaluated have empowerment as an objective (Paul, 1987:v - vi).

Moser (1983) use an "end-means" duality model to explain the relationship between community participation and power. Moser argues that where participation is viewed as an end, the objective is to increase control over resources by those hitherto excluded from such control. Where participation is a means it is generally used as a form of mobilisation to get things done, with no intention of empowering the community (Moser 1983: 3). Therefore in Paul's model participation can be viewed as a means where the emphasis is on cost sharing, efficiency and effectiveness, and as an end where it aims at capacity building and empowerment. Moser points out that in reality it is not the evaluation of participation as either an end or as a means which is important but, the identification of the process whereby participation as a "means" has a capacity to develop into participation as an end (Moser 1989 : 84).

Friedman identified three kinds of power involved in empowerment (1992 : 33) that is social, political and psychological power. **Social power**; is concerned with the household's access to productive and reproductive resources including skills, material goods, information and finance. As its access to these resources increases, so also does its ability to actively pursue its objectives increase.

Political power, is concerned with the involvement of individuals in the decision making process which affect their lives. Political power is not restricted to formal elections, but through the agency of collective action, may promote the interests of those organised in the absence of, or in addition to, any formal political process.

Psychological power, which describes the individual's sense of potency, to what extent that person believes that he is able to influence the situation around him. Psychological empowerment is often the result of successful action of social or political domain.

4.8 Paradigm shift in the South African context.

Two models are dominant in the South African context, that is the growth centred approach and spend-and-service approach. Both these approaches are based on a top down approach.

The decentralisation industrial policy of the 1980s is an example of growth centred approach to development. Indicators show that in spite of the growth poles in the underdeveloped areas e.g. KwaZulu/Natal and Northern Province for instance, the level of poverty was not resolved, because development of human resource was not the main objective.

Another example includes, provision of goods and services to passive citizenry by some NGOs involved in poverty relief through provision of "food parcels.". Although this approach has good intentions, the beneficiaries are only relieved from the symptoms of poverty not the cause of the problem. The result is dependency syndrome, when the external agency withdraws their assistance the beneficiary community cannot sustain itself, because no skills or capacity was developed in the process.

Both these strategies which dominant in South Africa are anti developmental. The RDP aims at "provision of opportunities for people to develop themselves in order to improve their quality of lives and standard of living of their communities" (RDP 1994 ; 59). Realisation of the importance of human centred approach to development is important in realising the goals of the RDP, through empowerment.

4.9 Conclusion

Paradigm shift in development (social sciences) unlike in natural sciences does not mean the total rejection of the first paradigms. Paradigm in development field complement each other.

In the case of provision of infrastruciere.

Paul notes that; "it is not uncommon that facilities and services are created and offered to people, who then fail to use them satisfactorily. Many drinking water supply schemes have been set up, but the women, the traditional water carriers do not use costly pumps installed by the agency. This happens when decision making process exclude participation of those affected" (Paul, 1983).

The tendency by professionals in project planning to regard the knowledge of poor people, who are usually uneducated and untrained as unimportant may lead to the failure of development projects whose intentions are good. Poor people , especially in the rural areas may be illiterate and ill-equipped to draw up blueprints for development, but they surely know, often far more than the outsiders (experts) what their real needs are, and also what should be done to meet these needs.

Secondly, the involvement of the people in the initial phases of the project is known to have led to timely completion of many projects. Once people accept the project as their own and willingly come forward to implement it, they naturally become concerned to see that their labour start bearing fruits as soon as possible..

Lastly, if people were involved in the design of the project, once the project is completed, they willingly come forward to ensure that it operates efficiently and delivers the intended services. On the other hand, projects which are set up by external agencies without involving local participation do not enthuse the people, regardless of their technical soundness, such projects are looked on as mere intrusions from outsiders. As there is no commitment of the local people, problems quickly arise even about their normal maintenance and operation.

The monitoring job which requires the presence on the spot can be performed in a more effective manner by involving the local people. In fact, a view which is increasingly gaining ground is that the best monitoring system is one in which beneficiaries do some checkings themselves. Since nobody can be more interested than the concerned people in seeing that projects are executed on time and used properly, people's involvement is the most efficient way to curb the waste

CHAPTER 5

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

5.1 Introduction

The term "participation" has become a buzzword in development cycles, it has become almost unthinkable to talk about development without mentioning the word. In spite of growing acceptance and commitment to community participation (C.P) in development, there is a great deal of disagreement and confusion about the meaning and objectives of C.P.

Chambers (1995 : 30) cites three main ways in which participation is used :

First, it is used as a cosmetic label, to make whatever is proposed appear good.

Second, it describes a co-opting practice, to mobilise local labour and reduce costs. Communities contribute their time and effort to self-help projects with some outside assistance.

Third, it is used to describe an empowering process which enables local people to do their own analysis to take command, to gain confidence, and to make their own decisions. In theory this means that 'we' participate in 'their' project, not they in 'ours.' (Chambers 1995 : 30).

In development planning we are concerned with the third meaning, and hope to see a stage where the development team participate in projects initiated by the local people not local people participating in projects initiated by 'outsiders.'

5.2 Analysing the concept "Participation"

In an attempt to broaden the understanding of the term 'participation', theories of various authors will be reviewed below.

5.2.1 Arnstein (1969)

Figure 4. : Eight rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation

(Arnstein, 1969 : 217).

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 8. Citizen control | |
| 7. Delegated power | Degrees of Citizen Power |
| 6. Partnership | |
| 5. Placation | |
| 4. Consultation | Degrees of tokenism |
| 3. Informing | |
| 2. Therapy | Non-participation |
| 1. Manipulation | |

Arnstein describes participation in terms of a series of increasing meaningful inputs into the decision making process, with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens' power in determining what she called the "end product."

Arnstein identified a typology of eight levels of participation which indicates the extent of citizen power in decision making and planning. For Arnstein 'citizen participation is citizen power" (1969 : 216).

He argues that it is the distribution of power that enables the 'have nots' citizens presently excluded from political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. The Ladder pattern of Arnstein typology

shows the increasing degree of community participation towards citizen control (see figure 4).

The bottom rungs (1) and (2) are levels of non-participation, where the community is assisted in curing its symptoms, there are no intentions of involving them by policymakers or powerholders. Rung (3); (4) and (5) are levels where the community is in fact involved but have no power of influencing the decision taken. Rung (6); (7) and (8) are levels where the community is given more power which enables them to influence decision-making. Arnstein points out that participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless...." (1971 : 72).

5.2.2 Oakley and Marsden (1984)

In an attempt to broaden the understanding of participation, Oakley and Marsden (1984 : 19) have taken quotations of definitions from different scholars :

a) "Participation is considered a voluntary contribution by the people to one of the public programmes supposed to continue to national development but the people are not expected to take part in shaping the programme or criticising its content."

b) "Participation means in its broadest sense, to sensitise people and, thus, to increase the receptivity and ability of rural people to respond to development programmes, as well as to encourage local initiatives."

c) "With regard to rural development.... participation includes peoples involvement in decision making processes, in implementing programmes....

their sharing in the benefits of development programmes, and their involvement in efforts to evaluate such programmes.

d) "Popular participation in development should be broadly understood as the active involvement of people in the decision making process in so far as it affects them".

e) "Community involvement means that people, who have both the right and the duty to participate in solving their own health problems, have greater responsibilities in accessing the needs, mobilising local resources and suggesting new solutions, as well as creating and maintaining local organisations."

f) "Participation is considered to be an active process, meaning that the person or group in question takes initiatives and asserts his / her its autonomy to do so."

g) " ...the organised efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions is given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such a control " (Oakley & Marsden, 1984 :19).

Oakley and Marsden, argues that the quotations they have used emphasises the conflicting range of interpretations, which themselves reflect the dominant paradigms of development thinking internationally.

Oakley and Marsden (1984) further presents working statements reflecting an increasing involvement of community in the control of decision making.

Like Arnstein, Oakley and Marsden equates participation with achieving power (1984 : 25). To illustrate this point they make the following quotes from different authors :

a) "..... the promotion of popular participation implies a redistribution of power (basically a conflictual process) and this calls for a scientific analysis which gives due recognition to political factors, social forces and the role of class in historic process of social change."

b) "...participation is concerned with the distribution of power in society, for it is power which enables groups to determine which needs, and whose needs will be met through the distribution of resources."

c) "... power is central theme of participation and ...participatory social action entails widely shared collective power by those who are considered beneficiaries. The people become agents of social action and the power differentials between those who control and need resources is reduced through participation."

