ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE IN THE WARWICK JUNCTION URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMME

By

Shanthinie Francis

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All work for this thesis was completed at the former University of Natal.
DECLARATION

The work described in this thesis was carried out in Durban during the period February 2000 to December 2003, under the supervision of Dr Dianne Scott of the School of Life and Environmental Sciences, University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, Howard College campus.

This thesis represents original work by the author and has not been submitted in any form, in part or in whole, to any other University. The use of work done by others has been duly acknowledged in the text.

Shanthinie Francis
December 2003
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ABSTRACT

Governance is defined here as the process of decision-making and implementation. Public participation which leads on from good governance is a process leading to a joint effort by stakeholders, technical specialists, the authorities and the developing agent who work together to produce better decisions than if they had acted independently. Environmental decision-making and environmental partnerships go hand in hand in the sense that good environmental decision-making can only take place if sustainable environmental partnerships are formed.

This thesis focuses on the case study of the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme as an example of an area based management development project in the eThekwini Municipality. Warwick Junction is a vibrant trading and transport node in the heart of the city. The area is complex in terms of its biophysical, societal, economic and political structures. The purpose of the implementation of an Urban Renewal Programme in July 1996 in Warwick Junction was to uplift and upgrade this inner city area so as to provide an improved trading and residential environment. A large number of projects that fall under this renewal programme have been completed. Community involvement in these projects has been implemented via community representation on a steering committee. It is proposed that a process of good governance is necessary to integrate sustainability into all spheres of development. The aim of this research therefore is to assess the decision-making processes for a number of environmental projects in Warwick Junction.

The following projects that have already been completed will be the focus of this study: The Warwick Triangle Playground, Herb Traders Market, Bovine Head Cookers facility, Mealie Cookers Facility and the Badsha Peer Project. Theories of urban governance, public participation, environmental decision-making and environmental partnerships under the broader framework of sustainability, form the conceptual framework for this study. A qualitative approach has been employed in this research. Primary data has been derived from focus groups and open-ended interviews. A set of social sustainability
indicators that was derived from the theoretical framework was used to determine the most successful project.

Results show that the Mealie Cookers Project displayed all the characteristics of good urban governance. It is also considered to be a sustainable project because as part of its commitment to the urban renewal programme it has balanced the social, economic and environmental needs of present and future generations in Warwick Junction. This was the most successful project out of the five projects as it ranked very high on the social sustainability indicator table followed by the Muthi Traders market, the Badsha Peer Shelter, the Playground Facility and lastly the Bovine Head Cookers facility.

The Muthi Market ranked as high as the Mealie Cookers Project on the social sustainability indicator table. This is due to adequate participation with affected communities which allowed them to contribute towards the decision-making process. The strength of the Badsha Peer Shelter Project lies in the good governance and good environmental decisions being taken, win-win partnerships and overall empowerment of stakeholders. The Playground Facility brought with it many political tensions as there were two civic associations that were at loggerheads with each other surrounding the whole project. The strength of this project lies in its transformative participation as the affected communities ideas were used to decide on the location of the park. There were also many political tensions among the Bovine Head Cookers. As a result of the cookers belonging to different political parties, an issue of territory was brought to the surface. Due to serious conflict between cookers and the renewal team, this project has taken three years to implement. It is thus considered to be the most unsuccessful project out of the five projects researched. It is therefore evident that three out of the five projects have been successful, displaying appropriate environmental governance. The results indicate that the environmental decision-making mechanisms that have been employed by the urban renewal team have been transformative in the sense that they not only give a voice to the communities, but also have empowered them in the process. Adequate public participation has also contributed to the success of the programme along with win-win types of partnerships that have formed. It is therefore concluded that the urban renewal
decision-making mechanisms implemented in the Warwick Junction have contributed to the sustainability of the development programme.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration ii
Acknowledgements iii
Abstract iv
List of Tables xi
List of Figures xii
List of Appendices xiii

1. Introduction 1

2. Background 4
2.1 Introduction
2.2 History of Warwick Junction 5
2.3 Current Position as a Trade and Transport Node 6
2.4 The Urban Renewal Programme 9
2.5 Case Studies 12
2.6 Area-Based Management 16
2.7 Conclusion 18

3. Literature review 20
3.1 Introduction
3.2 Sustainable Development 21
3.2.1 Definitions 21
3.2.2 Goals and Agenda of Sustainable Development 23
3.2.3 Principles underlying Sustainable Development 24
3.2.4 Weak and Strong Sustainability 25

3.3 Urban Governance 27
3.3.1 Definitions 27
3.3.2 Common Governance Arrangements 29
3.3.3 Good Governance: What is it?
3.3.4 Characteristics of Good Governance

3.4 Public Participation
3.4.1 Definitions of Public Participation
3.4.2 Myths Surrounding Public Participation
3.4.3 Forms and Functions of Participation

3.5 Empowerment
3.5.1 Empowerment Defined
3.5.2 Critique of a Scottish Local Authority Model of Empowerment
3.5.3 Outcome Measures Of Empowerment

3.6 Environmental Partnerships

3.7 Environmental Decision-Making
3.7.1 Definitions of Decision-making
3.7.2 Trade-offs
3.7.3 Characteristics of Good Environmental Decisions

3.8 Conclusion

4. Methodology
4.1 Introduction
4.2 Data Sources
4.2.1 Primary Data
4.2.2 Secondary Data
4.3 Qualitative Research
4.4 Intensive Research
4.5 Sampling Methodology
5. **Environmental Decision-Making Mechanisms Of The Urban Renewal Programme**

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Ranking of Environmental Projects

5.3. Urban Governance in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme

5.4 Forms of Participation

5.4.1 Participatory Techniques of the Urban Renewal Team

5.4.2 Transformative Participation in the Playground Facility and the Muthi Traders Market

5.4.3 Projects Displaying Representative Participation

5.5 Outcome Measures of Empowerment

5.5.1 Techniques used by the Urban Renewal Team to Enable empowerment

5.5.2 Community-controlled Organisations in Warwick Junction

5.5.3 Increased Direct Control of Local Resources

5.5.4 Power Structures Genuinely open to Influence

5.5.5 Equity as a demonstrably central principle

5.5.6 Material gains achieved for disadvantaged people

5.5.7 Strong but Accountable and Representative Local Leadership

5.5.8 Professionals reflect values of Empowerment
5.5.9 Decentralisation and Democratisation of Services 114
5.5.10 Personal Development of Citizens 116

5.6 Partnership Formation 117
5.6.1 Primary Stakeholder Committee of the Urban Renewal Programme 118
5.6.2 Partnerships within the Five Projects 119
5.6.3 Partnerships of the Urban Renewal Programme 120

5.7 Good Environmental Decisions 123
5.7.1 Efficient Balancing of Costs and Benefits 124
5.7.2 Fairness of Outcomes for various groups 125
5.7.3 Scientific Soundness, technical and Political Durability 127
5.7.4 Reduction of Adverse Environmental Impacts and Protection of Human Health 129
5.7.5 Flexibility 130
5.7.6 Wide acceptance by the public as Legitimate 131

5.8 Conclusion 132

6. Conclusion and Recommendations 133

References 148
LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Objectives and Budget of the URP 11
Table 2.2: Projects of the URP 13
Table 3.1: Characteristics of Good Urban Governance 32
Table 3.2: Interests in Participation 44
Table 3.3: Outcome Measures of Empowerment 64
Table 3.4: Partnership Types 65
Table 3.5: Good Environmental Decisions 66
Table 3.6: Social Sustainability Indicators 67
Table 4.1: Differences between Qualitative and Quantitative Research 71
Table 4.2: Number of Respondents Interviewed 74
Table 4.3: Facilitation Process Meetings 83
Table 5.1: Social Sustainability Indicators Shown 92
Table 6.1: Characteristics of Good Urban Governance 135
Table 6.2: Interests in Participation 136
Table 6.3: Outcome Measures of Empowerment 137
Table 6.4: Partnership Types 137
Table 6.5: Good Environmental Decisions 138
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Map of Warwick Avenue</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Interrelated Aspects of a Community</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Illustrating Arnstein’s Ladder of Participation</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Illustrating the degree to which disadvantaged communities define their own needs and determine their response to them</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Illustrating the Partnership Life Cycle Model</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Illustrating an Environmental Partnerships Map</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>Illustrating Decision-aiding tools</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>Conceptual Framework for the Study</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Conceptual Framework for the Study</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Strengths of the Muthi Traders Market</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Strengths and Weakness of the Mealie Cookers Facility</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Strengths and Weaknesses of the Playground Facility</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>Strengths and Weaknesses of the Badsha Peer Shelter</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>Weaknesses of the Bovine Head Cookers Facility</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview schedule 160
Appendix 2: Plates 165
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Warwick Junction is a vibrant trade and transport node that has undergone many changes over time. "Under the apartheid system street traders were forbidden access to the central city and simply repressed and chased off the streets by the City Police" (Grest in Bouillon et al, 2000:173). With the demise of apartheid over the last 10 years and prior to that, Warwick Junction has experienced the influx of a large number of African traders and commuters. This has created many changes in the function and landscape of Warwick Junction. The purpose of the implementation of an Urban Renewal Programme in 1996 was to uplift and upgrade this inner city area that had deteriorated into a squalid slum due to apartheid induced mismanagement. This programme sought to create an environment that was conducive for the community to conduct their business or reside.

A vast number of projects that make up this Renewal Programme have been implemented in this transport node to date. Community involvement was considered vital for the success of this programme. The Mealie Cookers Facility, the Muthi Traders Market, the Badsha Peer Shelter, the Playground Facility and the Bovine Head Cookers Facility are projects that have been identified for this study as they each have a different dynamic. They are diverse and range from community embedded projects like the Mealie Cookers Facility to highly political projects like the Playground Facility and the Bovine Head Cookers Facility. The Badsha Peer Shelter and the Muthi Traders Market have strong cultural and traditional roots. These projects were chosen for this research because they are considered to be environmental projects and differ from each other in the ways described above.

The aim of this thesis is to critically assess decision-making for environmental projects in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme. The objectives are as follows:

1. To determine to what extent the Urban Renewal Team have involved the community and stakeholders of each project in the various decisions made.
2. To determine what types of partnerships have formed to implement each renewal project.

3. To assess what forms of community empowerment have emerged from this process.

4. To evaluate to what extent the environmental decision-making process has been fair and equitable.

In order to achieve the above aim and objectives, the thesis is structured as follows: Chapter two provides the background to the implementation of an Urban renewal Programme in Warwick Junction. A brief history of the Warwick Junction area is provided followed by its current position as a trade and transport node. Thereafter a description of the Urban Renewal Programme is presented leading into a description of the five case studies chosen for this study. This chapter closes with a look at the Urban Renewal Programme’s area-based management style. This provides a backdrop against which the environmental decision-making mechanisms of the Urban Renewal Programme can be explored and analysed in Chapter five.

Chapter three presents the theoretical framework adopted to analyse environmental decision-making in Warwick Junction. Theories of environmental decision-making, environmental partnerships, good urban governance, public participation and outcome measures of empowerment are outlined. These theories are all framed within the broad concept of sustainable development. The chapter concludes with the presentation of a table of sustainability indicators derived from the theories that will be used to analyse the five projects.

Sustainable development is considered to be a vital goal to work towards in any city. Therefore this concept together with the process of sustainability is examined in this chapter. The forms of urban governance that exist together with the characteristics of good urban governance are thereafter presented. This is followed by a discussion of the concept of public participation, the myths surrounding it as well as the various forms that it can take. The concept of empowerment is then explored concluding with outcome measures of empowerment. Environmental partnerships are important to aid the environmental decision-making process and these are outlined followed by a description of a typology of partnerships. Finally the environmental decision-making
process is presented and interrogated. Trade-offs in decision-making are described followed by what are proposed as characteristics of good environmental decisions. The chapter concludes with a table of social sustainability indicators that was derived from the five theories discussed. This table facilitates the analysis of the five projects in Chapter five.

Chapter four focuses on the methodology of the study. A qualitative approach is outlined as it is deemed to be the most appropriate method to be used in this type of study.

An intensive research design that entails the collection of interview data has been applied for this study and is described in this chapter. This is presented as the method of data collection in the form of focus groups and semi-structured interviews followed by an outline of the sampling procedures and thereafter the method of analysis.

Primary data was derived from open-ended semi-structured interviews that were conducted with city officials and Urban Renewal Programme leaders. Focus groups were used when interviewing local informal traders who were affected by the five projects. The methodology involved in semi-structured interviews and focus groups is presented respectively. The technique of non-probability sampling where respondents are chosen purposively is thereafter outlined. Owing to the fact that the research population was made up of people whose first language is Zulu an interpreter was used. Content analysis was used to analyse the interview transcripts. Themes that were extracted formed the basis of a set of social sustainability indicators that was used to rank the projects.

Chapter five focuses on the results of this study. Each project has been ranked in the table of social sustainability indicators and presented as a graphic representation of the results of this study. Thereafter a detailed discussion of each of the five themes identified in this table of indicators such as good urban governance, public participation, empowerment, environmental partnerships and environmental decision-making in relation to the five projects is presented.

Chapter six is the concluding chapter that also presents recommendations.
CHAPTER TWO
BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

The goal of this study is to understand the environmental decision-making process in Warwick Junction. It is therefore necessary to provide some contextual information about the history of the Urban Renewal Programme and the various projects that exist within this programme. This chapter presents the context for the study.

Warwick Junction has a long history and from the colonial period became established as a transport and trading node. The name Warwick Junction is a collective name given to the Warwick Avenue Triangle and Grey Street Precinct areas. Due to the uncertainty of the future of this mixed race area and its neglect by the then Municipal Council of Durban in the apartheid era, it slowly deteriorated into a squalid inner city slum area.

Warwick Junction is a unique trading community situated in the heart of Durban displaying an integration of Indian, African and Western culture and is also a key transport hub for the local and regional population of greater Durban. More recently living conditions of those living and working in the heart of the city have greatly improved and this is due to the success of the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme, which was implemented in June 1996.

The Urban Renewal Programme that has been implemented in the Warwick Avenue area and Grey Street Precinct has had to deal with unique problems that are characteristic of contemporary African cities. "Today, the area has a flourishing economic microcosm including those trying to gain a foothold in the business ladder, and it is an incubator for small and micro enterprises" (LED, 2001).

A brief history of the area will be provided together with a description of the numerous trading activities in Warwick Junction followed by a discussion of the Urban Renewal Programme. Thereafter the five projects chosen for this study will be described. The Urban Renewal Team has adopted a style of management known as area-based management and this will be unraveled.
2.2 History of Warwick Junction

Warwick Junction is a collective term given to the Warwick Avenue Triangle and Grey Street precincts by the Urban Renewal Team. This is one of the few urban areas in South Africa that remained racially ‘mixed’ during the apartheid era. It developed as a thriving working class area in the colonial period from around 1900 until the Second World War, favoured for its proximity to the central city and the Indian market areas (Grest, 2001).

Using the provisions of the Slum Act of 1934, local authorities attempted to move against Indian property owners in the area in the 1930s. As a result of complaints by white residents, there were commissions of inquiry into Indian penetration in Warwick Avenue around the 1940s. Many white residents subsequently moved into the more elite upslope area of Berea in the 1950s. Under the Group Areas Act of 1950, when the Warwick Triangle as it was known then was declared a white area, the proportion of whites in the area had already dropped to approximately 20%. This socially inequitable act brought about a great amount of uncertainty into the lives of residents in Warwick Avenue. “The effects of the legislation on families in the area and their struggles to manage uncertainty over many years are a dominant narrative of the minority who have stayed on in the area until the present day” (Grest, 2001). Threatened with removal residents were not keen to invest in the maintenance of their properties and these slowly became dilapidated.

A further intrusive development in the late 1960’s was played out in the already fragile community in the form of the construction of the Western freeway into the city that cut the area in half. The 1970’s saw the implementation of forced removals and the discontinuation of some municipal services. In the 1980s, the necessary political space was created for the re-emergence of anti-apartheid community organizations linked to the United Democratic Front in the Triangle. These organizations were formed to struggle against the effects of the Group Areas Act such as forced removals and urban degradation in the form of lack of services, physical decay of buildings, gangsterism and crime.

The increase in racial politics since the 1930s has therefore curbed the ‘organic’ development of a thriving, integrated community. Initially the white population was in
the majority however by the end of the 1980s the Warwick Avenue Triangle reflected the ‘ethnic vibrancy of the rainbow nation’ (Maharaj, 1999). This mixed-race character of Warwick Avenue triangle was however not supported by the central and local apartheid state and therefore attempts were made to destroy the area. This took place through the implementation of slum clearance laws, the Group Areas Act and urban redevelopment plans. These actions showed that the plans of the central and local state were to redevelop the area as a white residential area. However in the early 1980s there was still a large mixed-race community living in the Warwick Avenue triangle. According to Farr in (Maharaj, 1999) “prior to the attainment of democratic government in 1994 such racially integrated urban communities were an anathema in South Africa.”

2.3 Current Position as a Trade and Transport Node

The Warwick Avenue Triangle (see figure 2.1) had become an established residential and business location by the turn of the nineteenth century because of its proximity to Berea Road, which was an important route into the interior of the colony of Natal. In 1934 a ‘squatters market’ was established in Warwick Avenue and this increased the value of the Triangle for residential and business purposes. Warwick Avenue and Berea Road became major access routes for market gardeners and shoppers mainly from the outlying areas of Springfield Flats and Clairwood, traveling to the market when the Victoria Street market was opened (Naidoo, 1997).

“In the 1980s the struggle for space in the city and the right to trade as a mechanism to survive intensified as urban apartheid began to collapse and influx control was abandoned” (Bouillon et al, 2002: 173). The Warwick Triangle had by then therefore emerged as a result of the apartheid regime. Black and Indian buses were prohibited from entering the center of the city so had to stop on the fringe of Durban central business district. Therefore a wide range of activities has multiplied in and around this growing node of transport routes. In Durban during 1983, informal trading became defined the ‘hawker problem’ and the City Engineers Department launched an investigation into informal trading in the city. The motivation for this was the increased visibility of unemployment in the city in the form of a booming informal sector and consequent increased police
Figure 2.1 Map of Warwick Avenue depicting location of Projects
harassment of street traders. In order to address these issues the Hawker Report of 1984 on the extent, location and policy options for street trading in Durban was formulated (Local Economic Development, DMA). Street traders at this time were defined as illegal intruders in the city. In South Africa at this time the distinction between legal and illegal was central to both the shaping and appropriation of urban spaces. In order to regulate informal street trading and legalise and order this activity a vending license was introduced in accordance with the city’s move towards a more flexible approach.

The volume of pedestrian traffic as well as Warwick Avenue’s location on the periphery of Durban Central Business District (CBD) attracted a sprawl of informal traders to the area. The majorities of these traders were and still are woman who earn very small amounts of money. As a result of the great amount of informal trading activities in Warwick Junction, the old ordered colonial structure of the city that was based on the spatial separation between the spheres of production and reproduction was being eroded (Grest, 2001).

Many new uncertainties arose for traders and residents when the apartheid regime ended in 1994.

"With it’s abandonment and the transition towards more inclusive local government, a range of new opportunities for citizen participation opened up, as well as a new set of challenges attendant on the collapse of the social control mechanisms held in place by the former system” (Grest, 2001).

The number of informal traders therefore began to rapidly increase in Warwick Avenue. Mini-bus taxis also began to move into the area in droves as increasing numbers of people, who were previously denied access to the city began to stake a claim to the CBD. As a result of this the area became a site of intense informal trade and of competition between taxi operators. Levels of crime and conflict intensified in the early 1990’s. Several standoffs took place between formal traders and informal traders, and between the residents and taxi operators (Grest, 2001).
As a result of the historical decline of the area and the intensity of the activities particularly trading and transport, Warwick Avenue deteriorated into a squalid slum. "It must be one of Durban’s most neglected residential areas. Squalor is there in abundance with people cooking anything from mealies to meat on vacant plots of land. There are dilapidated buildings...This is the Warwick Avenue triangle, just a few blocks away from the so-called First World city center" (Mohamed S I, 1995:3). In the light of these conditions it became urgent that local government undertake an Urban Renewal Programme in the area.

2.4 The Urban Renewal Programme (URP)

An Urban Renewal Programme was planned for the Warwick Avenue area and Grey Street Precinct due to the extent to which the area deteriorated. This was a local government-initiated programme involving economic development projects that was expected to have far reaching impacts on street traders in Warwick Junction which is the collective name given to these two areas. This project has had to tackle the unique problems facing a developing African city with imagination, as many issues have not been successfully dealt with before. The central principle for this Urban Renewal Programme is to “address issues relating to economic growth and development; the provision of major social services; the need for affordable, replicable and sustainable inner city housing; as well as general environmental improvements” (Khosa and Naidoo, 1998:1). At the heart of this major undertaking is an attempt to increase market opportunities for street traders.

The urban development strategy of the Government of National unity:

"Aims to integrate segregated cities by concentrating on rebuilding the townships, creating employment opportunities, providing housing and urban amenities, reducing commuting distances, facilitating better use of under utilized or vacant land, and introducing urban management policies which are environmentally sensitive" (Republic of South Africa, 1995:2)

This provided a framework for the plans to reconstruct the Warwick Avenue Triangle and Grey Street Precinct. The intention of these plans "was to ensure that the resources of the built environment were used efficiently in targeting the needs of the urban poor so that they would become economically productive and contribute to the
growth of the city as a whole" (Maharaj, 1999:8). There is a large amount of faith that these objectives would be accomplished in the reconstruction, development and planning of Warwick Junction.

The Warwick Junction URP was located within a broader policy framework context that was provided by:

- The integrated development plan (IDP) of the Durban Metropolitan Area (DMA)
- The spatial development framework (SDF) of the DMA
- Integrated Development Plans for the North and South Central local councils and
- The emerging Inner City Development framework plan

(Khosa and Naidoo, 1998)

The area is frequented by approximately 300 000 commuters daily. The area is also estimated to contain two thirds of the informal traders in the inner city. In 1998, it was estimated that there were at least 5000 informal traders in the greater Warwick and Grey Street Area, and 3500 in the trade and transport precinct (eThekwini Municipality, 2000).

The Urban Renewal Programme covers three precincts:

- The trade and transport precinct, which centres around the public transport ranks and markets
- The Warwick Avenue triangle, which comprises residential land surrounded by a fringe of mixed-use activity
- Grey Street, which encompasses the historically Indian shopping and residential precinct within the central business district

There have been increasing demands on the inner city to meet the needs of its population, which for so many years has remained politically, spatially, socially and economically marginalised. “However, despite the problems of visual blight, unhygienic conditions, crime and 'uncontrollable' informal trading the area is one of the most vibrant and dynamic parts of the Durban Metro Area” (Khosa and Naidoo 1998:4).
This Urban Renewal Programme was initiated in support of the reconstruction and development programme by the North and South Central Councils of the former DMA. Initially these two councils approved an interim development plan in June 1997 and this created a context for the Urban Renewal Programme (see table 2.1).

The multi-sectoral goals of the Urban Renewal Programme as outlined by Wilkinson (1999) are as follows:

1. Meeting basic community needs.
2. Promoting economic development opportunities.
3. Creating total living environment.
4. Redressing historical imbalances.
5. Creating an enabling institutional environment
6. Promoting an integrated city.
7. Building a sustainable city.
8. Fostering people development.
9. Creating a safe and secure city.

The main objectives and financial commitments for the Urban Renewal Programme as presented in Table 2.1 is as follows:

Table 2.1 Objectives and Budget of the URP

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECTIVES</th>
<th>ORIGINAL BUDGET</th>
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<td>1. To consolidate, integrate and enhance the public transport facilities for the benefits of the passengers and improved efficiency of public transport operations.</td>
<td>In 1997/1998 approximately R8,4 million was allocated to achieve this objective. A further amount of R51,6 million was allocated in 1998/1999.</td>
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<td>2. To enhance the economic opportunities for gainful employment, especially for more marginalised and poorer sections of the community.</td>
<td>Approximately R10,24 million was allocated in 1997/1998 and further amount of R23 million in the 1998/1999 financial year.</td>
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<td>3. To upgrade the overall quality of the area and the local environment through addressing planning, development and operational issues.</td>
<td>Some R7,3 million was allocated to achieve this objective.</td>
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<td>4. To expand the range of services and</td>
<td>An approximate figure of R18,5 million was</td>
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facilities to residents, traders, businesses, commuters and public transport operators in the area.

5. To integrate the area more closely with the city fabric through increased and improved transport linkages for pedestrians and public transport.

6. To create a climate and opportunity for greater private sector investment and involvement in the area.

allocated to achieve this objective.

Approximately R3 million was allocated to achieve this objective.

In order to achieve this objective, about R796 000 was allocated in 1997/1998 to facilitate greater private sector investment and involvement

(After Khosa and Naidoo 1998:228-229)

2.5 Case Studies

Numerous projects under this Urban Renewal Programme have been implemented and completed from July 1996 up until June 2000 (see Table 2.2). The total implementation expenditure for these projects is R37 million. It is from these projects that five projects have been sampled for the study. Four of the five projects chosen for the study have been highlighted in Table 2.2 and they are the Muthi Traders Bridge market, the Mealie Cookers Facility, the Badsha Peer Shelter and the Playground Facility. The Bovine Head Cookers Facility which is not in the table was completed after 2003 and is the fifth project that will be used for the research. Five projects have been sampled from the Urban Renewal Programme and form the empirical focus of this study. A brief background to the Muthi Traders Market, the Bovine Head Cookers Facility, the Playground Facility, the Badsha Peer Shelter and the Mealie Cookers Facility will be presented. All these projects are diverse in the sense that each one has a different dynamic in either cultural, ecological, political, economic, social dimensions or a combination of these dimensions.

The Muthi (Herb) Traders

"Since it’s establishment in Durban around the turn of the century, the Muthi trade has been an important part of Durban’s street trade economy. The trade has expanded with the increasing urban demand for Muthi" (Nesvag, 2002:40). These Muthi or herb traders previously occupied the narrow pavements of Russell Street and became quite
Table 2.2 Projects of the URP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PUBLIC TRANSPORT</th>
<th>ECONOMIC</th>
<th>ENVIRONMENTAL</th>
<th>HOUSING</th>
<th>SOCIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pine Street taxi rank</td>
<td>Cannongate and Alice Street Traders facilities</td>
<td>Old Dutch/Alice Street and Leopold Cannongate Environmental Upgrade</td>
<td>Overnight Rental Accommodation</td>
<td>Stratford Sheds Renovation (Project/Community Centre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tomato Hall Taxi Rank</td>
<td>Muthi Traders Bridge Market</td>
<td>Warwick/Cannongate Streetscape Upgrade</td>
<td></td>
<td>Warwick Triangle Playground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Dutch Taxi Rank</td>
<td>Early Morning Market Renovation</td>
<td>Street Lighting Upgrade (Phases 1 and 2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Temporary Créche Facility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartwright Flats (South) Taxi Rank</td>
<td>Informal traders' storage facilities</td>
<td>Future tree Acquisition (Wills, Douglas and Milton Roads)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Badsha Peer Shelter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannongate Taxi rank</td>
<td>Mealie Cookers Facility</td>
<td>Sundry Environmental Upgrade Actions (Operations Interventions)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warwick/Cannongate Taxi Rank</td>
<td>Brook Street (North and Central) Informal Traders facilities</td>
<td>Triangle Public Environment Upgrade (Phase 1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldiers Way Taxi- Rank Administration Office</td>
<td>Herb Traders Information Centre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etna Lane Bus Holding Area (Interview, Richard Dobson 2000)</td>
<td>Leopold Street Bridge Stalls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
an eyesore due to the incorrect disposal of waste and the resultant overcrowded pavements. As a result of this environmental problem, the Urban Renewal Programme decided to relocate these traders to a place that would be more conducive for their trade.

The city council identified a disused section of highway, located close to the original site of Muthi trading, to which traders could be relocated. This place is situated above Russell Street (see appendix 2, plate 1, 2 and 3). The highway was connected to the city at one end but was incomplete and unattached to any other piece of land at the other. A steel bridge was constructed to meet with a pedestrian walkway, thus linking the new market with the rest of the Warwick Junction area (Biles, 2001).

The process of negotiation also incorporated the placement of traders at the newly built stalls on the bridge. The new location could only incorporate 200 of the 600 traders. Richard Dobson indicated that the process of negotiation involved the traders deciding on which traders would be allocated stalls, depending on the length of time that they had been trading in the area (Biles 2001).

Bovine Head Cookers

The Bovine Head Cookers are a distinct community of informal traders who were relocated to a stretch of pavement on the busy Warwick Avenue adjacent to the Early Morning Market previously known as the squatters market (see appendix 2, plate 4). Bovine is a collective term for goat, sheep, pig and cow heads. "The practice of cooking Bovine heads developed quite rapidly, and there are currently 39 registered sellers working on the pavement, the majority of whom are women who were previously involved in other forms of food preparation" (Grest, 2001:12). This type of food is considered a delicacy by the community of Warwick Junction as well as by tourists.

Playground Facility

The construction of the Warwick Triangle Playground Facility had a different dynamic. The Organisation of Civic Rights (OCR) and the Warwick Avenue Triangle Residents Association (WATRA) played an instrumental role in the construction of
this facility. Each organisation subscribed to different political parties with the former one politically conservative and the latter progressive. There were therefore many political tensions that the Urban Renewal Team had to overcome in order to construct this park. However according to Richard Dobson (19/09/03), the park “represents a battle ground external to the project but fought on the basis of community interest.” WATRA eventually chose the site in Syringa Avenue in which the Playground Facility could be located.

The Badsha Peer Shelter
The Badsha Peer Shelter that was financed by the Muslim community of Warwick Junction for an annual cultural event that the Muslims celebrate according to the lunar calendar, is situated in Brook Street (see appendix 2, plate 5 and 6). This shelter is named after a Pakistani national who was an instrumental figure in establishing the Islam religion and in securing the first Islamic grave site in Durban. The Muslim community has had a long-standing relationship with the city of Durban spanning 115 years and offered to finance the construction of this shelter for this specific cultural event that they celebrate. Now the Brook street A and B traders selling perishables were already located within this area designated for the shelter. This division of the traders into A and B identifies on which part of Brook Street they sell their wares. These traders had to be moved out during the construction of this shelter and also have to move out once every year for the celebration of this event. The shelter however is beneficial to them during the course of the year when they conduct their trade.

The Mealie Cookers Facility
The Mealie Cookers were operating in many little enclaves in Warwick Junction. Mealies were traditionally boiled in bulk in huge drums and sold very cheaply. The common characteristic of these enclaves was the unhygienic and polluted conditions in which the cookers operated. The City Health department raised much concern particularly surrounding the potential for food poisoning. The Urban Renewal Team together with the City Health Department decided to relocate all these cookers to a cleaner facility in Leopold Street (see appendix 2, plate 7 and 8) with better conditions in which the cookers could trade and remain the source of an inexpensive healthy meal.
All these projects are classified as environmental projects for this study as they have an economic (Muthi Traders, Mealie Cookers), social (playground), cultural (Badsha Peer Shelter and ecological (Bovine Head Cookers, Muthi Traders and Mealie Cookers) focus. In all these projects there were a range of stakeholders involved in the decision-making processes. These stakeholders ranged from city officials to residents and traders in the area.

2.6 Area-based Management

According to the eThekwini Municipality (2003), the Urban Renewal Programme operates through a multi-disciplinary, interdepartmental project structure. The programme is made up of three arms, a planning team, an operations team and an implementation team. These three branches of the project have their offices at a project centre that is based in Warwick Junction. All are co-coordinated at an executive level and report to the eThekwini Municipality committees. The model of urban governance that has been applied in the implementation of the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme is that of area-based management.