(Oakley & Marsden 1984 : 25 - 26).

Empowerment is seen as an all embracing philosophy which encapsulates all aspects of community participation.

5.2.3 Moser (1983)

Moser (1983 : 3) asserts 'the extent to which participation can be inserted into development strategies depends upon what is meant by the term and that it is apparent that not clear consensus exists.'

Moser argues that it is not useful to provide a range of definitions in the abstract but she points out that an important distinction can be made, within the spectrum that exists that is, between those which identify participation as a means and those which identify participation as an end.

Moser goes on to describe this dual nature of participation, by providing the following description:

"..... distinction between means and end clearly has an important implication for the way in which community participation is evaluated in projects and programmes. Where participation is interpreted as a means, it generally becomes a form of mobilisation to get things done. The equally can be state directed, top down mobilisation (sometimes enforced) to achieve specific development objectives, or bottom up 'voluntary' community based mobilisation to obtain a larger immediate share of resources.

The most frequent constraints of participation as a means are operational obstacles such as inadequate delivery mechanisms, lack of local structures of local co-ordination, while evaluation is concerned with the measurement of quantitative results of specific development objectives, rather than the extent of real participation. Where participation is identified as an end the objective is not fixed quantifiable development goal but a process whose outcome is an increasingly meaningful participation in the development process. Where the real objective of participation is to increase control over resources and regulative institutions is given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control," there is an inevitable sharing and then transfer of power involved as social groups deliberately attempt to control their own lives and improve their living conditions. In this context tensions can develop between the state, trying to promote participation to achieve centrally decided objectives, and "hitherto excluded" groups who in the process of participation are trying to increase their control over resources.

Where participation is identified as an end, the constraints on participation are structural national and local institutional opposition which most frequently react oppressively if any transfer of power occurs, and in reality determine the limits of participation. Evaluation of

participation as an end is complex, since it is essentially the evaluation of non-material and non-quantifiable process. Ultimately it is an evaluation of transfer of power and poses the question as to whether authentic participation can occur when there is a redistribution of power" (Moser 1983 : 3 - 4).

5.2.4. Paul (1987).

Paul's study attempted to provide a comprehensive conceptual framework by defining the term and its components (objectives, intensity, instruments). Paul's analysis is based on the World Bank's experience on community participation in its development projects. Paul defines participation as "an active process by which beneficiary / client groups influence the direction and execution of development project with a view of enhancing their well being in terms of income, personal growth self reliance or other values they cherish" (1987 : 2).

Paul points out that it is useful to distinguish between the objectives, intensity and instruments of C.P. In the context of development, C.P. may be viewed as a process that serves one or more of the following objectives :

- a) In the broadest sense, C.P. may be thought of as an instrument of empowerment
- b) C.P. may serve a more limited objective of building beneficiary capacity in relation to the project
- c) C.P. may contribute to increased project effectiveness.

Effectiveness refers to the degree to which a given objective is achieved. It is useful to distinguish effectiveness from efficiency which measures the relationship between given output and its costs (inputs).

d) C.P. may improve project efficiency. Project planning and implementation could become more efficient because of timely beneficiary inputs

e) Yet a fifth objective of C.P. is the desire to share costs of the projects with the people it serves beneficiaries may be expected to contribute labour, money or undertake to maintain the project. Self help groups in low income housing illustrate this objective (Paul 1987 : 3-4)

While C.P. can be used for any or all of these objectives, it may vary in intensity which it sought in a particular project or at a particular stage of a project it is useful to distinguish between few levels of intensity in C.P. though different levels of C.P may coexist in the same project (Paul 1987 : 4).

These levels of intensity includes :

- a) information sharing;
- b) consultation;
- c) decision making;
- d) initiating action.

Paul's levels of intensity form a ladder and they are listed in an ascending order.

Finally Paul identifies three categories of instruments of community participation." The term refers to the institutional devices used by a project agency to organise and sustain C.P. These instruments include :

- a) Field workers of the project agency
- b) Community workers/committee
- c) user group (Paul 1987 : 5 - 6).

Paul states that three dimensions of objectives, intensity and instruments of C.P. are interrelated, noting that there are certain combinations of these dimensions that are more likely to be consistent and hence more effective than others in a given project context (Paul 1987 : 7). He goes on to state that the more complex the objective of C.P., the greater the need for a higher level of intensity and more powerful instruments. By the same token, if C.P. has a less demanding objective, starting out from a lower level of intensity and a simpler instrument will not be in order according to Paul. Projects with different C.P. objectives may thus position themselves differently in terms of the configuration of objectives, intensity and instruments.

5.2.5 Burke (1968)

Burke argues that, assuming that citizen participation is a single, un-differentiated, and overriding strategy is misleading, for him it would be more accurate to speak of several strategies of citizen participation defined in terms of given objectives. Burke identified five strategies namely : Education-therapy, behavioural change, Staff supplement, Cooperation and community power.

1. Education-Therapy Strategy

In this strategy the focus is on education. The act of participation is held to be a form of citizen training in which citizens working together to solve community problems not only learn how democracy works but also learn to value and appreciate co-operation as a problem solving method. This would strengthen local government and spur community development.

In this strategy another focus is on therapy. Participation is used as a means for developing self-confidence and indeed self reliance.

2. Behavioural Change Strategy

It has been found that group participation is a major force for changing individual behaviour. Individuals will readily accept group made decisions than individuals extortion to change. The strategy is deliberately change oriented and is aimed at influencing individual behaviour through group membership.

Two major premises underlie the behavioural change strategy, namely

- a) It has been found that it is easy to change the behaviour of a group than to change any one of them separately.
- b) Individuals and group resist decisions which are imposed to them. Participation in decision making process, therefore can create commitment to a new strategy.

Conditions which can influence effectiveness of this strategy includes the following:

- a) Participants must have a strong sense of belonging and identification with the group.
- b) There must be some satisfaction or gains from participation.
- c) The awareness of the need for change and consequent pressure for change must come from within the group as a shared perception.

3. Staff Supplement

One of the prevalent reasons for participation is voluntarism, where an organisation recruits citizens to carry out tasks because it does not have staff resources to carry them out. The objective of such a strategy is to exploit the abilities, free time and the expertise of the individuals in order to achieve desired objectives.

4. Co-optation

In co-optation participants are involved in an organisation in order to prevent anticipated obstructionism. Citizens are viewed as potential elements of obstruction proposed to being seen as partners in assisting an organisation in achieving its goals.

Co-optation has been defined as "the process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy determining structure of an organisation as a means of overrating threats to its stability and existence.

Co-optation can take two forms, namely informal co-optation and formal co-optation.

Informal co-optation is the one employed in response to specific power forces. This strategy is based on the belief that certain individuals have sufficient resources or influence, whether financial or legislative which can virtually affect the operation of the organisation. Such influential individuals are brought into the organisation and more importantly involved at policy making level.

Formal co-optation is used as a device of winning consent and legitimacy from citizenry at large.

This strategy is used where it has been found that the need which the organisation purports to serve is not in itself sufficiently persuasive to gain community support. Therefore the groups who reflect the sentiments of the community are absorbed into the organisation in order to gain legitimacy e.g. clergymen, and representative of labour, business or women's organisations.

Setting up and maintaining community networks within a given organisation can be seen as formal co-optation. Tapping already existing community based organisations is a common method adopted in the strategy.

Whilst informal co-optation implies a sharing of power in response to specific pressures, formal co-optation on the other hand seeks public acknowledgement of the agency constituency relationship.

5. Community power strategies

These strategies are designed to exploit community power. There are two strategies used by organisations interested in exerting influence.

a) **Informal co-optation** is aimed at capturing influentials by involving them as participants in the organisation in order to achieve organizational objectives

b) Conflict strategy

This is a significantly different strategy which accepts the premises of community power theories but not the conclusions. In this strategy it is suggested that change can be caused by confronting existing power centres with power of numbers in the form of organised and committed mass of citizenry.

Demonstrations, boycotts and picketing are the weapons of such organisations. Negotiation on issues is inevitable, but negotiation from strength is a prerequisite.

5.4 Conclusion

From the literature review on community participation it can be concluded that there is still no universally recognised structure of participation. Therefore no uniform sets of objectives are available, around which research, implementation and evaluation can be based on. However Paul provides three important components of participation namely, objectives (which are related to Moser's 'means and end' duality); intensify and - instruments. Paul's model provides a comprehensive intellectual framework on participation which is useful in understanding the concept "participation." Consensus is necessary with regard to the meaning of this concept, if it has to be implemented successfully in policy making and project planning.

CHAPTER 6

GEO-SOCIO POLITICAL ORIGINS OF PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING

6.1 United States of America

There was an uproar about the process of urban renewal, in America during the 1960s after the 2nd World War. This was a period of industrial revolution, with migrants flooding from towns and farms, and from Europe. Development which included, Highway constructions and public housing for the middle class led to the displacement of the urban poor. The advocacy planning movement came into being to represent the poor whose needs were not articulated in planning. The inner city low-rental houses were demolished and the poor relocated on the periphery. Plans represented commercial interests and the middle class, this led to an attack on the traditional city planning by professionals (Heskin, 1980).

6.2 United Kingdom

Participation in planning reached Britain in the late 1960s. This great interest of involvement by citizens was attributed to the rise of educational standards and growth in the realisation that planning was affecting the public's spatial and physical interests (Damer and Hague). The first legislation in Britain calling for public participation was published in 1968 in the form of Town and Country Planning Act, followed by Skeffington Report on people and planning in 1969.

After reaching Britain the concept of public participation spread to other democratic countries in the Western World. In South Africa the concept has not received much attention until the mid 1970s when the civil movement emerged and demanded involvement in decision making.

6.3 South African Context

Civic associations emerged as part of a general re-awakening of black resistance in the mid-1970s. After the quiescence of the 1960s, the following decade witnessed the re-emergence of resistance politics within some groups in the black community. Students at black universities played a leading role; the emergence of organisations such as the South African Students Organisation, South African Students Movement and Black Peoples Convention and various regionally based youth organisations were critical to the radicalisation of black politics at the time. Initially, the influence of student groups such as SASO is illustrated by the fact that black consciousness, the world view of the student movement, was universally embraced by all radical political groups and became the dominant political paradigm. Non-student organisations, such as the Soweto Committee of Ten (the embryo of the country's first civic also shared the black consciousness view. And the clearest manifestation of renewed resistance is the conflicts which began in Soweto in June, 1976, which were led by students (Heyman, 1993 : 17),

The first civic emerged in the aftermath of the 1976 Soweto conflict to provide organisational support for the resistance activities of that period. Conventional wisdom at the time held the view that the 1976 events had not achieved as much as they could because only the students and the youth were organised. It was, therefore found essential that the "parent" or "resident" also participate in resistance, then civics emerged to fill that gap. The Committee of Ten was formed partly in response to the criticism that "parents" needed to take an active role in organised opposition activities. It emerged, therefore, from a perceived strategic need amongst those organising resistance (Heyman 1993, Shubane 1992).

Another important impetus to the formation of civics was the increasing organisation of workers into trade unions in the late 1970s. Successful union strike action provided a reference point for the gains to be made from organisation and mobilisation; in addition, some early strikes were accompanied by the involvement of communities in focused consumer boycotts to pressure employers to resolve industrial disputes in favour of workers.

Trade unions organisers also sought to organise township communities for purposes of solidarity action, should this be required. This made people with organisational experience available to help build community organisations; the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO), the second civic to be formed, is a prime case.

However, while these first attempts saw mobilisation around local issues as a means of heightening resistance to apartheid, they could not have made much impact had they not been articulating a widespread sense of grievance. Services in the townships were poor and material deprivation was an inescapable feature of township life. The authorities exercised tight control over the lives of local residents, rather than democratic participation. Rising political awareness and assertiveness in the townships helped to ensure that daily material deprivations no longer appeared to be an inevitability to be patiently borne. And the inability of official representative institutions in the townships to address these issues ensured that a key focus of resistance was the Urban Council, an advisory body which substituted for local government in some townships. A stated rationale for the formation of the Committee of Ten, the forerunner of the Soweto Civic Association (SCA), was the absence of legitimate local government in the township (Shubane, 1992).

The emergence of civics also coincided with the onset of a prolonged period of decline in the already limited financial viability of the townships. Worsening economic conditions combined with the removal of a crucial source of revenue (liquor sales, which had boosted township administration funds, but were largely destroyed in the 1976 conflict and later privatised) to deplete funds for township administration and services. The authorities responded by imposing

"economic rentals" on township residents, thus increasing their financial burden. This often translated into increased rents and service charges payable by local residents. Greater economic pressure provided a further impetus to the formation of civics, soon after its formation, PEBCO led a delegation to the authorities in opposition to increased water tariffs, while the SCA was involved in a dispute with the authorities over increased rents.

The grievances to which the early civics responded were all products of the apartheid policy which, until the mid-1980s, regarded black people as temporary residents in the cities. Civics were created, among other purposes, to oppose the apartheid policy. This was reflected in the programmes they adopted when they were formed, their rhetoric reveals a focused attention on challenging the "temporary" status of urban black residents. These early trends, in which a perceived need to organise local resistance against apartheid for strategic reasons combined with conditions highly favourable to mobilisation, became even more pronounced in the mid-1980s when civics began to spread and grow (Shubane, 1992).

The demands made by civic associations included short term and long term demands. In short term, these included efficient delivery of services by local authorities, protection of poor communities against state victimisation, efficient and affordable transport and availability of educational facilities. Because of their affiliation to UDF, many demands were overtly political in nature, dealing with issues like the release of political prisoners, lifting of the state of emergency, the unbanning of political organisations and the abolition of all racially based structures at all various levels of government (Atkin 1988 : 200 Swilling et al 1991 : 187, Coovadia 1992 : 335-336).

Civic associations were central players in the Vaal Uprisings in September 1984, Eastern Cape's mass struggle that began in March 1985, Consumer

boycott that spread from the Eastern Cape and other provinces and long term rent boycotts the eventually crippled local government in Transvaal, Orange Free State and Northern Cape. By 1986, it was estimated that 54 townships and estimated 6 500 households were holding rent, which was the main income for the BLA (Botha, 1992, Shubane 1992).

Although the civic organisations mobilised around issues related to poor living conditions and poor infrastructure provision and services, the formation of civics was a key feature of resistance strategies against apartheid. At the time, the UDF was concerned with the establishment of civics since they provided it with a mass character which enhanced its ability to lead struggles against apartheid. Inevitably, the formation and spread of civics followed the trends of general political mobilisation during the 1980s. It reached a high point in the second half of the decade, as resistance heightened and then ebbed as state security action contained overt mobilisation. But, although many civics became defunct in the face of state actions, some survived and grew (Botha 1992, Shubane 1992).

In sum, the origins of the civic movement lie in the period of renewed resistance in the black community. A complex set of circumstances combined in a unique way to produce a heightened sense of grievance which was translated into organised resistance. Whether the civics were formed in response to a particular local grievance or political reasons, they spread in response to a perceived strategic need by resistance campaigners and organisations to heighten the struggle against white rule at the local level. During the 1980s civics were often seen as a key element in the apartheid "struggle"; their role was both to weaken the state at the local level and to raise the political awareness of township populations. Their key weapon was mass mobilisation and this clearly gave them a different character.

Swilling (1993) identifies different categories of civic organisations which existed during apartheid era, these includes grassroots civics, populist, paper civic and development civics.

Grassroots civics

Grassroot civics come closest to what many activist would hold up as conception of an "ideal civic." These have a well organised grassroots base and an accountable leadership.

They tend to have street committees that meet regularly and have executive structures and formal membership. Grassroots civics have access to the media and to professional/technical assistance from lawyers, and relationship between leadership and the base tends to be quite tight in terms of reporting back and accountability.

Populist civics

Populist civics are civics that are built around a dominant charismatic personality who enjoys grassroots support without this support being translated into organised structures at the base. The relationship between the leadership and base tends to be via mass meetings characterised by speeches and popular mobilisation around local issues. The result is that accountability is limited and there is an absence of a leadership structure.