This type of management is the administration and organization of a project or programme carried out in the heart of the problem area. Area-based management physically draws the community into a project and engages them in the negotiation process which is so central to building community participation more easily (Grest, 2001). This creates legitimacy for the project and thus develops a sense of ownership within the various groups that use the area. Historically, Durban local government is structured between different line-function departments that are responsible for management or service provision. The innovation in local governance for the Warwick Junction area is derived from the project format that it has taken. A defined locale or precinct was made the subject of the urban renewal initiative, and an area-based structure was created. According to Grest (2001) there has been a very real and notable transition in the form of governance practiced by the Urban Renewal Programme. Whereas the former apartheid-style local government sought to regulate, control and exclude, the Urban Renewal Programme through it's practices, aims to create co-operative governance through negotiation with the various stakeholders through their officials or elected representatives.
Area-based management seeks to combine the advantages of centralization and those of substantive decentralization. This model was created by drawing on experiences in South Africa (namely the Cato Manor Development Association and Warwick Junction Project) and internationally (Porto Allegre in Brazil and Kerela State in India). 'This model represents a form of co-coordinated democratic decentralization' (Hindson, 2001).

The recent implementation of the unicity concept in South Africa's metropolitan areas is bitter sweet. The advantage is it has given the council the power to establish citywide objectives such as the promotion of economic growth and poverty alleviation. However the disadvantage is that it has made it more difficult for community and citizen participation by making local government more remote. Administrative centralisation has made the achievement of integrated planning, development and service provision at the local level increasingly difficult. The motivation for Area-based management is to serve “as a means of filling the vacuum created by centralization” (Hindson, 2001:10). The models that have been used in Cape Town and Johannesburg involve devolution of functions to area managers. However the model proposed for Durban involves the devolution of not only functions, but also powers and resources to the local level. The essence of Area-Based Management as was debated in Durban is that it should be established as a new level of governance, below the sub-Council (Operational entity) level. It was proposed that the structures for area-based management would have decision-making authority, administrative capacity and budgetary discretion. They in turn would be accountable downwards to local Community Development Forums and upwards to Sub-councils and the Unicity council.

The Warwick Junction Project Centre that is the headquarters of the Urban Renewal Programme is located in Wills road within the Warwick Triangle, close to Cannongate Road, and is highly accessible to all stakeholders within the area (see appendix 2, plate 9). The Project Centre also plays an important role in the aspect of the public relations for the project, as well as for Council. It represents a symbolic and practical demonstration of the Council's commitment to the urban renewal of the area. The building is a renovated warehouse that was rescued from near demolition, which serves as both a Project Office and a Community Hall, and acts as the backbone of the
consultation process (eThekwini Municipality, 2000). The Centre is well used as a venue for a wide range of activities, meetings and functions associated with the Urban Renewal Programme.

The project itself was mainly top-down in its approach in its formative years. However, through the efforts of the local stakeholders and the Project team to promote a meaningful consultation process and with the facility offered by the Project Centre, there is increasing evidence of a bottom-up momentum.

This type of management has received wide acclaim from the city of Durban and is now being used as a model for other such initiatives in the city known as iTRUMP (The Inner Thekwini Renewal Urban Management Programme).

2.7 Conclusion
Warwick Junction represents a rich and diverse ethnic melting pot that was brought to life again by the implementation of an Urban Renewal Programme. It has a rich history that spans decades. It is also known as a major regional transport and trade node.

As a result of the area deteriorating into such decay, an Urban Renewal Programme was initiated by the city of Durban in June 1996. The purpose of this programme was to uplift and improve this inner city area in order to make it conducive for the numerous trade and transport activities in Warwick Junction. Numerous projects have been implemented as part of this programme.

The five projects that have been chosen to review for this study are the Muthi Traders Market, the Bovine Head Cookers Facility, the Playground Facility, the Badsha Peer Shelter and the Mealie Cookers Facility. These projects are quite diverse in that each has a unique set of cultural, political, ecological, economic and social dimensions to them. It is for this reason that they are classified as environmental projects.

The Urban Renewal Team adopted a style of management that moved away from traditional forms of management. Area-based management, which seeks to administer a project within the problematic area, has been implemented through a project center
that is situated within Warwick Junction. It is from here that the Urban Renewal Programme is managed.

The following chapter reviews the literature in order to create a conceptual framework for this study.
CHAPTER THREE
LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction
For good urban governance to occur an array of actors including real actors such as presidents, prime ministers and bureaucrats and in other instances structures, interests, international regimes or policy networks need to be engaged in joint decision-making. These decisions are based on complex relationships between many actors with different priorities. Bringing these differing priorities together in order to reconcile them is at the heart of the concept of governance.

This study aims to critically assess environmental decision-making for environmental projects in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme. It is necessary to review several bodies of literature to provide a conceptual framework for the research. The literature review begins in section 3.2 by creating a sustainable development framework within which to review the relevant theories. For this reason the literature on public participation, empowerment, environmental partnerships and environmental decision-making will be reviewed and used as a conceptual framework for this study.

The role of good urban governance in the management of cities is then outlined and defined in section 3.3. The many characteristics of good urban governance are explored against the backdrop of sustainable development.

The notion that public participation and consultation could contribute to improved environmental conditions and promote sustainable development has become embedded in many of the provisions and mechanisms of governance, both globally and nationally. There exist many myths surrounding this concept and a distinction will be made between these myths and meaningful public participation. There are different forms and levels of participation. Arnstein’s ladder of participation that is similar to the forms and functions of participation as explained by White (1997) is presented in section 3.4. White’s forms and functions of participation is the accepted conceptual framework as Arnstein’s ladder is shown to have flaws inherent in them. Ideally an outcome of meaningful participatory strategies is the resulting empowerment of
people through the process. This concept of empowerment is reviewed in section 3.5. Outcome measures of empowerment are also presented here.

A key outcome of The World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 was the formation of a range of multi-stakeholder environmental partnerships. Many stakeholders form collaborations for various reasons and these are then categorised into four types of environmental partnerships. The notion of environmental partnerships is investigated in section 3.6 further by outlining how partnerships form and presenting the different types of partnerships.

Finally, the chapter closes with an examination of fair and equitable environmental decision-making. There are many ways to ensure that good environmental decisions are taken. Eight categories of tools that can be used to arrive at good decisions in an equitable way are presented.

Decisions regarding urban development impact on and have relevance for an array of actors, both real and in the form of institutional structures. In order to achieve sustainable development, these actors have to be engaged with in an appropriate and even-handed way. This chapter sets out to interrogate the concepts of good urban governance, public participation, environmental partnerships and environmental decision-making to provide a conceptual framework for analysing environmental governance in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme.

3.2 Sustainable Development

3.2.1 Definitions

The 1980’s were the decade of ‘sustainable development’. The analogy of ‘sustainability’ being like a train car rearing down the tracks but stopping at none of the stations along the way to pick up it’s poor passengers and thus involve them as participants in the process is an apt one. Inevitably, it will derail and thus plunge itself into a pool of failure. But sometimes the train does slow down and the passengers that are intelligent and fit enough to board and fix whatever caused the crisis. So has been the trend of sustainability in the developed world and more recently in the developing world. ‘Sustainability’ has previously been a buzzword in developed world debates,
however, sustainable development has now become a key concept that dominates discussion in the developing world as well and is particularly relevant in this context.

In ‘Caring for the Earth’ the World Conservation Union, United Nations Environmental programme and the World Wide Fund for Nature define sustainable development as: “Improving the quality of life while living in the capacity of supporting ecosystems” (IUCN/UNEP/WWF, 1991:10). ICLEI (The International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives) has developed a definition for use by Local Authorities, which emphasize their role as environmental service providers. “Development that delivers basic environmental, economic and social services to all without threatening the viability of the natural, built and social systems upon which these services depend” (ICLEI, 1995).

Adams (1990) argues that the real significance of this lack of clear definition is the flexibility of the concept of sustainable development upon which its success is based. Hajer (1995) also states “the vagueness of the concept is its strength.” Lele (1991:607) elaborates on this point by arguing that sustainable development’s vagueness allows “people with hitherto irreconcilable positions in the environment-development debate to search for common ground without appearing to compromise their positions.”

The term ‘sustainable development’ brings together two strands of thought to the management of human activities. The first are the developmental goals to satisfy economic, social, cultural, health and political needs, and secondly the need to focus on controlling or limiting the harmful impact of human activities on the environment that is ensuring that there is no depletion or degradation of environmental capital. Although the origins of a concern for both the environment and development go back several decades, this concern was made more explicit, and the use of the term ‘sustainable development’ was promoted by Our Common Future, the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development also known as the Brundtland Commission (Hardoy et al, 1992). One of the most widely quoted definitions of the goal of sustainable development states that we must “meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Hardoy et al, 1992).
3.2.2 Goals and Agenda of Sustainable Development

The multiple goals of sustainable development are as follows:

a) Minimizing use of non-renewable resources (fossil fuels, minerals, biodiversity)

b) Sustainable use of renewable resources (example aquifers and freshwater run-off, soils, biomass)

c) Keeping within absorptive capacity of local and global sinks for wastes (example for greenhouse gases)

d) Meeting human needs: 1) Access to adequate livelihood often implies access to natural resources. 2) Participation in national and local politics and respect of human rights. 3) Access to adequate shelter and healthy environment including basic services (Hardoy, Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 1992).

Environmental degradation cannot continue indefinitely. This global realisation led to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED- also known as the Earth Summit which was held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992). At UNCED, Agenda 21, a global action plan to achieve sustainable development, was discussed and finalised. Agenda 21 promotes and guides economic development and a rise in living standards that do not compromise the natural resource base and the ability of future generations to sustain themselves. It considers social problems and environmental problems to be part of a larger, global problem and recommends possible solutions. Agenda 21 is a blueprint for working towards development that is socially, economically and environmentally sustainable, to benefit both people and nature (ICLEI, IDRC, UNEP: 1996). The World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg resulted in the production of two plans. These are the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation and the Political Declaration (Bigg, 2002). However Agenda 21, which was the key outcome of the Rio Summit will be discussed further as this is the agenda that cities have had to implement to date.

The key issues within Agenda 21 are as follows:

1. Solutions to environmental problems lie in both developing and developed countries. Changes in policy must occur globally.

2. Consultation and co-operation at all levels is emphasized.
3. All people (including traditionally marginalised groups) are entitled to the same rights and are encouraged to participate in decision-making.

4. The development and education of people is extremely important.

5. Sustainable development depends on good integrated planning at all levels.

6. Capacity-building of organisations, such as local authorities and NGOs, helps to ensure their ability to cope with Local Agenda 21 responsibilities.

7. Seeking more accurate and detailed information about our problems aids effective solution finding. (Urquart and Atkinson: 2000)

Agenda 21 is therefore regarded as an important tool of sustainable development and this plays a key role in the management of cities. “A sustainable development approach is urgently needed in the management of the urban environment – an approach that ensures the contribution of developing world cities to national economic development while protecting the urban poor from the consequences of environmental deterioration. Environmental issues must be an integral part of all Third World urban policy” (Bartone, 1991:411). It is therefore important to understand the nature of sustainable development as it can make such a valuable contribution towards the management of the urban environment.

3.2.3 Principles underlying Sustainable Development

The four principles underlying sustainable development are futurity (concern for future generations), ecological integrity (concern to protect the integrity of ecosystems), public participation (concern that individuals can participate in decisions affecting them) and social justice (concern for today’s poor and disadvantaged). Futurity refers to the stock of both natural and human capital that should be passed on to future generations. Therefore sustainable development is concerned about future generations as it "aims to make sure that future generations are at least well off as people living now" (Oelofse, 1998:6). This is referred to as intergenerational equity.

Ecological integrity is concerned with the sound operating of natural systems. This refers to the notion that if the quality of human life is to improve then, care needs to be taken of the ecological systems of the earth first. Important elements, such as physical health, education, healthy family and social interactions and physical safety must be considered and protected to ensure human quality of life.
Public participation is a very important component of sustainability. The development of partnerships between local people, and the public and private sector is a keystone to effective public participation.

Social justice refers to ensuring that those people who are disadvantaged and marginalised are well taken care of through proper development and planning.

More recently the focus is shifting towards the concept of sustainability which views sustainable development as a pathway for planning and development to achieve better integration between the social, economic and ecological environments (O’Riordan et al, 2000, Oelofse, 2001). Sustainability is therefore a process rather than the envisaged end product of sustainable development.

### 3.2.4 Weak and Strong Sustainability

There are two different worldviews on sustainability namely weak and strong sustainability. Advocates of weak sustainability assume that there is a high degree of substitutability between natural capital and human capital (Gibbs, 1998). An essential aspect of strong sustainability is its focus on equity, social justice, community participation and empowerment issues at both a global and local scale.

Sustainability will only be possible if steps are taken to ensure meaningful self-reliance, especially for developing nations (O’Riordan, 1993:64). It is necessary and important that communities at a local level are empowered to make decisions relating to their use of resources in order to address problems of poverty, basic needs and resource degradation. Sustainability has become more of a pathway or transition that cannot begin in the same place or end at the same point for every country or society. The process of sustainability requires that important aspects of a city are linked and seen as interrelated parts.

The following figure 3.1 illustrates the importance of linking the economic, social, and environmental aspects of a community.
When society, economy and environment are viewed as separate unrelated parts of a community, the community's problems are also perceived as isolated issues.

Sustainable development according to Adams (1990) is “a flag of convenience under which diverse ships sail, and it is this catholic scope that goes a long way to explain its power and popularity as a term in debates about development.” It is important to note that sustainable development has multiple dimensions and it is important therefore not to think of it in isolation as relating to the environment only but also to consider its links with poverty and environmental degradation and how one aspect is influenced by the other. It is important that there are several means available to promote sustainable development, however, community participation should be the driving force.

This thesis focuses on an urban development process that has adopted a number of procedures for achieving sustainable development. The following sections review a range of literature that suggests ways for promoting sustainability. Therefore they are reviewed here.

The concept of urban governance in section 3.3 entails the collaboration of individuals, institutions both (public and private) and the sum of the many ways in which they plan and manage the common affairs of a city. Proper public participation is considered vital for the success of any development and this will therefore be described in detail in section 3.4. Adequate empowerment which is detailed in section 3.4 3 is important to enable people to contribute to decision-making. Fair and equitable environmental decision-making is needed in order to uphold the South
African constitution which states that all people have the right to be informed and empowered in order to contribute towards the decision-making process and this will be outlined in section 3.5. The formation of environmental partnerships in section 3.6 is seen as a way of achieving the goals set out by any city or authority. It entails voluntary collaborations between two or more organisations with a jointly defined agenda that is focused on a discrete, attainable, and potentially measurable goal. It is proposed that these five tools for achieving sustainable development will form the conceptual framework for this research.

3.3 Urban Governance

3.3.1 Definition

The concept of governance is both complex and controversial. It can be quite a confusing term. Governance “has become an umbrella concept for such a wide variety of phenomena such as policy networks, public management, coordination of sectors of the economy, public-private partnerships, corporate governance and good governance as promoted by the World Bank as a reform objective” (Pierre and Peters, 2000). However there are some common points of departure: "Thinking about governance means thinking about how to steer the economy and society, and how to reach collective goals" (Pierre and Peters, 2000:5).

The definition of governance includes three principle groups of actors namely government, the private sector and civil society. However according to Pierre and Peters (2000) actors could include real actors such as presidents in other instances it could be international regimes or policy networks. Secondly governance emphasizes ‘process’. It recognizes that decisions are based on complex relationships between many actors with different priorities. Reconciling these competing priorities is at the heart of the concept of governance. In the light of this, the UN-HABITAT (2002:1) proposed the following definition of governance: “Urban governance is the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city.”

Governance is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action can be taken. It includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and the social capital of citizens. The Global
Development Research Foundation (GDRC, 2002:1) refers to governance “as the process whereby elements in society wield power and authority, and influence and enact policies and decisions concerning public life and economic and social development.” Governance comprises the complex mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, mediate their differences, and bring to bear their legal rights and obligations.