Paper Civics

In certain areas the name of the civic exists, usually with the name of the township after it and this name is simply invoked when convenient by any leadership element that takes it upon him/herself to represent the area.

In other words, because the concept 'civic' is part of accepted discourse in government and private sector circles, the name is used to describe a self-constituted leadership pleading for special interests of various kinds. There are cases, for example, where the entire councils have resigned and the councillors have simply redefined themselves as a civic and carried on their relationship with the authorities under a new guise. In other instances, prominent businessmen have participated in forums and negotiations and in order to identify themselves with a general interest more than a euphemism.

Developmental civics are those whose organisation is directly linked to developmental processes. This can take a number of forms, the most common is in squatter areas where the local squatter committee has evolved into a civic structure of one kind or another. The success and nature of the delivery of services tends to be directly determined by the fate, structure and support base of the civic in these circumstances. In some cases, however, civics have been directly established by governmental and / or development agencies to 'create' a leadership with whom they can deal. There is no single organisational form that corresponds to developmental civics.

In some cases strong grassroots type civic structures have evolved as the civic which has become more centrally involved in the development process. However, there are also many cases where civics involved in development are simply either populist, or paper civics that have chosen to "rubber-stamp" development programmes they have no control over.

Swilling argues that, although the above categorisation do not exhaust all the possibilities, it is reasonable to claim that most civics can be understood in terms of the feature described above.

6.4 Non-governmental organisations

Non-governmental organisations have always engaged in the following functions :

* disaster relief, for people suffering from draught, war and other natural and man made catastrophies.

* Provision of services such as health, family planning, agricultural extension and credit.

* Community organising, technical and educational assistance to enable local groups to organise, solve local problems, and influence other agencies to provide better services.

* Grant making to peoples organisations and to service providers and community organising Vos.

* Training and technical assistance support to other NGOs performing development functions.

* Research and information exchange for the formation of development policies and programmes.

* Networking for experience sharing, programme co-ordination and joint action on sector issues.

* Development education, to increase public and opinion leader understanding of key development issues.

* Advocacy in support of critical policy and institutional changes
Brown & Korten 1989 : 5).

From a development planning point of view, community participation in the planning process can be ensured by involving the CBOs and NGOs. Through CBOs the interests and needs of the disadvantaged community can be articulated. It is important, however that the organisation must be representative of the needs of the group for which it is accountable. Strategies employed by the CBOs must be transformed and their role well defined in relation to the legitimate local government.

A spate of new NGOs emerged around the time of independence in most African countries, and the post colonial period has seen a continued growth in NGOs (Bratton 1989 : 571). Since the 1980s, however, NGOs have mushroomed, doubling and tripling their numbers in many countries (Fowler 1991 : 54).

Two levels of growth have been identified by Cernea (1988 : 9) namely, international and national level NGOs.

International NGOs represent either a federation of national organisations or a nationally-based organization which defines its area of work as encompassing other countries than the home country.

National NGOs, represent an intermediate level, best understood flexibility as supra-local organisations grouping together a number of local NGO units more or less similar in their objectives. The real growth of NGOs took place on the national level, that is the so-called grassroots or people's organisations (Fowler 1991: 55), or CBOs as referred to in this thesis. Cernea (1988 : 9) describes these people's organisations (Pos) as "organisations whose territorial radius stays within the sub-district level." There is an immense variety of organisations within this cadre.

Some can be seen as economic, some as environmental, many have a welfare base, and some concentrate on various forms of training. Many of these see to the well-being of their members but does as many work for the improvement of other people's lives or for the betterment of society.

Brown and Korten (1989:3) describe the variety as defying classification, they then run through the various types of organisations that can be regarded as Pos, inter alia savings clubs, parent teacher associations, health committees, squatter associations, communal labour sharing groups, village water associations, irrigation groups, women's associations, mother's clubs, consumer co-operatives, youth clubs, sport associations, local development associations and burial societies. Cernea (1988 : 15) adds grazing associations, credit co-operatives, tree-grower associations and others. We have them all in this country, plus such ones as vegetable garden groups, creche' associations, crime fighting groups, poultry farming groups and civic associations.

The failing of governments on the economic and the political levels must be regarded as a major reason for the proliferation of NGOs. It was hoped that "NGO activity will help mitigate the negative effects of the prevailing macroeconomics policies on the poor and vulnerable groups" and will also "contribute to the needed democratization of African countries" (Fowler 1991 : 53). The relative success of NGOs to meet expectations and the increasing interest of large donors in NGO activity, help to carry this process of growth forward.

6.4.1 The Strengths of NGOs

It is generally accepted that the NGOs have a special ability :

- a) To reach the poor and other populations unserved by public or commercial agencies. This capacity is often a function of their special commitment to help poor or neglected groups.

b) To facilitate local resource mobilisation and the development of Pos through which the poor can participate in their own development. NGOs have demonstrated their ability to promote local participation and their willingness to adapt to local needs and conditions in support of these groups.

c) To deliver services at relatively low cost. This is derived from their ability to mobilise voluntary energy and resources.

d) To find innovative solutions to novel problems and to support successful innovations in government programmes. The capacity grows from their small size, administrative flexibility, and relative freedom from political constraints 1988 : 17-18 Brown & Korten 1989 : 16).

6.4.2 Weaknesses of NGOs

We should not fool ourselves to think that NGOs will be the answer to all development problems. They have been criticised for their **limited** :

a) Technical capacity for complex projects. This is a function of their small size and budget, which limit their ability to attract staff with advanced technical and professional qualifications.

b) Ability to 'scale up' successful projects to achieve regional or national impact due to small size and resources.

c) Ability to develop community organisations that are able to sustain themselves once the NGOs withdraws its special staff and resources.

d) Strategic perspective and linkages with other important action groups. This weakness may be related to NGOs commitment to locality specific interventions often ignoring the larger context within which they operate.

e) Managerial and organisational skills. This stems from a combination of lack of necessary skills, reluctance to spend their scarce resources on functions that seem unrelated to beneficiary needs, donor unwillingness to fund administrative expenses, and values that equate administration with inflexible bureaucracy (Brown & Korsten 1991 : 17).

6.5 Conclusion

Participation in the United States was induced by the poor through civic movement. This was a response to the threat to their lives caused by urban renewal which left the poor landless. In U.K., the middle class has always protected the rights of the poor, therefore legislation protected the rights of all citizens.

In South Africa, the poor demanded involvement in planning through the civic movement. Unlike in the case of America, civic movement in South Africa was a response to poor or lack of services in the black townships. NGOs also made great contributions in ensuring that the poor are involved in the planning of their environment in this country. In S.A. NGOs and CBOs, because of their strategic location, accessibility and credibility with the people, their organisational flexibility and their capacity to identify development initiatives, should be tapped by the government to undertake development programmes, particularly in areas where the state may have limited access.

This partnership must not result in a situation wherein government delegates its duties to NGOs, but where a dynamic partnership between government and NGOs is established.

The willingness and readiness of both the government and the NGOs to assume responsibility when the other is less capable of performing a certain task or in service delivery must be nurtured within this partnership.

CHAPTER 7

CASE STUDY : Wattville/Tamboville development Project

7.1 Background

Wattville is a small township, with about 55 000 inhabitants located about 26 km East of Greater Johannesburg in the East Rand (see map 1). East Rand consist of a range of cities including Benoni, Boksburg and Germiston. Wattville falls within the jurisdiction of Benoni City Council, the city covers an area of 227 square kilometre. Western and Northern edge of Wattville is boarded by industries, North of Wattville is the Actonville housing district, and the East is boarded by the Lake, Leeupan. Two suburbs form the South-Eastern boundary of Wattville, Leuchville and Dalpark. These two suburbs and Actonville are preuominantly inhabited by Asians and Whites (See map 2).

Tamboville is an informal settlement located adjacent to the formal township of Wattville (see map 2). The area was named after the late Oliver Tambo, the former National Chairman of the African National Congress (ANC) and a former resident of Wattville. Tamboville was born through a process of organised land invasion by the residents of Wattville, in response to the housing crisis. In order to understand the conditions which led to the birth of Tamboville, a brief historical background will be given below.