Pierre and Peters (2000) refers to governance as "the written and unwritten policies, procedures, and decision-making units that control resource allocation within and among institutions." Kooiman (1999:3) describes governance as “all those interactive arrangements in which public as well as private actors participate aimed at solving social problems, or creating social opportunities, and attending to the institutions within which these governing activities take place.”

There is recognition in the literature that new forms of governance leave room for individual organizations to contribute their strengths and talents, to discharge their collective responsibilities and to preserve and enhance the distinctiveness of their organizations and institutions. It is inclusive of formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest (United Nations Development Program, 2002). According to Rhodes (1997: 46) “governance signifies a change in the meaning of government, referring to a new process of governing; or a changed condition of ordered rule; or the new method by which society is ruled.”

Governance is not government. "As a concept governance recognizes that power exists inside and outside the formal authority and institutions of government" (UNHabitat, 2000:2). Governance is a broader notion than government whose main elements include the constitution, legislature, executive and judiciary. Governance includes the state, however it goes a step further by taking in private sector and civil society. The state creates an environment that is conducive politically and legally and the private sector generates jobs and income. Civil society facilitates political and social interaction effectively mobilizing groups to participate in economic, social and political activities. It involves interaction between these formal
institutions and those of civil society (GDRC, 2000). Governance is sometimes considered to be the art of public leadership.

According to Mehta (1998) there are three distinct dimensions of governance:

1. The form of the political regime
2. The course of action by which authority is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources
3. The capacity of governments to design, formulate, and implement policies and release functions

Therefore this form of governing a city is new in that it incorporates the state and society in the administration of a city.

3.3.2 Common Governance Arrangements

There are four common governance arrangements that have existed historically as well as at present: hierarchies, markets, networks and communities (Pierre and Peters, 2000: 14).

Hierarchical Governance

This is essentially governance by law; instead of closing the gap between public and private, it strictly upholds that distinction. However most critics dismiss hierarchy as a model of governance. Hierarchical governance is typical of the Fordist economy, and since that type of economy has been intensely altered, so should hierarchies fall as argued in Pierre and Peters (2000). The emphasis according to Kettl in Pierre and Peters (2000) now is instead on smaller scales of flexibility, diversification, informal exchange rather than formal control. This entails the sharing of power between state and market rather than maintaining a strict division between the public and the private sector.

Markets as a form of governance

Markets as a type of governance is quite opposite to hierarchical governance. " The market as a governance mechanism is very much in vogue, indeed so much so that it is probably believed to be the solution to more problems than it can resolve "(Pierre and Peters, 2000:18). In the context of governance the concept of markets has many different meanings. The first understanding of this concept in terms of governance is
that of the market as a resource allocating mechanism or more broadly, the employment of monetary criteria to gauge efficiency. Here in its idealized form decisions are actively made within the framework of overarching policies and not by elected officials or managers. Markets in the context of governance also serve as an arena for economic actors. However this can be problematic because of the anonymous nature of the market and its actors. Governance here refers to various mechanisms in which economic actors can cooperate to resolve common problems without distorting the basic mechanisms of the market.

Policy Networks as a form of Governance
A third model and most familiar form of contemporary governance is that of policy networks. Such networks constitute a wide variety of actors: state institutions, organized interests and so on in a given policy sector. "Networks vary considerably with regard to their degree of cohesion, ranging from coherent policy communities to single-issue (or issue-specific) coalitions" (Rhodes, 1997:23). Policy networks are useful in that they facilitate the coordination of public and private interests and resources and, in that respect enhance efficiency in the implementation of public policy. Pierre and Peters (2000) describe the relationship between the networks and the state as one of mutual dependence. There are benefits of having these policy networks according to the state because these networks embody considerable expertise and interest representation and hence are potentially valuable in the policy process. However networks are held together by common interests and this therefore challenges the interests of the state. Therefore while the state needs networks to bring societal actors into joint projects, its policies tend to be obstructed by those networks.

Communities as a form of Governance
A fourth model of governance is that of communities. The philosophy behind this model in the context of governance is that communities can and should resolve their problems with a minimum of state involvement. The care of children and the elderly according to this model is better and more efficiently organized more or less spontaneously at the community level. The state or the local government is seen to be too big and too bureaucratic to deal with those issues. However the flaw in this type of governance is that individuals have frequently proved to be less inclined to make personal sacrifices to the common good than communitarians would like to think they
are. Most importantly according to Pierre and Peters (2002:22) "communitarianism tends to exaggerate the blessings of consensus and the evils of disagreement; conflicts over specific issues would not be seen as something negative but rather as something refreshing by most observers of politics."

The governance approach is often argued to focus more on process and outcomes than on formal institutional arrangements. Thinking about governance in this process perspective is important because governance is not so much about structures but more about interactions among structures.

### 3.3.3 Good Governance: What is it?
Different people, organisations, governments and city authorities will define ‘good governance’ according to their own experience and interest. The UN-HABITAT (2002) promotes the following definition of good urban governance:

“It is inextricably linked to the welfare of the citizenry. It must enable women and men to access the benefits of urban citizenship. Good urban governance, based on the principle of urban citizenship, affirms that no man, woman or child can be denied access to the necessities of urban life, including adequate shelter, security of tenure, safe water, sanitation, a clean environment, health, education and nutrition, employment and public safety and mobility.”

Among other things good governance is participatory, transparent and accountable. It is also effective and equitable and it promotes the rule of law. “Good governance ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources” (Mehta, 1998: 3). Good governance is also seen as occurring when societal norms and practices empower and encourage people to take increasingly greater control over their own development in a manner that does not impinge upon the accepted rights of others (UNDP: 2002). The World Bank (2002: 2) defines good governance as “epitomized by predictable, open and enlightened policy-making, a bureaucracy imbued with a professional ethos acting in furtherance of the public good, the rule of law, transparent processes, and a strong civil society participating in public affairs.” Arbitrary policymaking, unaccountable bureaucracies, unjust legal systems, the abuse of
executive power, a civil society unengaged in public life, and widespread corruption, on the other hand characterize poor governance. Through good urban governance (however defined) citizens are provided with the platform that will allow them to use their talents to the full to improve their social and economic conditions.

3.3.4 Characteristics of Good Governance
The UN-HABITAT programme and the Global Development Research Centre have individually put together principles of good urban governance. The following table lists a combination of these principles followed by a discussion of each point.

Table 3.1 The Characteristics of Good Urban Governance (UN-HABITAT, 2002 and GDRC, 2002)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD URBAN GOVERNANCE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sustainability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Civic engagement and citizenship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Equity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Effectiveness and Efficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Transparency and Accountability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Subsidiarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Security</td>
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</table>

Sustainability
In all spheres of urban development cities must balance the social, economic and environmental needs of present and future generations. Leaders and the public must have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such development (UN-HABITAT, 2002:6). There must also be an understanding of the historical, cultural and social complexities in which that perspective is grounded. Practical ways of achieving this principle include:

1) Using tools such as city development strategies through which consultations with stakeholders within communities should be undertaken in order to agree on a broad-based, mission statement and long-term strategic vision for the city.
2) Applying consultative processes such as environmental planning and management (EPM) or Local Agenda 21’s that are geared to reach agreement on acceptable levels of resource use.

3) Promoting the integration of urban poverty reduction strategies into local development planning.

4) Increasing green cover and preserving historical and cultural heritage.

5) Ensuring financial viability by promoting economic activity through the participation of all citizens in the economic life of the city

6) Promoting the transfer of appropriate technologies.(UN-HABITAT, 2002 and GDRC, 2002)

Civic engagement and citizenship

"Many decisions in South Africa and indeed many parts of the world have historically not responded adequately to the needs and values of communities, especially the poor and disadvantaged sectors of the community" (Planact, 2003:3). Citizenship however defined means giving greater powers to individuals (Bouillon et al, 2002). Therefore civic engagement and citizenship is considered to be an important aspect of good urban governance. The practical ways of achieving this principle include acknowledging that:

1) People are the principal wealth of cities and that they are both the object and the means of sustainable human development.

2) All men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests. (UN-HABITAT, 2002 and GDRC, 2002)

Equity

For equity to be visible, all men and women should have opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being. The sharing of power leads to equity in the access to and use of resources. Women and men should participate as equals in all urban decision-making, priority-setting and resource allocation processes. If a city is inclusive it should provide everyone be it the poor, the young or older persons, religious or ethnic minorities or the handicapped with equitable access to nutrition, education, employment and livelihood, health care, shelter, safe drinking water, sanitation and other basic services.
Practical ways of achieving this principle include:

1) Ensuring that women and men have equal access to decision-making processes, resources and basic services and that this access is measured through gender disaggregated data.

2) Establishing quotas for women representatives in local authorities and encourage their promotion to higher management positions within municipalities.

3) Ensuring laws and economic development policies support the informal sector.

4) The promotion of equal inheritance rights for land and property.

5) The establishment of equitable principles for prioritizing infrastructure development and pricing urban services.

6) Removing unnecessary barriers to secure tenure and to the supply of finance.

7) Creating fair and predictable regulatory frameworks. (UN-HABITAT, 2002 and GDRC, 2002)

Effectiveness and Efficiency

For good urban governance to make a substantial difference to society, it has to be effective and efficient in its delivery. Producing results that meet needs while making the best use of resources is a vital way of ensuring effectiveness and efficiency.

“Cities must be financially sound and cost-effective in their management of revenue sources and expenditures, the administration and delivery of services, and in the enablement, based on comparative advantage, of government, the private sector and communities to contribute formally or informally to the urban economy. A key element in achieving efficiency is to recognize and enable the specific contribution of women to the urban economy” (UN-HABITAT, 2002: 15).

Practical ways of achieving this outcome include:

1) The delivery and regulation of public services through partnerships with the private and civil society sectors.

2) Promoting even-handed user-pay principles for municipal services and infrastructure.

3) Encouraging municipal departments to find creative measures of delivering public goods and services through management contracts.
4) Promoting integrated, inter-sectoral planning and management.
5) Improving the effectiveness and efficiency of local revenue collection.
6) Removing unnecessary obstacles to secure tenure and to the supply of finance.
7) Developing and implementing fair and ordinary legal and regulatory frameworks that encourage commerce and investment, minimize transaction costs, and legitimize the informal sector.
8) The adoption of clear objectives and targets for the provision of public services, which maximise the contributions all sectors of society can make to urban economic development and to encourage volunteerism. (UN-HABITAT, 2002 and GDRC, 2002)

Transparency and Accountability
The HABITAT programme and the Global Development Research Center also promote the notion of transparency and accountability as a characteristic of good governance. The accountability of local authorities to their citizens is a fundamental precept of good governance. Similarly, there should be no place for corruption in cities. Corruption can undermine local government credibility and can deepen urban poverty. “Transparency and accountability are essential to stakeholder understanding of local government and to the determination of who is benefiting from decisions and actions” (GDRC, 2002:17). Access to information is essential to this understanding and to good governance. Laws and public policies should be applied in a transparent and predictable way. Elected and appointed officials and other civil servant leaders need to set an example of high standards of professional and personal integrity. Citizen participation is a crucial element in promoting transparency and accountability.

Practical ways of realizing this characteristic include:
1) Having frequent organized and open meetings/consultations with citizens on city issues such as the city budget and other important issues affecting a city. The adequate and correct dissemination of this information for public debate is important in completing this process.
2) Running regular independently executed programmes in order to test the integrity of the public officials responses.
3) Removing “administrative and procedural incentives for corruption, including simplifying local taxation systems and the reduction of administrative discretion in permit processing” (GDRC, 2002: 18).

4) Promoting the importance of being ethical in their duty as a public official while adequately remunerating them.

5) Creating codes of conduct and making provision for regular disclosure of assets of public officials and elected representatives.

6) Creating practically enforceable standards of accountability and service delivery.

7) “Creating public feedback mechanisms such as an ombudsman, hotlines, complaint offices and procedures, citizen report cards and procedures for public petitioning and/or public interest litigation” (UN-HABITAT, 2002:15).

8) Promoting the public’s right of access to city information.

9) Providing access to city information in order to create a fair and equitable playing field for prospective investors (UN-HABITAT, 2002 and GDRC, 2002)

Subsidiarity

Another characteristic of good governance as proposed by the HABITAT programme (2002) and the GDRC (2002) is subsidiarity.

"Subsidiarity of authority and resources to the closest appropriate level is vital. Responsibility for service provision should be allocated on the basis of the principle of subsidiarity, that is, at the closest appropriate level consistent with efficient and cost-effective delivery of services” (GDRC, 2002: 18)

This will take full advantage of the potential for inclusion of the public in the process of urban governance. Decentralization and local democracy that are important in ensuring subsidiarity would improve the responsiveness of policies and initiatives to the priorities and needs of citizens. Cities should be empowered with sufficient resources and autonomy to meet their responsibilities.

Practical ways of achieving this principle include:

1) Developing clear constitutional frameworks in consultation with local authorities for assigning and delegating responsibilities and corresponding powers and resources from the national to the city level and/or from the city level to the neighbourhood level.
2) “Adopting local legislation to translate constitutional amendments in support of subsidiarity into practical means to empower civil society to participate effectively in city affairs and which promote the responsiveness of local authorities to their communities” (GDRC, 2002: 18).

3) Formulating transparent and predictable intergovernmental economic transfers and central government support for the development of administrative, technical and managerial capacities at the city level.

4) “Protecting financially weaker local authorities through systems of vertical and horizontal financial equalisation agreed to in full consultation with local authorities and all stakeholders” (GDRC, 2002:18).

5) The promotion of decentralized cooperation and learning between peers (UN-HABITAT, 2002 and GDRC, 2002).

Security

Every human being desires to feel safe and secure wherever he or she lives. Every individual has the inalienable right to life, liberty and the security of person. Insecurity has a disproportionate impact in further marginalising poor communities.

“Cities must strive to avoid human conflicts and natural disasters by involving all stakeholders in crime and conflict prevention and disaster preparedness. Security also implies freedom from persecution, forced evictions and provides for security of tenure. Cities should also work with social mediation and conflict reduction agencies and encourage the cooperation between enforcement agencies and other social service providers (health, education and housing) (UN-HABITAT, 2002:17)

Practical ways of achieving this principle as set out by the UN-HABITAT (2002) and the GDRC (2002) include:

1) Public awareness campaigns that can be used to create a culture of peace and encouraging a tolerance of diversity,

2) Promoting security of residence, recognizing a range of types of legal tenure and providing counseling and arbitration for people who are at risk of forced evictions.

3) Promoting well being amongst people, particularly for the urban poor, through greater access to employment, credit, education and training and suitable legislation.

4) Implementing environmental planning and management strategies based on stakeholder participation.
5) Creating safety and security through consultative processes based on legislation, camaraderie and prevention, and supporting appropriate indigenous institutions that encourage security.

6) Addressing the specific needs of susceptible groups such as women and youth through women’s safety audits and youth training programmes.

7) Establishing metropolitan-wide structures of policing as a means of creating more comprehensive cities.

8) “Raising awareness about the risk of disasters and formulating local emergency management plans, based on reduction of risk, readiness, response and recovery, for natural and human-made disasters and, where necessary, relocating residents of disaster-prone areas” (UN-HABITAT, 2002: 17).

9) The integration of emergency management among municipal departments and with national strategies.

10) Devising strategies and action plans addressing all forms of abuse against the person, especially abuse against women, children and families (GDRC, 2002 and UN-HABITAT, 2002).

It is clear that good urban governance is largely dependent on meaningful engagement with interested and affected people. It is therefore appropriate to discuss the concept of public participation. This concept is one of the five concepts that will be used as part of a framework within which to analyse the study.

3.4 Public Participation

Public participation has been defined, interpreted and applied in different ways by many people in their efforts to address different circumstances they are confronted with. As a result many definitions are more a reflection of the users own views and interpretation of their circumstances.

Pretty and Scoones in Planact (2003) pointed out that, there is a tendency for those who use the term participation to adopt a high moral ground, implying that any form of participation is good. Pretty and Scoones in Planact (1995) emphasise that participation must be used in such a way that it moves beyond mere cosmetic labeling and rhetoric to processes that ensure that everybody has an opportunity to participate in the various processes and to be able to hold those responsible to carry out
recommendations accountable. The different views about the participatory process have led to different degrees in which people are given a chance to participate.