7.2 History of Wattville

Wattville is one of the oldest townships in the East Rand, it was established in 1942. Like many other townships Wattville had to contend with the failure of the state in the allocation of additional land and resources for residential development. In spite of several industries located in the East Rand due to increase industrialisation, no attempts were made by the state to deal with the consequences.

Only 323 houses were built in 1941 by the Benoni Town Council to alleviate the housing crisis, that is when Wattville came into being. The Community's response has been the illegal occupation of land. To control overcrowding the state implemented policy of forced removals to the homelands and to Daveyton, a township 20 km east of Benoni.

Wattville fell under the Authority of Benoni Council until the 1970s when Black Local Authorities were responsible for the area. Like in most townships, BLAs were seen as structures representing apartheid government therefore illegitimate. Due to the illegitimacy of the BLA, they became unpopular and the civics representing the interests of the residents became more influential. This is well illustrated by the establishment of a community based organisation the Wattville Concerned Residents Committee (in 1989).

7.3 Wattville Concerned Residents Committee

After its establishment in 1989, WCRC mobilised the community around issues related to poor living conditions, poor services and infrastructure, and lack of affordable houses. After an organised land invasion of a piece of vacant land owned by Benoni City Council, negotiations related to housing crisis began. Invaded land, which was later named Tamboville was later allocated by Benoni City Council to about 1000 residents after lengthy negotiations, with WCRC and their advisers and BLA through a Joint Technical Committee. It is the sensitivity of the issue during transitional period that led to the establishment of JTC to ensure community participation (Planact, 1991a).

The JTC was involved in discussions on issues relating to planning, finance and the future local government, until September 1991 the Committee had about 30 meetings (Planact, 1991a).

Issues arising from each meeting were reported back to the community, to ensure their participation in the shaping of the planning process. For instance, the Benoni Council had intended to install services in Tamboville in an orthodox fashion. This layout was rejected by the WCRC's who had already workshoped a layout with the future residents.

Through the process of participation it was realised that the WCRC proposed layout had not taken into account some technical considerations (some features of land and drainage). WCRC sought technical advice from Planact and through a series of workshops these issues and other issues were dealt with.

These workshops covered issues of the following nature :

- * the location of major and feeder roads, taking into account likely taxi and bus routes;
- * whether a particular piece of land should be used for school or for more sites for houses
- * the location of the school in relation to the main roads and open spaces next to occupied land; whether there should be a standard grid system or whether cul-de-sac and other devices should be used for slowing down traffic;
- * the size of the sites.

Decisions taken regarding these issues were jointly agreed upon in a partnership fashion. Both the knowledge of the community regarding their environment and the professional knowledge were shared during the series of workshops. Other agreements which emerged during negotiations between WCRC and Benoni Town Council included for instance, an undertaking by the Council to perform the following activities.

- * provision of resources for the proper planning of Tamboville.
- * provision of essential services, namely water and sewage.
- * establishment of roads (gravel)

- * granting of ownership, or rights concerning land.
 - * acquiring as far as possible, funds for the development.
- (Nyalunga, 1990).

The Benoni Town Council's town planners prepared a coherent layout plan for the area. The plan was given to the community for approval. In the evaluation of the layout plan prepared by Benoni Town Council, the community was given technical guidance and advised by the development planners from PLANACT. Suggestions were invited from the Community, after which a final plan was designed.

7.4 Stakeholders in the development project of Wattville / Tamboville:

a) Benoni City Council the local authority, of the area (public sector)

b) CONDEV, a South African development organisation is one of the partners in the social housing scheme together with the Benoni City Council, and WCRC in the Gauteng Provincial Housing Board project.

c) National Woningraad (NWR), a Dutch organisation which is a representative and co-ordinating body of more than 700 housing associations in Netherlands. It provides support on wide range of subjects related to the social housing. Presently NWR is providing technical assistance and training to the Wattville Housing Association.

d) PLANACT, a South African non-governmental organisation providing advice and technical support to CBOs on issues related to urban development; particularly housing, local government transformation; local economic development and organisation development.

e) Wattville Concerned Residence Committee.

WRCR is a community based organisation of Wattville/Tamboville resident, which plays a Wattville Housing Association (WHA).

A non profit association established by the WRCR. WHA will contribute to the development of Wattville/Tamboville through the provision and maintenance of decent affordable and community controlled housing. WHA is the first housing association in a Black township of South Africa (Planact, 1996).

7.5 Control and Administration of funds

The funds for the Tamboville projects are from a number of sources. The RDP funds from the Department of Public Works have been channelled to the construction of the creche building, and they are administered by the local government.

NWR is responsible for the mobilisation of funds for the building of houses, government low-income housing subsidies have been accessed through this organisation. NWR work together with the Provincial Housing Board in the allocation of housing subsidies. The community is not involved in the mobilisation or control of funds.

Project management team from Planact is responsible for the administration of funds from other sources (internal and external). Money from this fund is used for salaries and administration within the WRCR.

Although the process of control and administration of funds is top-down, the process is transparent, the community is involved in decision-making relating to how the money is spend. By the end of the year, the WRCR will be directly involved in the mobilisation and control of funds as the NWR will be withdrawing its services.. Members of the WRCR have been trained for skills relating to basic finance and banking. The WRCR substructure will be registered as a non profit organisation under Section 21 of the Companies Act.

7.6 Development Stage

Tamboville has developed into an orderly planned township, with 1128 sites. The area is divided into 6 units :

1. "Tamboville Proper" (initial land invaded) 659 sites
2. "Knoxville" or Tamboville Extension 1 (TVL); 140 sites.
3. Tamboville 2 (TV2), 83 sites
4. Tamboville 3 (TV3), 126 sites
5. Lakeview (next to the Lake Leeupan), 110 sites
6. Emoyeni, 110 sites.
(Planact, 1996)

Water and Sewage

One toilet and a free standing tap are provided for every 4 sites. It is intended to upgrade to individually serviced sites at a later stage.

Roads

Existing roads are not in a very good condition but there are plans to provide better quality roads.

Electricity

Electricity is provided by Benoni City Council, provision to each household will depend on affordability, street lights have existed since 1993.

Crèches and offices

- * A creche is nearing completion, presently the children are housed in prefabs.
- * Two offices have been constructed, which are utilised by the civics for meetings, city council for administration and by the department of health for once a week for primary health care provision.

Health

There are plans for building a health clinic by Gauteng Health Department. The Public Works Programme (RDP fund) has been involved in the building of the creche and after completion of the creche funds will be channelled to the building of a Clinic.

Recreation

There are plans to make the lake area, a recreation centre with an affordable entrance fee.

Housing

The Wattle Housing Association has been able to provide 46 affordable houses, financed by the French government. The idea of a Social Housing Association is based on a "Dutch Housing Association" model. More houses are expected to be built. These houses are targeted at the low income group (earning less than R1 500), interest rates have been fixed at 10% and the repayment period is 20 years (Planact, 1996).

WCRC

In 1991, the WCRC restructured itself and set up six subcommittees, dealing with land, financial administration, negotiation, health and amenities. To build capacity of the members of WCRC, training has been provided locally by NGOs and abroad in Holland, through the assistance of NWR. Capacity have been built in areas of technical, management and strategic perspective. Department of Public Works have used local labour in the provision of infrastructure using labour based methodology.

To date, there has been fair amount of progress marked, however, there has been conflicts over resources since 1995. The Department of Land Affairs is currently involved in the conflict resolution. Less progress have been marked since conflict became unmanageable in June this year (1996).

7.7 REVIEW OF THE CASE STUDY.

The Case Study provides a good example of community participation in planning and one of the few fairly successful cases in South Africa. Emergence of informal Settlements on private land and subsequent demand for legal tenure, is not unique to Wattville. Similar situations exist throughout South Africa, a few well publicised examples being Gonobie in Eastern Cape, Hout bay in Cape Town and Zevensfontein in Transvaal. However, the way each has been dealt with is different. The case study will be evaluated below, the evaluation will be based on the following criteria:

1. Intensity of community participation.

Initiation of action, decision making and information sharing (Paul 1987).

2. The extent to which objectives of community participation were met., namely capacity building and empowerment will be accessed.

7.7.1. Intensity of Community Participation

1. Initiation of action

The action which led to the negotiation process for the development of the Wattville/Tamboville area was initiated by the residents through WCRC. Initiation of the process was based on a confrontational approach, because the government was not open to community involvement at the time.