This section puts the concept of public participation within the context of empowerment. There are many myths surrounding this concept, and these will be outlined further. Arnesteins ladder of participation (1969) will also be discussed to show the degrees to which stakeholders can be involved in the decision-making process. This section of the literature concludes with the different forms and functions of participation as outlined by White (1996) that forms the second framework of reference for this study. Public participation has been identified as a very vital tool in the environmental decision-making process and to further sustainable development.

3.4.1 Definitions of Public Participation

The Convention on Access to information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental matters, more generally known as the Aarhus Convention, required signatories to actively promote public participation in environmental decision-making. This shows that “there is global recognition that involvement of people who have to live with the results or impacts of decisions is a prerequisite for successful planning, government and decision-making in general” (Barnard 1999, as cited in Thornhill and Evans, 2002:3). “The demand for participation in the Durban Metropolitan area, and elsewhere in the new South Africa, has particular resonance and force because of the harsh and extreme ways most people were excluded from decision-making, access and resources under apartheid” (Hindson, King and Peart: 1996:77).

Greyling (1999:3) defines public participation in the development process as “a process leading to a joint effort by stakeholders, technical specialists, the authorities and the proponent who work together to produce better decisions than if they had acted independently.” Most practitioners in the field agree that public participation constitutes more than mere consultation, and that it incorporates the public as an equal partner in decision-making (Cock, 1995; Fowkes and Goudie, 1995; Wood, Wynberg and Urquhart, 1995 in Khan (1998)). True participation involves decisions being taken and plans being formulated on the local level.
Having provided definitions of this concept that are most appropriate in the context of South Africa’s previously marginalized society, the following three sections focus on the myths of public participation, Arnsteins ladder of participation and the forms and functions of participation.

3.4.2 Myths Surrounding Public Participation

Public participation can be a very useful tool for sustainable development, if understood correctly. However, there are some explanations of this term that belie its very strength. In order to grasp the full meaning of this concept it is important to dispel some myths regarding public participation.

The first myth is that public participation is the same as public relations. The essence of public participation is not to promote the proposed project but to present the information both negative and positive regarding the project in an objective way. Stakeholders cannot trust the public participation practitioner to be independent and impartial if they perceive the project to be promoted in any way, and neither will they want to share their views.

Secondly public participation does not imply that every individual or organisation in the study area needs to be personally consulted. “It is not practical, possible or necessary to consult with millions of people. However it is necessary to provide the broadest possible range of sectors of society the opportunity to contribute, and to be able to prove this” (Greyling, 1999:4).

Public participation does not constitute community relations. Project developers who are not familiar with the purpose of public participation often confuse it with community or neighbour relations. They expect it to actually replace these day-to-day and ongoing relations however public participation actually paves the way for better community relations.

Another myth is that public participation is a negotiation process between a developer and affected landowners. Public participation practitioners cannot on behalf of the developer negotiate any matters with landowners, as this would place the practitioner
in a promotional and negotiator role, thus jeopardising the independence of the process.

Public participation does not necessarily aim at consensus. The range of opinions that arise out of a public participation process is actually what enriches the project and not consensus per se. Lucy Moore cited in Greyling (1995:5) a trained environmental mediator as well as one of the world’s most experienced facilitators and public participation specialists states that “No, consensus should not be the goal. To me, it is presumptuous in a public involvement process to assume that consensus can be reached. It is voluntary, and given the unknown number and interests of participants, how can we even have as a goal ‘reaching consensus.’” However, public participation creates the opportunity for people to share viewpoints and to cooperatively deliberate the issues at hand, thus bringing about a convergence of viewpoints.

The next myth is that public participation does not constitute conflict resolution. As discussed, public participation does not aim to reach consensus, however it aims at generating a diversity of opinion and views. On the other hand, mediation and conflict resolution strives for (sufficient) consensus. Acknowledging that conflict in public participation is important, however resolving it is not its purpose.

“Where there are deep divisions in communities- whether based on political allegiance, class or race- they need to be acknowledged and ways found to overcome their destructive effects at an early stage in the process. Failure to address these divisions means they resurface and bedevil negotiation at critical moments” (Hindson, King, Peart, 1996:79).

Therefore as much as conflict is a part of participation, it must not be allowed to become destructive and thereby disrupt the participatory process.

The last myth relating to public participation surrounds the methods of participation. Public participation cannot be done by way of petitions. In the public participation process it is necessary to capture the issues of concern so that they can be evaluated and addressed. It is not possible to do this with a petition, as it is not useful in the public participation process to merely indicate people’s opinion.
3.4.3 Forms and Functions of Participation

This section sets out to provide the third framework of reference for this study by explaining the different forms and functions of participation. Here the explanation of public participation moves away from mere rhetoric to participatory processes that are used as forms of empowerment. There are different levels of community involvement in public participation as written by Arnstein (1969) and White (1996). Arnstein’s ladder of participation speaks of participation in terms of the degree to which people are involved in the projects and programmes that are developed for them while White speaks of the forms and functions of participation. The most successful type of public participation is when it becomes a tool of empowerment for the communities involved. Arnstein’s ladder of participation will be briefly described followed by the forms and functions of participation that will form the third framework for this study.

Arnstein’s Ladder of Participation

Arnstein (1969) produced a progression of eight levels of participation, which he arranged in a hierarchy as illustrated in figure 3.2 below:

Figure 3.2 Illustrating Arnstein’s ladder of participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degrees of citizen power</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. Citizen Control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Delegated Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Partnership</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degrees of tokenism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Placation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Consulting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Informing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Therapy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Manipulation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“According to Arnstein, the intensity of participation is viewed as a one-dimensional process in which the levels of intensity were defined along a continuum. In this case, participation is described in terms of a series of increasingly meaningful inputs into the decision-making process, with each level corresponding to the extent of citizen power in determining the ‘end-product’” (Planact, 2003).
On this ladder of participation, level 8 represents the highest level of participation, which would enable recipients to take control of their fate. In this progression, level 1 represents no participation at all to the extent that people are manipulated by the plans developed by the authorities. Arnstein promoted the empowerment of the less privileged members of society and that it is the redistribution of power that enables the poor marginalized citizens who have been excluded from the development processes to be consciously included in mapping out the future. This ladder of participation however has a few flaws as explained by Bar-on (1997) in Freeman (2000). He firstly argues that even though most scholars acknowledge that the lower rungs of the ladder are supposed to represent conditions of non-participation, the very fact that they are included on the ladder implies that they are examples of some degree of participation. Bar-on (1997) goes further to critic the explanation that the ideal type of public participation is identified as community control by emphasising that this cannot be considered a state of participation as it actually negates this process. He posits that this would not only enable developers to avoid their responsibilities, it would also be difficult to reach consensus among all stakeholders and this could in turn lead to apathy and no action.

White’s (1996) Forms and Functions of Participation

White (1996) also develops a framework of four different levels of participation as well as detailing the function of each level. The crux of her work is that the most meaningful form of participation is when it is transformative, thus enabling the empowerment of those involved. Her model of public participation is less rigid. The types of participation that she identifies along with their characteristics are related to the rungs of Arnstein’s ladder.

According to White (1996:6) participation may be the means through which existing power relations are entrenched and reproduced. Turbyne cited in White (1996:7) states that:

"The status of participation as a 'hurrah' word, bringing a warm glow to it's users and hearers, blocks it's detailed examination. Its illusive vitreous nature, that is, of appealing to the people, belies the fact that participation serves diverse interests and takes on multiple forms."
It is exactly this ability to accommodate such a wide range of interests that proves why participation can bring about such widespread acclaim. Table 3.2 aims to draw out the diversity of form, function, and interests within the term 'participation'.

Table 3.2: Interests in Participation (Source: after White, 1996:8 in Freeman, 2000:35)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominal</td>
<td>Legitimation and inclusion with the main function of display</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Government funding for infrastructure and services reduced leading to public involvement for efficiency and cost sake, in order to instrumentally achieve a local facility or service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative</td>
<td>Public ensured a voice to provide sustainability and support, and where people are able to express their own interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transformative</td>
<td>Empowerment takes place, where the public have the practical experience of being involved in considering options, making decisions and taking collective action to fight injustice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two main ways in which the politics of participation are admitted in development planning. The first way “recognises that ‘the people’ are not homogenous and that special mechanisms are needed to bring in relatively disadvantaged groups” (White, 1996:7). The second way regards the ‘level’ of participation. This brings to light that during implementation, the involvement of local people is not enough. For a completely participatory project, they should also take part in management and decision-making. However the problem inherent in these two dimensions as argued by White (1996) is that in lending themselves to technical solutions they can again obscure the politics of participation. These two measures can only facilitate fuller participation they cannot deliver it. Table 3.2 moves beyond just observing the mechanisms for participation by going further in drawing out the diversity of form, function, and interests within the term 'participation.' Four major types of participation and their respective characteristics are distinguished in table 3.2.

Case studies will be used to explain the different forms of participation in order to understand this in a more practical sense.
Nominal Participation

Nominal participation is somewhat uni-dimensional in character. This type of participation is seen as a form of ‘window-dressing.’ An example of nominal participation as described in White (1996) is found in Zambia where over a period of thirty years large numbers of women’s groups were formed by various government departments.

The existence of these groups proved that these departments were doing something and therefore could make legitimate claims for personnel or finance. Therefore their particular interest in women’s participation is mostly for legitimation. Many of the women go along with this in that they say they are members of these groups however they very rarely attend any meetings. They may check in from time to time if any new loans are on offer, however “it is not clear as to how many of these groups actually exist in a functional sense” (White, 1996:8). Therefore in most cases the women’s participation is nominal and mainly serves the function of display.

Instrumental Participation

“Instrumental participation is not transformative, for although people are acting to provide services, they are not necessarily being given a voice or making decision about the options or action to be taken” (Freeman, 2000: 36). An example of this type of participation is seen in the following situation.

In many African countries government funding for necessary infrastructure has been drastically reduced and therefore people’s participation is essential to provide labour for local schools as described in White (1996:12). This serves the efficiency interests of outside funders. “The people’s labour is taken as local counterpart funds, which guarantee the people’s commitment to the project. The funders input can be limited to financing raw materials, and the project can therefore be far more cost effective” (White, 1996: 8). The time that the local people have to spare in order to build the local school is time taken away from paid employment, household work or leisure; therefore participation for them is a cost. However in order to have the school they have little option but to be involved in the construction of it. Therefore participation in this case is instrumental, rather than valued in itself. Its function is as a means to achieve cost-effectiveness, on the one hand, and a local facility on the other.
Representative Participation

Here the function of participation is to purely give people a voice in the character of the project. “Participation that is representative and gives people a voice, may not be transformative if the public are not involved in the actual decision-making process” (Freeman, 2000:36)

Representative participation is explained using a case study from a Bangladeshi non-governmental organisation (NGO) as conveyed in White (1996). This NGO invited the local people to form their own groups, develop by-laws, and draw up plans for what they would do for a particular project. Therefore the function of participation was to allow the people to have a voice in the character in the project. These ways of doing things from the NGO’s point of view avoids the danger of creating an inappropriate and dependent project and thus ensure sustainability. In the course of the project a group of fishing families decided to apply in order to form a co-operative for loans and fish marketing. “For them taking an active part in both their own meetings and in discussions with the NGO was important to ensure leverage, to influence the shape which the project should take and it’s subsequent management” (White, 1996:8). Thus participation being an effective means through which the people could express their own interests, took on a representative form.

Transformative

This type of participation has the effect of empowering the people that are involved. It creates a setting where people’s views and opinions are highly valued and used in the decision-making process. Transformative participation allows those involved to take action where necessary, and to be a part of the process in a holistic sense.

“The idea of participation as empowerment is that the practical experience of being involved in considering options, making decisions, and taking collective action to fight injustice is itself transformative”(White, 1996: 8). Empowerment is usually seen as an agenda controlled from below because it must involve action from below. Even though they may be supportive, outsiders can only facilitate the empowerment process, they cannot bring it about. However empowerment may also be identified as the interest in participation ‘from above,’ when outsiders are working in harmony
with the poor. Participation is therefore in this instance at one and the same time a means to empowerment and an end in itself, so breaking down the barriers between means and ends that characterises the other types. According to White (1996:9) this process in a sense never comes to an end, but is a continuing dynamic that transforms people’s reality and their sense of it.

In this thesis an attempt will be made to apply this scheme in Table 3.2 to determine the type of public participation in Warwick Junction.

3.5 Empowerment

There are many definitions of this concept as it can vary according to the context within which it is used. The context within which this concept will be unraveled relates particularly to the upliftment of disadvantaged and marginalized communities by enabling them to engage effectively in decision-making. Therefore definitions of empowerment within this context will be provided. There are many models of empowerment, however what is important is identifying its outcomes. A critique of a Scottish local authority empowerment model by Barr (1995) will be presented to show the usefulness of creating outcome measures of empowerment.

3.5.1 Empowerment Defined

In its broadest sense, empowerment is the expansion of freedom of choice and action. As people experience real choice, they gain increased control over their lives. The choices available to poor people however “are extremely limited both by their lack of assets and by their powerlessness to negotiate better terms for themselves with a range of institutions, both formal and informal” (World Bank, 2002:11).

In this type of context then, the definition of empowerment that is relevant according to the World Bank (2002) is, “the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives.”

Empowerment is also defined as “a group process where people who lack an equal share of valued resources gain greater access to, and control over those resources” (Schaeffer, 1992 in Haricharan, 1995:15). It is important that civil society is
empowered to share responsibility for governance, and be accountable for the quality of decisions taken through its participation.

Empowerment has become a popular concept in regeneration strategies for disadvantaged communities. However this may be so because it promises more than it can sometimes deliver. There are many impediments to empowerment. However there are ways that it can be achieved if approached in an appropriate way.

The World Bank (2002) provides four elements of empowerment that can be used effectively and they are as follows:

1. Access to information
2. Inclusion and Participation
3. Accountability
4. Local organizational capacity

The first element relates to the provision of information to all people. People who are informed can be enabled to act powerfully. Therefore citizens who are informed are better equipped to take advantage of opportunities, access services, exercise their rights, negotiate effectively, and hold state and non-state actors accountable.

The second element of inclusion and participation focuses on ‘who’ should be included and ‘how’ they are included respectively. The inclusion of poor and previously marginalized groups in decision-making is critical in ensuring that local knowledge and priorities are used in development strategies.

The element of accountability “refers to the ability to call public officials, private employers or service providers to account, requiring that they be answerable for their policies, actions and use of funds” (World Bank, 2002:16).

The fourth element of local organizational capacity is when groups and communities rally around each other to take care of themselves. The World Bank (2002:17) refers to this element as “the ability of people to work together, organize themselves, and mobilize resources to solve problems of common interest.
3.5.2 Critique of a Scottish Local Authority Model of Empowerment

Barr (1995) sets an interesting background within which to understand the concept of empowerment. He makes use of a somewhat incomplete model that was used by the Scottish local authority, to outline the ambiguous nature of this term empowerment. However he maintains that despite the complexity of this concept, if a realistic approach is taken, it is nonetheless a worthwhile objective. Barr (1995) interprets empowerment as perhaps "at its most basic, the degree to which or process by which disadvantaged communities define their own needs and determine the response that is made to them." The following model upholds this viewpoint. As communities gain more influence or control over the definition of their needs and more influence or control over the response to them, so it is assumed that they are increasingly empowered.

Figure 3.3: Illustrating the degree to which disadvantaged communities define their own needs and determine their response to them.

```
Definition of needs

Community | Empowering

Determination of Response

State/Officials | Community

Disempowering

State/professionals
```

However the analysis of empowerment presented in this figure is too simplistic. If people are serious about empowerment, they would recognise that there is a much more complex reality.