2. Decision making

The WCRC was involved throughout the decision making process from the inception of the project to date. Participation in the process was ensured through the formation of JTC. Issues arising from meetings and workshops were fed back to the community. The community was supported by their advisers in the decision making process.

3. Information Sharing

Through consultation with the other stakeholders in the development process, the community is being educated with regards to development planning and local government issues. Expert knowledge from the professionals helps them to make informed decisions related to planning.

The community have learnt that development is a lengthy and a complex process, which might need the expertise knowledge that the community does not possess. The community has also learnt that development requires a strong community organisation to ensure efficiency and accountability.

At the same time the professionals have learnt a lot about the community's needs, aspirations and values during their engagement with the community in the planning process. WCRC shared the information they had about their own environment based on experience. In short, the whole process has created mutual learning.

7.7.2. Objectives of C.P

1. Capacity building

Through dialogue in meetings and workshops the WCRC and the community at large gained capacity related to, running of a meeting, negotiations and conflict resolution. Other skills transferred to the WCRC and the community includes, land use, forms of land tenures, home ownership, mobilisation of funds, and control of development process.

According to Planact (1991b), they also learnt about a different approach to development, that is a process as opposed to a product. Their ability of decision making was enhanced.

Through training the members of the WCRC have acquired technical and management skills. Department of Public Works have help members of the community to develop skills related to construction.

Conflict which is inevitable in community participation has led to the realisation that a community is not homogeneous.

2. Empowerment

Through involvement in the development process and housing delivery in the area, the community have been empowered. As a result they have been able to gradually have greater control of the project. This have been demonstrated by the way the community have worked together and how they have taken a more political stance towards the other role players in the project. Now and again they have challenged decisions which they feel were not appropriate e.g. in the case of layout plan.

Funds from external and internal donors including RDP funds have ensured that the people gain access to productive and reproduction resources which includes skills, material goods and financial support. By being part of the decision-making process the people were empowered psychologically as well.

7.8 Factors affecting Community Participation

From the case study the following factors have been identified :

7.8.1. The legitimacy of local government.

It has become clear from the literature that community development operates within the confines of the government policy.

In the case of Tamboville/Wattville development project, the Benoni City Council did acknowledge the need for public involvement but the process was constrained by the apartheid policy under which the Council functioned. Apartheid policies compelled local governments to be "closed," and thus insensitive to the need of the poor (Blacks) in service and infrastructure provision. Any form of local demands have been previously perceived as challenging the state authority.

The service organisation played a great role in advancing for the needs of the poor. Now the role of the 'advocates' for the communities in the development arena will be determined by how the legitimate local government responds to local needs.

Where local government are sensitive and supportive of community developments, the development projects will be successful.

In the case of Wattville/Tamboville, the community should be able to take control of their development initiative by now.. Surrogate arrangement through advocacy planning, however well intended may well reinforce a dependency syndrome (Muller, 1982).

7.8.2. The nature of the decision to be made

Decisions which impact upon the given community have at least four components namely social, political and economic or financial. Most of these decisions also have a technical component. As the number of variables increases, the decision making process becomes complex. Most of the poor lack the skill to deal with the technical aspects of the decisions, this may lead to conflicts or lack of participation.

It is important for community organisations to be aware of the available external technical assistance, so that they do not find themselves making uninformed decisions. Guidance and support must be readily available in order to ensure that the decisions are taken timeously.

The Tamboville/Wattville have been able to get technical guidance from the service organisations as necessary. A multidisciplinary approach between technical professionals (planners, architectures, engineers) and social scientists should be used if the ideals of democracy are to be met.

7.8.3. Definition of community as a homogenous group

There is a tendency of using the term "community" as if it covers a homogenous, idyllic, unified population with which interaction is unproblematic. Too often homogeneity of interests assumed is a myth in reality. However participatory the development intervention, some people will benefit while others loose out. The end result is unequal share of resources, then conflict becomes inevitable (Nelson & Wrights, 1995 : 14 -15).

Bringing different organisations with conflicting interests to join together in order to speak as one voice is undesirable, Rubenstein (1994 : 174) warns that, by making consensus a prerequisite to being heard within a civil society will result to three likely outcomes :

(a) The first, is that the powerful will hijack the process and impose a consensus that does not actually exist.

(b) The civil society will be forced to return to an adversarial and oppositional relationship with local government as a common enemy.

(c) Such structures will merely be coopted by the state as the delivery agents in the service of predetermined goals and objectives.

In the case of Tamboville it would appear that the approach was based on the notion of harmonious, conflict free beneficiary community with uniform sets of needs and interests, hence represented by a single organisation WCRC.

I would argue that this assumption might have been true when the organisation came into being, but with time people developed different needs and priorities. Therefore it would appear unreasonable to have one "mother" organisation within such a large community representing everybody's needs. Suppression of competing needs might have a negative effect on the project.

It is important for development planners to be aware of potential conflicts within groups which purports to be having a common interest. In spite of the conflicting interest within and between groups, they must be brought into the local development planning. Recognition of this diversity of the civil society will help those involved in development to develop appropriate strategies for community participation.

7.9 KEY ISSUES IN COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

7.9.1 Positive Aspects

1. Participation is the basis for democracy "Citizens should share in decisions affecting their destinies .. anything less is a betrayal of our democratic tradition" (Burke 1968 : 287).
2. Through participation the Local Authorities will be informed of the needs, desires and aspiration of their constituencies. If this is fed into the planning process, a high level of satisfaction with the services will be ensured.
3. Participation is also necessary because it creates a sense of ownership of the product and can overcome a sense of powerlessness within the community.
4. Through participation the community can be trained and educated in administrative and political issues.

7.9.2 Negative Aspects

1. Problems related to in implementation of participation in practice. The difficulty relate to the following issues;

*** Who participate?**

It is generally accepted that if there is to be public participation ideally all members of society that are to be affected by the plan should participate. Total participation is impossible and there is considerable difficulty encountered in accessing representativeness of the group, in practice.

*** To what extent should the public be involved?**

There is a large disagreement about the extent of involvement.

2. Because participation involves a variety of social and cultural backgrounds, conflict is inevitable. If conflict is not managed well, it can derail the planning process.

3. Participatory exercise is costly, in terms of time, financing staff and facilities. However it can be argued that the benefits of participation during planning outweighs the cost, by producing more acceptable plans and policies.

4. Lack of and poor participation by beneficiaries even sometimes when attempts are made to encourage it (Eyben & Ladybury, 1995). The level of participation will be determined by :

- * groups perception of opportunity cost of participation
- * the ability of the group to organise itself
- * the professionals attitude to participation
- * the nature of the decision to be made, the greater the knowledge gap between the public and professionals, the greater the chance of non-participation
- * the nature of the product

5. Participation raises the citizens hopes and if there is a large gap between 'promise and delivery,' the group becomes frustrated.

A community which starts with enthusiasm in the planning process, may become frustrated if the process takes too long or where no definite commitment has been made to take action.

*** To what extent should the public be involved?**

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CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this discourse, participation by the urban poor in the policymaking and delivery of infrastructure has been seen as an instrument of empowering the poor. From the paradigm shift in planning and development field as discussed, it can be concluded that the planners and other professionals involved in South Africa, are faced with a great challenge.

Development approaches applied in South Africa tends to view growth and development as two distinct processes, growth being seen as a priority that must precede development. Growth - measurable increase in the output of the modern industrial economy has not been evenly distributed and was not aimed at building human capacity (human resource development). Hence the poor remained poor or became worse off in spite of decentralisation policy of the 1980s. The RDPs approach is integration of growth, development, reconstruction and redistribution into a unified policy.

Community empowerment through involvement in infrastructure delivery is two pronged :

Firstly, empowerment through involvement in policy making and Secondly, empowerment through involvement in delivery process of individual projects of public works programme.

It is important to note that for, participation to be effective there must be a desire and commitment for participation from both the public and their representative, the local authorities and the planners. No amount of legislation or policy can achieve this commitment.

Policymakers in this country are ill-equipped in planning process which involve the public, especially the poor. Therefore the author finds it important to have a programme that defines the procedure that will ensure participation. Below a participation programme and methodology for policy making, and procedure for participation in the project (physical infrastructure delivery) is proposed.

8.1 Proposed Programme for Participation in the Planning Process

In terms of the RDP, the local government is the key institution for :
the delivery of basic services (including physical infrastructure)

- * redistribution of public resources
- * managing local economic development and
- * extending local control

Therefore the local government will play a key role in the formulation of local plans. To ensure uniformity the following process is proposed :

Figure 5 : A proposed programme for participation in planning process

Announcement by the Local Authority of the intention to make a plan.

Assigning of planning staff to collect data by Local Authority

Data collection by the planning staff ("scanning")

Analysis and synthesis of data by planners

Preparation of alternatives by planners through public consultation ("shaping & designing")

Consultation of the public for prioritisation of alternatives ("comparing")

Consideration of public comments and preparation of proposal for the locality ("choosing")

Publication of proposals

Public comments invited

Revision of proposals (by planners)

Final plan sanction of the plan ("doing")

From the above programme public input is invited during the collection of data, choice and prioritisation of alternatives and proposal review. The extent of participation will differ at each level, active participation is expected during the collection of data will involve information sharing, during the preparation of alternatives and prioritization which leads to the choice of "best" alternative the planners play a more active role.

Information will be given to the public through workshops and publications on a local newspaper. In workshops details of the plans through a modified strategic choice methodology will be given to the community representatives who must inform their constituency. Direct public involvement is vital in this process.

Booklets or pamphlets should be made available to inform the public about the working and the structure of the local authority and City Council. This will help the public to understand the processes involved in decision making. Such booklets will ensure co-operation and good relationship between the public and local government.

Through the public organisations, the society at large must be made aware of the goals of participation.

8.2 Delivery of Public Works Projects (Physical Infrastructure)

Comparative and local experience suggest that public works programmes (which includes physical infrastructure) are one option to the government and large funding trusts e.g. IDT to address the problem of unemployment, thus alleviate poverty.

The urban poor can be empowered financially through skills training and income, in the delivery of physical infrastructure. Usable productive assets (roads, schools, clinics and water systems) created by the public works programme can generate further development. Properly targeted, public works programme can be a powerful tool for empowering households whose capacity for sustain itself is threatened.

For the community-based public works programme to be effective in creating jobs, it is important that political pressure to spend money rapidly should be well managed. Poor planning may lead to unviable projects being approved, which have a limited impact on the development constraints faced by poor people.

In order to ensure sustainable development, the public works programme should ensure long term employment prospects that could be a spin off of previous public work programmes. Increased levels of income for only short term have obvious social economic impacts. To realise a development oriented role in infrastructure delivery, the public should be involved throughout the project cycle. Failure to involve the public and other stakeholders may lead to delivery of services which do not meet the needs of the local people.

".....30 clinics built as part of the national trust's labour intensive programme lie abandoned and unused in the Northern province. These clinics were not constructed in co-ordination with the Department of Health, so they do not have the necessary staff, medical supplies or support services to be effective. A labour intensive water programme in Tambo Village in Eastern Cape created local jobs but water system has been unreliable since its installation over a year ago, because its capacity to meet local demand is too small, no consideration was given to the training of local residents to maintain and manage the sophisticated system. Breakdowns, which are regular, require technical terms from other parts of the Eastern Cape to rectify" (Sowetan in Breslin, Delius and Madrid, 1996 : 17).

A lot can be learned from the previous mistakes, a proposal will be made on how to ensure that provision on infrastructure not only leads to job creation but leads to long term benefits for the community.

Proposed Community Based Public Works Project Plan

During the initial phase of a project, all stakeholders should be carefully identified and involved in the process. Through public participation the following decisions must be made from the onset:

- * Organisations of the project committee
- * Who should get priority in employment (define criteria)
- * Who should be trained for operation and maintenance of the "product" post implementation
- * How the community will be involved in the funding of the project

For effective participation, it is crucial to have a committee, which will be directly involved with the development agency. The role of this committee would be, to represent the needs, views and aspirations of the community to the development team, and to inform their constituencies about the project.

Not all the unemployed can be guaranteed equal chances of being employed. To prevent conflicts, the community should identify the households who should be given preference according to needs as defined by the community with the help of the development agency, e.g.

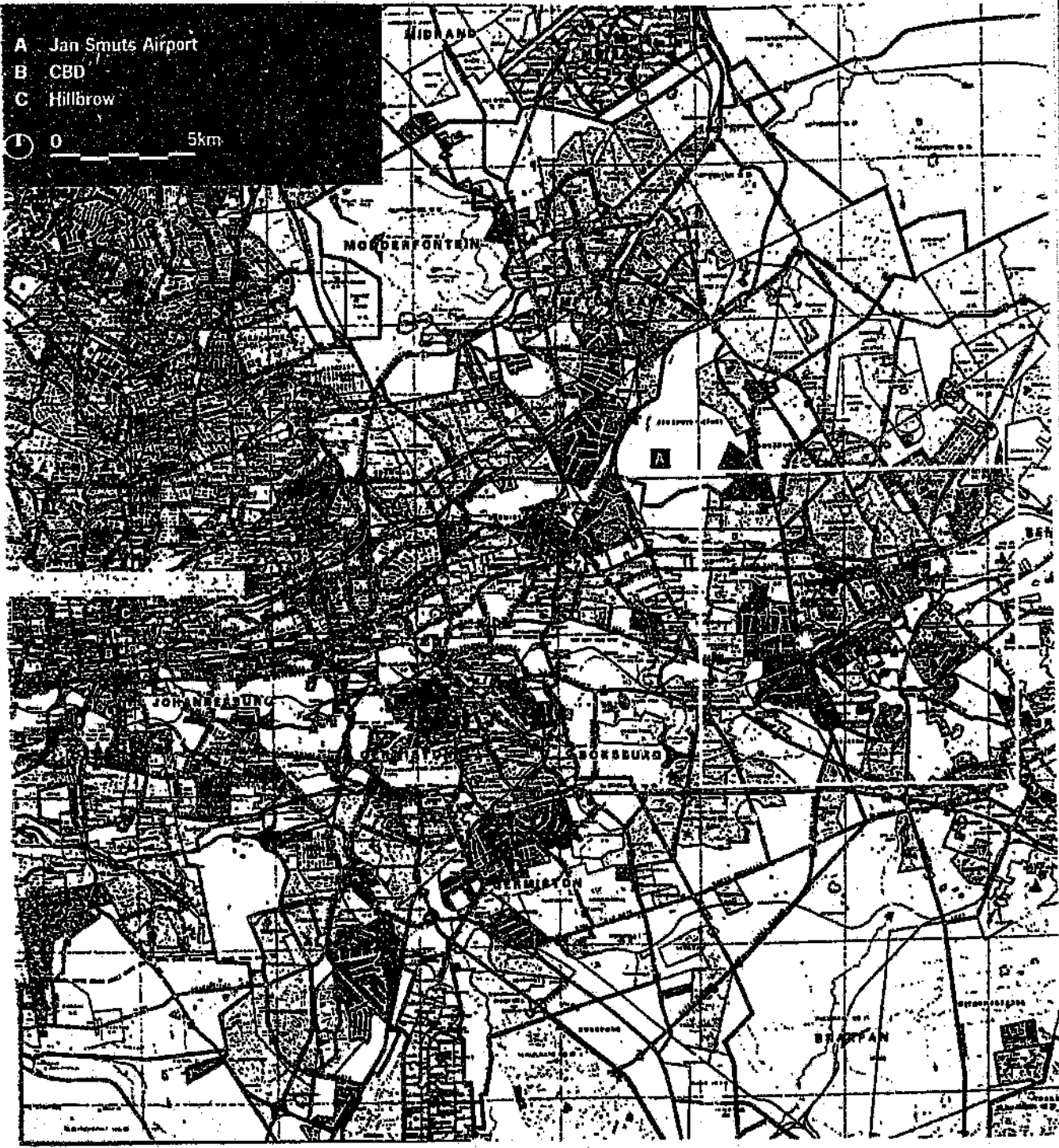
- * households with two children or more under the age of six (families with malnourished children receiving more preferences, as in Operation Hunger Projects)
- * unskilled young male and female.

The criteria will be determined by circumstances specific to the community.