There are two things that this diagram does not recognise as critiqued by Barr (1995). Firstly this figure fails to portray the complexities of satisfactorily defining communities. Seeing that within any defined geographical location there are likely to
be many different interests relating to demographic factors such as age, race, gender or patterns of service consumption, empowerment will need to take place at different levels and in relation to these different interests. Secondly it fails to recognise conflicts of interest either real or imagined between such disempowered people. “If mobilising local self-interest is seen as the primary mechanism for empowerment, the consequence may simply be to reinforce territorial and interest group inequities and increase the oppression of minorities” (Barr, 1995). It is therefore necessary to have some universal criteria for assessing the legitimacy of the outcomes of community empowerment in and between different localities.

Another shortfall of this simple model is that it posits that empowerment is a zero-sum game, in which power is seen as a finite entity and empowerment is about the transfer of it from one group to another. It is important according to Barr (1995) to identify that there may rather be alliances which are mutually empowering rather than just the transfer of power. This possibility of forming alliances may arise for example if the objectives of the local state are compatible with the affected community. Therefore the ability to achieve the desired outcome may be improved by forming partnerships rather than merely the transfer of authority.

Yet another deficiency in the model according to Barr (1995) is that it makes the assumption that communities have the skill and knowledge to conduct an assessment of needs and of the effectiveness of different strategy. Part of the empowerment process entails the development of local skills and knowledge, which in any complex society depends on specialist expertise. In order for a community to define their own needs and determine their own responses, communities often need access to expert advice. The key word here as posited by Barr (1995) being 'access'. Part of any empowerment strategy must therefore be access to such resources.

The difficulties in the empowerment process should not be underestimated. Barr (1995) notes, "We should not be surprised by the slow pace of progress, that apparent successes in one location may sometimes simply reflect displacement of difficulties to other areas, that we may need constantly to work in cycles of empowerment."
There are many lessons that were learned from this Scottish local authority. Firstly it is essential to work within the contradictions that are embedded within the concept of empowerment and be open about them. This would involve a continued dialogue with community interests. Secondly it is necessary not to underestimate the value of a rational analysis of need - its nature, complexity and diversity, as the guiding influence on policy. Empowering communities may also mean that rather different approaches to the same needs are implemented in different locations as a reflection of local preferences. “It follows from this that there is a legitimate role for both the ‘top-down’ process of policy development and the ‘bottom-up’ process of community organisation and response” (Barr, 1995). It is further contended by Barr (1995) that the only type of community that can enter into any partnership activity with top-down initiatives is a ‘bottom-up’ empowered community.

### 3.5.3 Outcome Measures of Empowerment

It is necessary according to Barr (1995) that social planners do not impose their agenda that is based on their perceptions of priorities. They should rather see equity as a paramount value and ensure this purpose and therefore legitimately set parameters within which local action can be encouraged. By doing this they should therefore give attention to the needs of both the organised and unorganised interests. It is important to realise that agencies can only create the conditions in which people can empower themselves they cannot do it for them. It is also necessary to recognise that empowerment may have to focus on relatively small numbers of people who take on a leadership role in the communities.

Earnest attempts at empowerment strategies must invest heavily in training for staff. However staff will be subject to the various factors that inhibit empowerment despite their enlightened approach to their roles. Therefore they themselves need to be empowered within their own organisations in order to enable them to productively engage with communities. It is equally clear that communities should have training opportunities available to them. This training as explained by Barr (1995) would be needed to develop knowledge and skills in particular for analysing need and it’s causes; organising community representation or pressure; and understanding organisational and legal conditions that affect their interests.
Monitoring and performance review is considered vital to the long-term nature of any empowerment strategy. However Barr (1995) notes that from the Scottish experience this aspect was sorely lacking and the least recognised. It is therefore necessary to have a checklist against which to systematically monitor and review empowerment strategies. The following outcome measures of empowerment as posited by Barr (1995) will form the third framework of reference for this study:

1. Strong community-controlled institutions on both a geographical and interest group basis
2. These institutions must have real influence over the public policy agenda
3. Proof of increased direct control of local resources and affairs including community ownership of community assets (including premises, equipment and information).
4. There must be evidence of performance of power structures being genuinely open to influence.
5. Equity is a demonstrably central principle in the policy process at all levels.
6. Material gains are being achieved for disadvantaged people.
7. A strong but accountable and representative local leadership.
8. The performance of professionals must reflect values of empowerment and must be evaluated by users
9. Evidence that equal opportunity principles are being upheld especially for oppressed minorities and this must be corroborated by their views.
10. Proof of increasing decentralisation and democratisation of services and resource allocation within an overall policy framework planned to promote equity.
11. Evidence of personal development of citizens measured not only by increased levels of participation or achievement, but also self-esteem (Barr, 1995:131).

These indicators of empowerment can be applied to many situations in which communities are involved. It follows that civil society needs to be empowered to share responsibility for governance, and be accountable for the quality of decisions taken through its participation.
3.6 Environmental Partnerships

The word ‘partnerships’ in some sectors carries specific legal connotations, although environmental partnership defines a range of collaborations that are not legally defined. Long and Arnold (1995) describe partnerships as voluntary collaborations between two or more organizations with a jointly defined agenda focused on a discrete, attainable, and potentially measurable goal. “Partnerships aimed at tackling environmental problems should include all the relevant actors who occupy the relevant geographical, economic, social, political and ecological spaces” (Hindson, King et al, 1996:81). Therefore environmental partnerships can be defined as “constructive and voluntary collaboration among different stakeholders in environmental protection and natural resource management” (Long and Arnold, 1995:5). Figure 3.3 shows the life cycle of partnership formation as identified in Long and Arnold (1995). A Partnership Life Cycle (PLC) analysis is a useful device for describing and analysing environmental partnerships.

The Seed Phase

During the seed phase of the partnership life cycle, ideas are formulated and a champion party brings the idea of voluntary collaboration to prospective participants, regulators, other affected stakeholders and the public in an effort to gain a commitment to start a partnership. The three phases of a partnership are the initiation phase, the execution phase and the closure, renewal phase.

The Initiation Phase

Here there is much discussion amongst partners. The initial meetings of participants occur during this phase. Discussions during this phase on potential approaches of the collaboration and relative stances that each partner is to take. Here decisions are made regarding the roles, goals and responsibilities of the partnership. Thereafter a constitution or ‘agreement of co-operation’ is drawn up. The partnership then moves from an initiation phase to an execution phase as an agenda of issues starts forming.

Execution Phase

“During the execution phase the focus moves from process issues towards substance issues” (Long and Arnold, 1995). Here possible problems are identified and investigated along with the production of alternative plans and solutions.
Brainstorming on key issues by participants as well as establishing and sharing scientific data is part of this process. In order to fill in the knowledge gaps, experts are brought in. Conflict inevitably rears its head during this phase therefore it is necessary to resolve quarrels that may emerge. According to Long and Arnold (1995), prior to moving on to the closure/renewal phase it is necessary to reassess the original process and to adapt this if necessary.

**Figure 3.4: Illustrating The Partnership Life Cycle Model (Adapted from Long and Arnold, 1995)**

**Seed Phase**
- Individual agendas and motivations
- Circumstances: Reshaping agenda/partners

**Initiation Phase**
- 1. Define opportunity
- 2. Identify who should participate
- 3. Form the basis for working together
- 4. Formulate agenda

**Execution Phase**
- 1. Monitor ground rules
- 2. Resolve disputes
- 3. Finance effectively
- 4. Manage against timetables
- 5. Support Individual interests and relationship building

**Closure/Renewal Phase**
- 1. Produce written agreements
- 2. Implement actions and policies
- 3. Continue or terminate partnership activities

In the last phase in the partnership life cycle, the closure/renewal phase the participants bring the partnership to a close by communicating results, and converting them into actions. This phase assimilates the significant actions of the partnerships including the possibility of written agreements, and the execution of planned actions and/or policies. Here “once all proposed activities have been implemented, partners must come to a decision about whether to end the partnership, continue with the
partnership in its existing form or whether to amend the partnership before moving forward” (Long and Arnold, 1995).

In order to understand environmental partnerships more holistically Long and Arnold (1995) created the following map of environmental partnerships as seen in Figure 3.4. The four types of partnerships that are identified in this figure and explained subsequently will be used as the fourth framework of reference for this study and forms the final social sustainability indicator.

**Figure 3.5: Illustrating an Environmental Partnerships Map (Source: Long and Arnold, 1995)**

![Partnerships Map]

This map uses two parameters of 1) the level of discord amongst partners and 2) the measure of core relevance of the partnerships goals to each partner’s task. Four types of partnerships are defined within these parameters.

**Preemptive Partnerships**
These types of partnerships form as an attempt to defuse a situation that is already hostile. Due to the conflict that exists between the two parties, opportunities in these partnerships are constrained initially.

**Coalescing Partnerships**
Coalescing partnerships actually bring together parties that depend on each other in order to accomplish their goals. The two parties are competitors contesting for...
projects and resources and although rivalry and disagreement exists between the two parties, the challenge is to create a common vision that both parties can support.

Exploration partnerships
Exploration partnerships form as an attempt to explore environmental issues that are of joint concern.

Leverage Partnerships
Leverage Partnerships are win-win partnerships where each party is allowed to make just a modest investment in environment improvement for a relatively high social, political or financial return.

Multi-stakeholder partnership formation is seen as a step closer to ensuring that good environmental decisions are taken.

3.7 Environmental Decision-making
Environmental decision-making is considered to be an important mechanism in ensuring that good governance is upheld and this would ultimately lead to sustainable development. This concept forms the fifth framework of reference for this study. Definitions of this concept will be provided together with the settings within which decisions are made. The common feature of all decisions is that they involve trade-offs. This will be further explained followed by an evaluation of good and bad decisions and a framework illustrating decision-aiding tools.

3.7.1 Definitions of Decision-making
A decision can be seen as a response to actual or potential problems, therefore decisions are an important part of problem solution. Decision-making and problem solving occur in the context of some problem. The most basic type of decision is a choice amongst alternatives (Yates, in Gray et al, 2000). Evaluations of individual alternatives (which can be one stage of a choice) and constructions of solutions are other types of decisions.

Problem solving and decision-making is always relative to the problem context. In order to achieve the desired objectives or goals some action might be required given
the problem context. Problem solving takes place if there is only one way to achieve the objectives. However most realistic problems do not have single solutions. In a situation where there is more than one possible route to attain the objective that has been set, then decision-making is involved since a course of action must be selected from a set of possible actions. Decision-making is a process of consideration used to arrive at a determination or conclusion.

An environmental decision is one concerning an environmental issue, or about an action that could or will foreseeably have an environmental effect. Therefore environmental decision-making “occurs whenever a decision must be made that affects the present or future quality of the environment” (Chechile and Carlisle, 1991:4). The National Center for Environmental Decision-Making Research (NCEDR), (1997) provides the following definition, “Environmental decision-making refers to the many processes of consideration that affect the capacity of the environment to provide for human needs and desires.” It embraces issues affecting natural, economic, and human resources, and how individuals and society use and interact with the natural and built environment. Environmental decision-making occurs whenever a decision must be made that affects the present or future quality of the environment. To some degree environmental decisions are simply a special class of decisions- those about or affecting the environment. Instead of the problem being environment neutral, like “What kind of car should I buy,” the decision problem is one that has an impact on the environment (Chechile and Carlisle, 1991:2).

3.7.2 Trade-offs
The common feature of all decisions is that they involve trade-offs. Wood et al (1995) lists several of these trade-offs. There is invariably a trade-off between the socio-economic impacts of projects and the biophysical impacts, sometimes reduced to the ‘jobs versus the 'environment' dilemma. Some impacts may be more tradable in the decision-making process than others. “Striking a balance between the various trade-offs lies at the core of decision-making for sustainable development” (Sadler 1996).

Decisions made by people are generally consistent with what they think is important, that is their value system. Values can be monetary, happiness, security, fairness and equity. Decisions involve trade-offs among values, or a balancing of multiple
objectives. “For example a decision-maker may need to balance the desire to acquire
more land for wildlife conservation with an increased salary and equipment budget for
fire and police protection or for school teachers” (NCEDR, 1997).

Both problem solving and environmental decision-making take place in the context of
some problem. Environmental problems are composed of physical, social, cultural,
chemical, biological, technological, economic, psychological, ethical, legal, and
political components. “Omission of any of these components is likely to oversimplify
the problem and render the decision-process incomplete and unrealistic” (Chechile
and Carlisle, 1991:4). The examination of environmental decisions requires an
integrated effort from many disciplines. Therefore environmental decisions require a
multidisciplinary understanding. Problem solving is important; however most realistic
problems do not have single solutions.

When there is more than one possible alternative for attempting to meet the set out
objectives as described in Chechile and Carlisle (1991) then decision-making is
involved since a course of action needs to be selected from a set of possible actions.
Decision-making therefore is the process of consideration used to make such trade­
offs or balances. These trade-offs involve at least two alternatives or options, or
courses of action between which the decision-maker chooses. Options are sometimes
defined as a subset of alternatives.

Consideration used in making trade-offs may include organized ways of thinking such
as decision analysis; benefit cost analysis, risk analysis or other means of explicit
assessment of the implications of choosing various alternatives. “Most decisions are
probably based on some combination of conscious evaluation of the implications of
alternatives and subconscious evaluation of whether the choice ‘makes sense’ or feels
right based on the decision-makers lifetime of experience” (Chechile and Carlisle,
1991:5).

The decision-making environment is made up of an array of actors, with varying
roles, powers and perspectives, and interlinked by various procedures. This array of
actors can be sub-divided in many ways, for example between ‘producers’ and
‘consumers’ of a project, between ‘proponents’ and ‘opponents’, between ‘private’ and
'public' interests. Yet most developments tend to have four main groups of actors: the 'developers/proponents'; the affected parties/often opponents'; the 'facilitators' (especially consultants) who may work for whoever hires them; and the 'regulators'. The latter group is always seen as the key one in decision-making. This group includes the 'competent authorities', be they local planning authorities or state environment commissions to whom the 'environmental information' on a project is submitted. The various parties in this environment can represent a complex array of interests and goals that can lead to a range of often-conflicting views on particular projects. "This decision-making process is carried out by a decision-maker (or in some cases by multiple decision-makers, and the process may include participants who advise, review, or in other ways provide input to the consideration" (NCEDR, 1997:12)

According to Chechile and Carlisle (1991), implementation of a decision takes place through an action or allocation of resources. The decision-maker may have a goal for his or her decision, which may be an intermediate objective or degree of attainment of an objective. A decision is made to attain or move towards an objective, or a desired outcome.

Decisions are usually made in the context of uncertainty. There are two different types of uncertainty: ordinary uncertainty and incertitude. The former referring to uncertainty about what will occur in the future even though one understands all the processes involved. "Incertitude differs from uncertainty in that it arises when we do not have all the information. The factors involved may not be known" (Chechile and Carlisle, 1991:9).

Information regarding alternatives available or the implications of choosing those alternatives is rarely complete. Conditions in the immediate and surrounding environments or decision setting change in unpredictable ways. The implementation of a decision- the action or allocation of resources- creates interactions with environmental conditions to generate an outcome, or result of the decision implementation. The NCEDR (1997) points out that the degree to which the outcome meets the objective can be measured in the context of the decision-makers values, and the decision setting can be revisited for consideration of a follow-on decision.
“Environmental decision-making encompasses a wide range of decision settings, from individual or personal decisions through large scale systems approaches to management of energy and resources over broad areas (local to global) and wide expanses of time (seconds to centuries)” (Chechile and Carlisle, 1991:10).

It is not a process to be considered separately from ‘other’ decision-making. Sustaining the capacity of the environment to meet human needs and desires requires that environmental considerations be a part of almost all decisions. Consideration of natural and human factors, along with economic factors, needs to be an integral part of all decision-making (NCEDR, 1995).

3.7.3 Characteristics of good environmental decisions

How are decisions assessed? Good and bad evaluations are dependent on the perspectives of those affected by the decision. A good decision could lead to a bad outcome, or vice versa, depending on perspective. Criteria for judging the value of a decision or its outcome might include technical credibility or logic, effectiveness, efficiency, durability, and fairness. These criteria all can be measured in the context of the values of those participating in or affected by the decision.