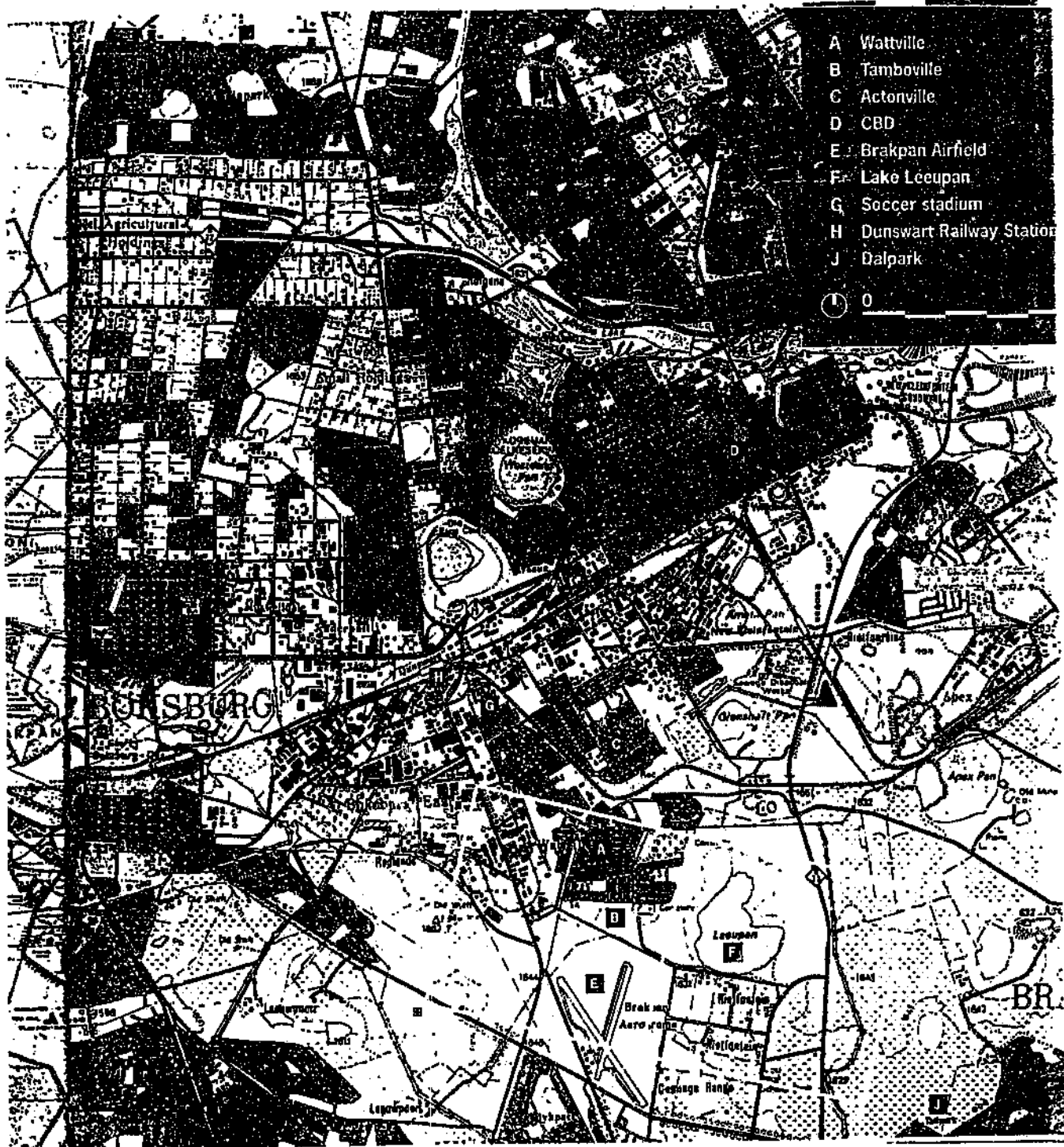
On the completion of the project, there must be commitment on the part of the community to pay for the operation and maintenance of the "product" Payments may be in the form of cash or in kind. The community must decide on the method of payment according to their level of affordability. To minimise costs, members of the community elected by the community itself must take the responsibility of

maintenance and repair. The community should decide jointly on the payment for labour provided by those involved in maintenance and repair.

Money used for maintenance should be from a fund controlled and administered by the members of the public who must have basic financing and banking skills. The development planner must help in developing these skills but have no control of the funds. It is important that the community is educated on ways of fund-raising, so that they can initiate their own projects in the future. A well organised community will be in a better position to access funds from the government, independent trusts and internal or external donors.



map 1



map 2

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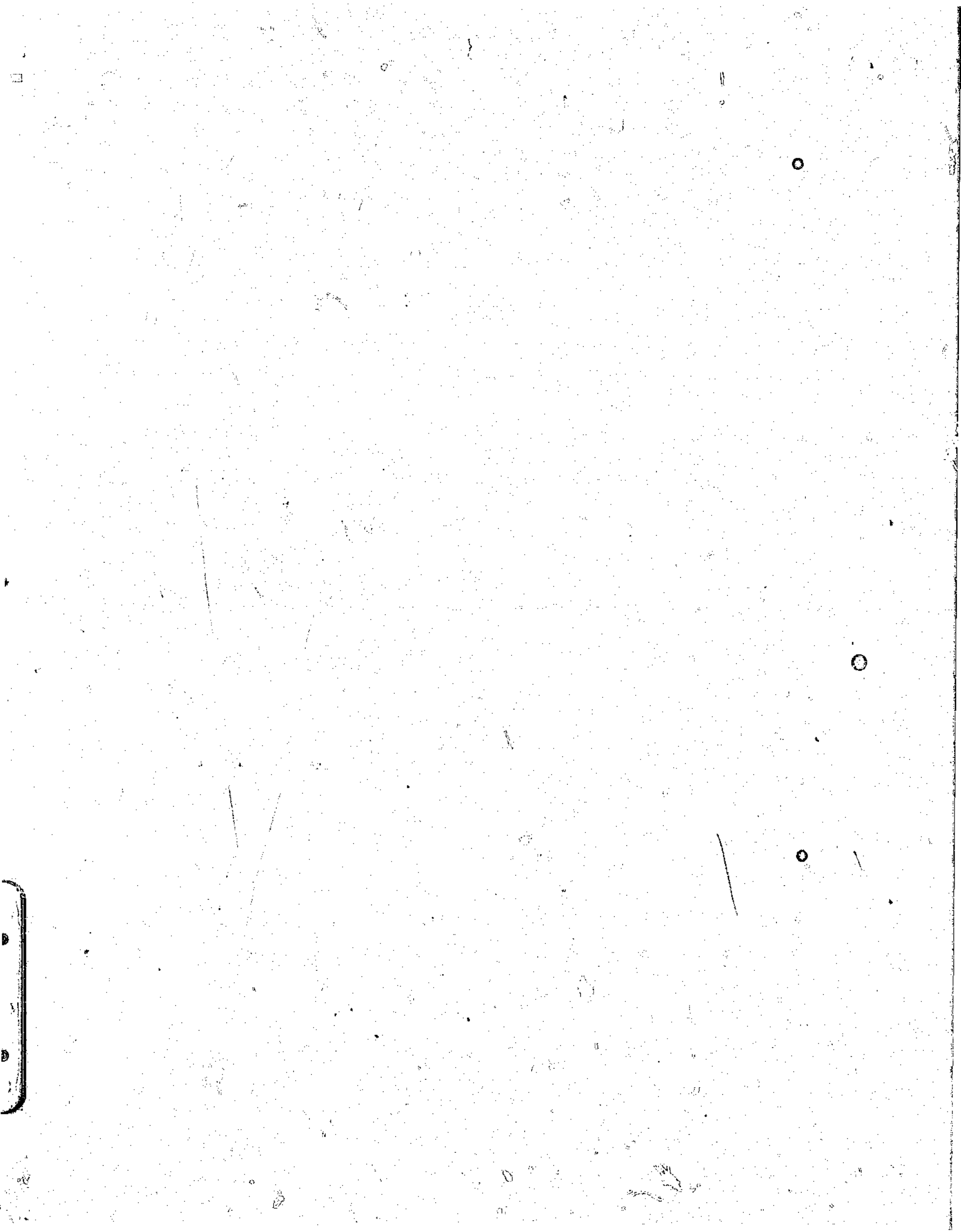
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