Schweitzer (1997) suggests the following characteristics of 'good' environmental decisions:

1. Efficient balancing of costs and benefits
2. Fairness of outcomes for various groups
3. Scientific and technical soundness
4. Reduction of adverse environmental impacts
5. Protection of human health
6. Technical and political durability
7. Flexibility
8. Wide acceptance by the public as legitimate
9. Legal defensibility
10. Consistency with subsequent final decision
These characteristics of good environmental decisions will be used as part of the social sustainability indicator table that is being created as the framework of reference for this study.

Figure 3.6 represents decision-aiding tools. This can be used to arrive at good environmental decisions. The purpose of using these eight categories of decision-aiding tools is to help one arrive at an effective and balanced decision by collecting and analyzing information systematically. Information gathered using tools within one category could be integrated with information obtained at other points in the process. In this way, tentative decisions can be modified early on, as more information is acquired.

**Figure 3.6: Illustrating decision-aiding tools (Adapted from NCEDR, 2000)**

There are many processes that can bring about good environmental decisions. It is posited here within the context of this study that in order to arrive at good
environmental decisions, measures of good urban governance, empowering public participation and appropriate environmental partnerships have to form. All of these processes together will contribute to sustainable development.

3.8 Conclusion
Using secondary data sources this literature review has provided a conceptual framework within which to research environmental decision-making in the Urban Renewal Programme in Warwick Junction.

The first section identifies the conceptual nature of sustainable development and the principles underpinning it. Sustainable development is defined as development that meets the needs of present generations without compromising the needs of future generations. Local agenda 21 which informed the sustainable planning practices in South Africa was also explained and elaborated on. This is an important tool used to achieve sustainable development. The concept of sustainability is also defined and described. It is seen as a pathway leading to sustainable development. A vital aspect of strong sustainability is its focus on equity, social justice, community participation and empowerment. This formed the foundation in which to discuss applicable theories of good urban governance, public participation, environmental decision-making and environmental partnerships. All of these theories emphasise the importance of and benefits from adequate engagement with stakeholders. The following literature was used to form a set of social sustainability indicators that will be used to interpret the data.

Good urban governance as explained in section 3.3 formed the first part of the conceptual framework for this study.

Good urban governance is linked with the welfare of the citizenry. It should allow men and women to enjoy and have access to the benefits of urban citizenship being adequate shelter, security of tenure, safe water, sanitation, a clean environment, health education and nutrition.

It was essential for this study to identify indicators or characteristics of good urban governance and this was presented in section 3.3. The following table as presented in section 3.3 provides the characteristics of good urban governance. These
characteristics form the first set of social sustainability indicators that will be used in the analysis of this study.

**Table 3.1 The Characteristics of Good Urban Governance (UN-HABITAT, 2002 and GDRC, 2002)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD URBAN GOVERNANCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sustainability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Civic engagement and citizenship</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Equity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Effectiveness and Efficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Transparency and Accountability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Subsidiarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Security</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

This section in the literature goes further to identify ways of achieving these characteristics of good urban governance.

Meaningful public participation upholds many of the characteristics of good urban governance by ensuring that interested and affected parties are actively involved in the decision-making process. There are numerous definitions of this concept as many practitioners in the field dismiss the importance of meaningful participation. The definition can also vary depending on the context. The definition used within the context of this study is accepted as “a mechanism by which the public is not only heard before the decision, but has an opportunity to influence the decision from the beginning to the end of the decision-making process” Creighton (1993, as cited in Glavovic et al., 200:20). This section also dispels with some myths surrounding this concept and goes on to explain Arnstein’s ladder of participation (1969). This ladder that describes the different degrees of participation is similar to the different forms and functions of participation as explained by White (1996). However, the conceptual framework that will be used, as the second set of sustainability indicators will be the four forms of participation presented by White (1996), as Arnstein’s ladder is shown to have shortcomings. The following table represents the four forms of participation that will be used to analyse the type of public participation that is taking place for this study.
Table 3.2 Interests in Participation (Source: after White, 1996:8 in Freeman, 2000:35)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominal</td>
<td>Legitimation and inclusion with the main function of display</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Government funding for infrastructure and services reduced leading to public involvement for efficiency and cost sake, in order to instrumentally achieve a local facility or service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative</td>
<td>Public ensured a voice to provide sustainability and support, and where people are able to express their own interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transformative</td>
<td>Empowerment takes place, where the public have the practical experience of being involved in considering options, making decisions and taking collective action to fight injustice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ideal form of participation is transformative as it results in the empowerment of people. The concept of ‘empowerment’ is unraveled here in order to reveal its importance in contributing towards proper environmental decision-making. The definition of empowerment by the World Bank (2002) which follows is the accepted definition: “the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives.” Many models of empowerment exist, however it is important to rather create outcomes of empowerment as explained by Barr (1995). His outcome measures of empowerment are finally presented and are summarized in table 3.3. These measures form the third set of social sustainability indicators that will be used for this study.

Section 3.6 of this chapter presents a brief understanding of environmental partnerships. The way in which these partnerships form together with the type of partnerships that form are outlined here to show the value of partnership formation and its contribution towards attaining proper environmental decision-making and ultimately sustainable development. Environmental partnerships can be defined as a “constructive and voluntary collaboration among different stakeholders in environmental protection and natural resource management” (Long and Arnold, 1995:5).
The involvement of stakeholders in all forms of public participation results in various decisions being taken surrounding a particular problem. Now meaningful public participation can lead to fair and equitable environmental decision-making. Section 3.7 provided definitions and meanings of this theory as well as a figure illustrating decision-aiding tools. “Environmental decision-making refers to the many processes of consideration that affect the capacity of the environment to provide for human needs and desires”(NCEDR, 1997). It is important to provide characteristics of good environmental decisions. Schweitzer’s characteristics of good environmental decisions that form the fifth and final set of social sustainability indicators is presented in section 3.7 and is as follows:
Table 3.5 Good Environmental Decisions (Schweitzer, 1997)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOOD ENVIRONMENTAL DECISIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Efficient balancing of costs and benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fairness of outcomes for various groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Scientific and technical soundness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Reduction of adverse environmental impacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Protection of human health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Technical and political durability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Flexibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Wide acceptance by the public as legitimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Legal defensibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Consistency with subsequent final decision</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It follows that good urban governance, proper public participation, empowerment, environmental partnerships and good environmental decision-making form the conceptual framework for this study and thus will be used as the foundation on which this study will be built. The following table 3.7 represents a summary of the concepts that will be used as part of the research to meet the aim of this study.

Figure 3.7 Conceptual Framework for the Study.

The following table of social sustainability indicators has been constructed by combining the criteria derived from the five theoretical frameworks reviewed in this chapter. Each framework has provided a set of social sustainability indicators as a
theme within the table. Table 3.7 will be used as a tool to evaluate the environmental decision-making process in Warwick Junction.

Table 3.6 Social Sustainability Indicators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEME A: CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD URBAN GOVERNANCE</th>
<th>Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sustainability</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Civic engagement and citizenship</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Equity</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Effectiveness and Efficiency</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Transparency and Accountability</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Subsidiarity</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Security</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEME B: FORMS OF PARTICIPATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. Nominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Transformative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEME C: OUTCOME MEASURES OF EMPOWERMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12. Strong Community-Controlled Institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Those institutions must have real influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Increased direct control of local resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Power structures genuinely open to influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Equity is a demonstrably central principle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Material gains achieved for disadvantaged people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Strong but accountable and representative local leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Professionals reflect values of empowerment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Equal opportunities principles for oppressed minorities are upheld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Decentralisation and democratisation of services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Personal development of citizens</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### THEME D: TYPES OF PARTNERSHIPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Partnership Type</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23. Preemptive partnerships</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Coalescing partnerships</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Exploration partnerships</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Leverage partnerships</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### THEME E: GOOD ENVIRONMENTAL DECISIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision Type</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27. Efficient balancing of costs and benefits</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Fairness of outcomes for various groups</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Scientific and technical soundness</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Reduction of adverse environmental impacts</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Protection of human health</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Technical and political durability</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Flexibility</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Wide acceptance by the public as legitimate</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Legal defensibility</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Consistency with subsequent final decision</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SCORE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MT</th>
<th>BHC</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>BP</th>
<th>MC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muthi Traders</td>
<td>Bovine Head</td>
<td>Playground Facility</td>
<td>Badsha Shelter</td>
<td>Peer Mealie Facility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market</td>
<td>Cookers Facility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following chapter presents the qualitative methodology that has been employed to analyse environmental decision-making for the Urban Renewal Programme in Warwick Junction.
4.1 Introduction
The research process used in the collection and analysis of environmental governance and environmental decision-making procedures in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme is described. A description of the qualitative methodology used is presented in order to facilitate the replication of the study by others.

The first section outlines the sources of data for the study. Primary data consisted of focus groups and semi-structured interviews. Secondary data such as books, documents and journals were utilised. The second section of the chapter relates to the qualitative methodology that was employed for the study. A table is presented comparing qualitative with quantitative methodology.

Intensive research is explained in section 4.3 followed by the non-probability sampling methods used for this study in section 4.4. The data collection techniques of semi-structured interviews and focus groups are described in section 4.5. The style of the interview schedules used is explained in section 4.6.

The methods of data interpretation are explained in section 4.7. This section outlines the techniques used to uncover themes from the literature review, the formulation of a set of social sustainability indicators based on a summary of various theories and the analysis of documentary data. This information was used to formulate questions for the interview schedule. The sampled projects were ranked according to the set of social sustainability indicators and thereafter discussed in rank order in chapter five.

Section 4.8 and 4.9 relate to the limitations of qualitative research in relation to the study and the conclusion respectively.

4.2 Data Sources
4.2.1 Primary data
Both primary and secondary data were collected in order to achieve the aim of this study. Qualitative primary data was obtained from focus groups and interviews held
with community members that were specifically involved in the five projects identified for this study. Community members involved in the Muthi Traders Market, the Badsha Peer Shelter and the Bovine Head Cookers Projects were interviewed using focus groups. One-on-one interviews were conducted with the councillor involved in the Playground Facility Project and with a representative of the Mealie Cookers. Data was also obtained from interviews held with key city officials.

Demographic primary data collected describes the demographic profile of respondents interviewed.

4.2.2 Secondary Data
Secondary data derived from journals, books, articles, newspapers and documents provided information for the background to the study and the literature review. The history of Warwick Junction and theoretical concepts related to good urban governance, sustainable development, transformative public participation, environmental decision-making and environmental partnerships were derived from secondary sources. These data subsequently formed the foundation for the background in Chapter 2, and the theoretical frameworks for the literature review in Chapter 3.

4.3 Qualitative Research
The data generated for this study as well as the sample size were not considered amenable to quantification which involves decisions made 'with the coldness of a steel rule' and positivistic physical science (Leedy, 1993:142). Rather a qualitative approach was adopted and considered more appropriate since, "qualitative techniques involve descriptions of people’s representations and constructions of what is occurring in their world" (Eyles, 1988 in Robinson, 1998:409). As the focus of this study is on environmental decision-making processes, public participation, environmental partnerships and urban governance, and involve intentionality, rationality and reflexivity which are characteristics of human action, positivistic physical science was deemed inappropriate for this research. A table comparing a qualitative approach which was chosen for this research with a quantitative approach is presented. Table 4.1 will be used to justify the selection of the qualitative approach by showing the purpose for which the approach was taken.
Table 4.1 Differences between qualitative and quantitative research (Adapted from Visser: 1998)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualitative Research</th>
<th>Quantitative Research</th>
<th>Purpose of Adopting Qualitative Approach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. An inductive form of reasoning that develops concepts, insights and understanding from patterns in the data is used.</td>
<td>A deductive form of reasoning that collects data to assess preconceived models, hypotheses and theories is used.</td>
<td>Concepts, insights and understanding derived from primary data revealed the processes of decision-making. Therefore this research had to be inductive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Meaning was derived from the subjects perspective.</td>
<td>Meaning is determined by the researcher.</td>
<td>Fairness in the decision-making procedure was determined by the subjects (respondents) themselves and not the researcher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Aims to understand the meaning that people attach to everyday life</td>
<td>Aims to objectively measure the social world, to test hypotheses, and to predict and control human behaviour.</td>
<td>There was no hypothesis needed for this study as it aims to understand and not test the meanings that the communities in Warwick Junction attach to their livelihoods and environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Reality is regarded as subjective</td>
<td>Reality is seen as objective</td>
<td>The results of the research are derived from the subject's picture of reality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Meaning is captured and discovered once the researcher is engrossed in the data</td>
<td>Tests hypotheses that the researcher starts off with.</td>
<td>Measures of good governance, forms of participation, good or bad decisions, types of partnerships and outcome measures of empowerment could only be established once the researcher was immersed in the data.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Concepts are in the form of themes, motifs and categories.</td>
<td>Concepts are in the form of distinct variables.</td>
<td>The concepts were categorised into themes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Aims to understand phenomena.</td>
<td>Aims to control phenomena.</td>
<td>There were no attempts to control phenomena, as the aim of the study was to assess and understand the environmental decision-making procedures that were already present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Data are presented in the</td>
<td>Data are presented in the</td>
<td>The results gained from the interviews are</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. The design of the research is flexible and is an evolving process. There are no rigid steps that could be followed and can therefore not be exactly replicated.

10. Data are analysed by the extraction of themes.

11. The unit of analysis is holistic, concentrating on the relationships between elements, contexts. The whole is always more than the sum.

### 4.4 Intensive research

The study employed an intensive research design. This type of research consists of "trying to determine the processes and conditions both necessary and contingent that underlie the production of certain events or objects by studying individuals in their contexts, using qualitative methodologies such as interactive interviews and ethnography" (Cloke et al, 1992 in Kitchin and Tate, 2000). It was appropriate to undertake intensive research when conducting this study as extensive research focuses on trying to determine the generality or commonality of characteristics and processes in relation to a wider population using quantitative methodologies such as questionnaires. Intensive research investigates how causal processes work out in a limited number of cases, and permits detailed study of individuals in their own causal context, in order to establish connections between the necessary and contingent variables (Sayer, 1992).
This study seeks to determine the involvement of people in environmental decision-making processes and therefore it was necessary to understand people’s life experiences and determine both processes and conditions that underlie their involvement. Intensive research was therefore deemed appropriate for this study.

4.5 Sampling Methodology

There are both probability and non-probability sampling that can be employed when doing research. Non-probability sampling which is the preferred method for this study is a type of sample “in which the investigator does not know the probability of each population elements being included in that sample” (Sullivan, 2001: 205). There are many uses of this type of sampling. Purposive non-probability will also be elaborated on further. This will be followed by a table presenting the number of respondents that were chosen purposively for focus group and semi-structured interviews.

Non-probability sampling has some important uses. According to Sullivan (2001), “they are especially useful when the goal of the research is to see whether there is a relationship between independent and dependent variables and there is no intent to generalize the results beyond the sample to a larger population.”

Purposive, convenience and quota sampling are examples of non-probability sampling. The first type (purposive) was considered appropriate for this study as a purposive “sample represents the selection of ‘typical individuals’, more usually known as the case study approach in which for example, a ‘typical’ place is selected for study because it is believed to possess particular characteristics” (Robinson, 1998:214). Sullivan (2001) further explains that purposive or judgmental sampling, “involves selecting elements for the sample that the researchers judgement and prior knowledge suggests will best serve the purposes of the study and provide best information.”

In Warwick Junction respondents for the focus group interviews and the semi-structured interviews were chosen purposively as specific individuals that were involved in or affected by the five projects identified. Therefore the respondents selected had to meet the criteria of being involved in or affected by either of the five projects identified namely the Muthi Traders Market, the Bovine Head Cookers
Facility, the Badsha Peer Shelter, the Playground Facility or the Mealie Cookers Facility.

Focus group interviews which draw upon respondents' attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experiences and reactions in a way which would not be feasible using other methods were held with community members involved in or affected by the Muthi Traders Market, Bovine Head Cookers Facility and the Badsha Peer Shelter. One other focus group interview was scheduled with community members involved with the Mealie Cookers Facility. Due to mealies being out of season and the activity of this group in recession, a face-to-face interview was held with one representative of the Mealie Cookers. A semi-structured interview was also conducted with one community member relating to the Playground Facility. Two pilot interviews were held with the Urban Renewal Programme leader Richard Dobson and the public relations officer prior to any research being carried out. This was done to inform the Urban Renewal Team of the intended focus of the study and to establish and identify relevant individuals that should be interviewed and various area leaders who could assist in putting together the focus groups.

The following table 4.2 represents the number of people interviewed for each project.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROJECT</th>
<th>INTERVIEW TYPE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muthi Traders Market</td>
<td>Focus Group</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Semi-Structured Interview</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mealie Cookers Facility</td>
<td>Semi-Structured Interview</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badsha Peer Shelter</td>
<td>Focus Group</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Semi-structured Interview</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playground Facility</td>
<td>Semi-structured interview</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bovine-Head Cooker Facility</td>
<td>Focus Group Interview</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Renewal Programme</td>
<td>Semi-structured Interview</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.6 Data Collection Techniques

4.6.1 Introduction

Two techniques were employed for the collection of qualitative data, namely focus group interviews and semi-structured interviews. Focus group interviews draw upon respondents' attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experiences and reactions in a way that would not be feasible using other methods. These were held with community members involved or affected by the five projects chosen for this study. In order to support the qualitative methodology employed in this study, semi-structured interviews that lie between formal interviews and informal surveys were conducted with city officials and two community members.

4.6.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

This type of interview has a structure but is flexible and fairly conversational allowing the interviewer to be free to probe, rephrase questions or use the questions in whatever order best fits that particular interview (Sullivan, 2001).

Guidelines to Follow for Semi-Structured Interviews

According to Arnson and Faber (2003) there are several guidelines to follow when conducting this type of interview and they are as follows:

1. One needs to beware of one's own predisposition about the subject under study. This entails self-awareness so that the interviewer does not focus on personal views and interests.

2. "Engage the interviewee in the validation of your notes" (Arnson, Farber, 2003:1). It is necessary here for the interviewer to clarify their notes. Note taking is essential when conducting any interview.

3. Seek disconfirming evidence of your initial impressions. Recognizing themes that are prevalent throughout the interview process can do this. It is important to do this so that interviewer bias is eliminated.

4. Engage in note-taking skills in order to place minimal burden on your memory. It is important to do this so as to have the utmost understanding of the notes as possible. In order to make good use of these notes for analysis later on a review of the notes straight after the interview is required.
These guidelines were accomplished when interviewing respondents by engaging with them in an unbiased manner. Conversation was always steered in the direction of the themes identified such as partnership formation. Notes were taken when speaking to respondents as well as being recorded on a Dictaphone to ensure that everything said was captured. Repeating what the interviewee said if clarity or confirmation was needed was a method used to validate the notes. A review of the notes for the interview was done in order to understand their meaning. For example when Raj Hooplall was asked the question on whether he imparted any skills to the cookers a note was made on the passion with which he answered the question. Therefore notes taken captured the emotions with which the questions were answered which could not be captured by using just the dictaphone.

Open-Ended Questions in a Semi-Structured Interview:

"In a semi-structured interview, open-ended questions provide the interviewer with greater freedom and less restriction" (Kadushin, 1990 in Arnson and Faber 2003:1).

There are many advantages as well as disadvantages of open-ended questions. The advantages are as follows:

1. This type of question allows the participant to answer in his or her own words. In this way the respondent feels as though he/she is partly in control of the interview.

2. "By asking open-ended questions, the interviewer portrays his genuine interest in what the participant has to say regarding the topic of study" (Arnson and Faber, 2003:1)

3. It allows the respondent to introduce relevant information, new ideas and concepts that the interviewer might have overlooked. Open-ended questions are more likely than closed-ended questions, which are used in quantitative analysis, to provide, "information about the interviewee’s feelings and intensity of feeling and are more likely to provide information about the interviewee’s explanation of his attitudes and behaviours" (Kadushin, 1990: 184).

4. This type of question also gives the respondent a sense of individuality. This allows the respondents to be free to express their story in their own way.
This was true in the case of the interview held with the programme leader Richard Dobson. He brought up the topic of the community/family atmosphere in Warwick Junction that was not thought of as being relevant to the study when asked the question “What are the best things about the environment here in Warwick Junction?” This allowed the interviewer to further pursue this topic. In many other instances, the structure of the interview schedule allowed for flexibility.

The disadvantages of open-ended questions are as follows:

1. They tend to be of an ambiguous nature. “This could pose a problem when the interviewer interprets the response in a different way as intended by the respondent. For this reason as stated above, it is important to validate the notes that have been taken.

2. Open-ended questions could also be threatening to the inexperienced interviewer. The questions posed in semi-structured interviews could provide little structure for an inexperienced interviewer.

These disadvantages were overcome by understanding the themes identified for the study and by guiding responses around these themes as far as possible.

For the purpose of this study semi-structured interviews were administered to project leaders, city officials and community members. This type of interview structure was adopted as it allowed flexibility whilst having a set style of questions required to elicit specific information required to meet the aims and objectives of the study.

An interview schedule was drawn up prior to the interviews. This was based on themes raised in the literature review (refer to Appendix 1). This schedule was made up of a mixture of closed-ended questions and open-ended questions, which “on the one hand demanded some very specific short responses, and on the other extended informal conversations” (Robinson, 1998:384-385). This interview schedule or guide helps an interviewer meet his/her objectives. These guides can also be modified over time if several interviews are being carried out so that account is taken of respondents raising their own issues for discussion (Burgess, 1992 in Robinson 1998). The use of a rigid interview guide would be more useful in more formalised interviews or where the respondents have a tight time budget.
Owing to the nature of the study, a less formal approach was taken with members of the community of Warwick Junction, as this was deemed most appropriate. This allowed room for elaboration by respondents on certain topics and this in turn allowed for 'thick description' which is necessary for qualitative research.

Section 1 of the interview schedule dealt with questions related to the understanding of the word environment while section 2 asked questions relating to the purpose of the projects that the respondent was involved in. Sections 3 through to 7 aimed at arriving at answers relating to identified themes for this study which are urban governance, public participation, empowerment practices, environmental decision-making and environmental partnerships.

Closed-ended questions were used at the end of the interview to categorise the demographics of the respondent. This primary demographic data was used to provide a description of the demographic characteristics of interview respondents.

Meetings for the purpose of conducting these interviews were set up with the assistance of the project leader Richard Dobson and the public relations officer (PRO) Nonhlanhla Nyandeni at the Urban Renewal Programme Centre. An outline of the study including the aims and objectives was provided to the PRO who in turn used this information to inform the identified respondents of the nature and purpose of the study before each interview. Interviews were held with respondents at their places of work and took between one hour to one and a half hours to complete. An interpreter was used when interviewing the respondent involved in the Mealie Cookers Facility.

4.6.3 Focus Group Interviews
A focus group interview could be described as a purposive discussion of a specific topic or related topics taking place between eight to ten individuals with a similar background and common interests (Gibbs 1998: 1). In order to gain an understanding of the community’s participation in environmental decision-making in Warwick Junction in its entirety, it was considered appropriate to use the data collection technique of focus group interviews.
This technique falls under the category of depth interviewing. “Although the interviewer guides the discussion enough to focus on the topic of interest, the depth interview provides enough freedom for respondents to steer the conversation, for example, to bring in all sorts of tangential matters which, for them, have bearing on the main subject” (Hakim in Robinson 1998:417).

Focus groups are a form of group interviewing however it is important to distinguish between the two. Group interviewing involves interviewing a number of people at the same time, with the emphasis being on questions and responses between the researcher and participants. Focus groups however rely on interaction within the group based on topics that are supplied by the researcher. Therefore the key characteristic that distinguishes focus groups is the insight and data produced by the interaction between participants.

Focus group interviews have a very distinctive set of characteristics and they are as follows

1. They involve a small group of people usually about 8 to 10.
2. The group is made up of homogenous but not too familiar members.
3. Focus group interviews represent a data-gathering method where the data that is generated relate to peoples and participants perceptions of phenomena, products and services (Gibbs, 1997:5).
4. Data that is generated from focus groups is qualitative as it is in the form of words, categories, and expressions that are used by the participants themselves. The findings from the study are elicited through the use of open-ended questions and this allows for the respondent to answer freely and could “therefore be referred to as a blank page to be filled in by the interviewee” (Krueger, 1998).
5. Focus group interviews are a focused discussion. The conversation in focus groups has clear agendas and a defined focus with predetermined topics that are sequenced in an understandable and logical way.
Advantages and Disadvantages of Focus Groups

1. Kitzinger (1994) argues that interaction is the crucial feature of focus groups because the interaction between participants highlights their view of the world, the language they use about an issue and their values and beliefs about a situation. Interaction also enables participants to ask questions of each other, as well as to re-evaluate and reconsider their own understandings of their specific experiences.

2. The benefits to respondents in focus group research should not be underestimated. The opportunity to be involved in decision making processes, to be valued as experts, and to be given the chance to work collaboratively with researchers can be empowering for many respondents (Goss and Leinbach, 1996 in Gibbs, 1998).

3. Another advantage of focus groups to participants is that they can become a forum for change, both during the focus group meeting itself and afterwards.

In the three focus groups that were conducted it was evident that through interaction, respondents were able to ask questions of each other and clarify their own understandings of particular experiences. It was made clear at the beginning of each focus group that their input will be used to make the Urban Renewal Programme team aware of how the community feel about their involvement in the decision-making process. By saying this, the focus groups became a tool of empowerment and therefore most members were eager to respond to questions. Suffice to say that there were one or two respondents who had to be motivated to speak.

Although focus group interviews have many advantages, there are limitations.

1. The researcher, or moderator, for example, has less control over the data produced (Morgan, 1988) than in either quantitative studies or one-to-one interviewing. The moderator has to allow respondents to talk to each other, ask questions and express doubts and opinions, while having very little control over the interaction other than generally keeping participants focused on the topic. By its nature focus group research is open-ended and cannot be entirely predetermined.
2. On a practical note, focus groups can be difficult to assemble. It may not be easy to get a representative sample and focus groups may discourage certain people from participating, for example those who are not very articulate or confident, and those who have communication problems or special needs.

3. Focus groups are not fully confidential or anonymous, because the material is shared with the others in the group.

4. Finally the issue of time plays a big role in securing an interview.

These limitations were overcome as far as possible in the following ways. Respondents in the focus group interviews conducted in Warwick Junction were allowed to speak to each other to allow for clarity on questions as well as to allow for conversation between respondents in order to elicit better responses. Focus groups were not difficult to assemble as community members were willing, once motivated to participate in the research. A focus group interview with the Mealie Cookers however had to be cancelled due to the unavailability of any cookers as they operate in the summer season only and interviews were conducted before this. The community members in Warwick Junction were apprehensive at first to respond to an invitation to participate in a focus group. There were various reasons for this. Firstly they feel that they have been ‘over-researched’. Researchers are constantly conducting studies in the area, and leave the respondents with nothing but time wasted that could have been spent plying their trade. All the community members interviewed were traders in the area, and therefore convenient times had to be established before infringing on their time that is extremely valuable to them.

The Focus Group Interview Organisation

Once a meeting has been arranged, the role of the researcher or group facilitator becomes critical, especially in terms of providing clear explanations of the purpose of the group, helping people feel at ease, and facilitating interaction between group members. During the meeting the researcher will need to promote debate, perhaps by asking open questions.

"They may also need to challenge participants, especially to draw out people’s differences, and tease out a diverse range of meanings on the topic under discussion."
Sometimes moderators will need to probe for details, or move things forward when the conversation is drifting or has reached a minor conclusion" (Gibbs, 1997:10).

1. The session needs to be kept focused. Everyone in the group must also be allowed to participate and get a chance to speak.

2. Researchers are encouraged not to show too much approval (Kreuger 1988 in Gibbs, 1997), so as to avoid favouring particular participants. They must avoid giving personal opinions so as not to influence participants towards any particular position or opinion.

3. The role of the researcher is a demanding and challenging one, and moderators will need to possess good interpersonal skills and personal qualities, being good listeners, non-judgmental and adaptable (Gibbs, 1997:10). These qualities will promote the participants' trust in the moderator and increase the likelihood of open, interactive dialogue.

These guidelines allowed the researcher to assemble and conduct smooth running focus group interviews. Through the interpreter, it was made clear right at the outset of each focus group interview in Warwick Junction that everyone must not be afraid to express his or her feelings. Probing questions were asked when the conversation seemed to abate. For example, “Tell me a little bit more about the best things about the environment in Warwick Junction.” It was also necessary to keep respondents focused on the relevant topics, and this proved to be slightly difficult as respondents were Zulu-speaking and could only be redirected to the question once the interpreter translated their speech. However this was not difficult to overcome. There were also times when one or two of the respondents were not speaking as a few others were dominating the conversation. This was overcome by asking each respondent to answer each question. In order to elicit responses from participants it was important to develop proper interpersonal skills in the community of Warwick Junction where trust is not easily gained from the community.

The facilitation process meetings were arranged as shown in Table 4.3.
Table 4.3 Facilitation Process Meetings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Venue</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bovine Head Cookers</td>
<td>21/08/02</td>
<td>11:00 am</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warwick Junction Centre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badsha Peer</td>
<td>21/08/02</td>
<td>2:00 pm</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist Centre (Warwick Junction)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muthi Traders</td>
<td>26/02</td>
<td>10:00 am</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muthi Traders Market (Warwick Junction)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ethical issues when conducting Focus Group Interviews

“Ethical considerations for focus groups are the same as for most other methods of social research” (Homan 1991 in Gibbs, 1997). For example, when selecting and involving respondents, researchers must ensure that full information about the purpose and uses of the respondents’ contributions is given. An explicit attempt was made to fulfill this requirement.

Being honest and keeping participants informed about the expectations of the group and topic, and not pressurising participants to speak is good practice. A particular ethical issue to consider in the case of focus groups is the handling of sensitive material and confidentiality given that there will always be more than one participant in the group. At the outset researchers will need to clarify that each respondents contributions will be shared with the others in the group as well as with the researcher.

An outline of the research objectives for the study was presented to the area-leaders in Warwick Junction during a meeting with the Programme leader and the public relations officer. They in turn relayed this information to the prospective respondents. This was the only channel of communication that could be used with the community of Warwick Junction. The purpose of the study together with how it would benefit respondents was reiterated at the outset of each focus group interview. At the beginning of the study it was made clear that the responses from the interview will not be misused. It was necessary to assure the respondents that their responses will not be misused in any way. A copy of the cassette onto which the interviews were taped was
therefore presented to each group so as to ensure the integrity of the process. A feedback session has also been planned with the project team and the community members involved in the study. This is planned to take place in February 2004.

Three focus groups were held with community members in Warwick Junction that were affected by the following projects: The Bovine Head Cookers Facility, The Muthi Traders Market and the Badsha Peer Shelter.

4.7 Data Interpretation
This section involves a description of the methods used in the examination of supporting documentation such as reports, as well as data gathered in the semi-structured interviews and focus groups.

Data gathered was categorised into various themes that were identified and derived from the literature review. According to Kitchin and Tate (2000) it is important to have a well developed set of criteria for placing data into different categories and this does not mean that all categories must be mutually exclusive- in some cases the same data can belong to more than one category. Robinson (1998) provides a useful guide to the interpretation of qualitative data which he states requires: reading, creating categories or themes; and then interpreting information with regard to a framework or typology, so that there is greater understanding of events and actions. These criteria must be conceptually and empirically grounded. Therefore even though the criteria should relate to the overall focus of analysis, it should also have some empirical basis. These criteria should relate to each other in meaningful ways. The criteria identified via the literature review in this study for interpreting the data are as follows:

1. Characteristics of Good Urban Governance
2. Forms and Functions of Participation
3. Outcome measures of Empowerment
4. Types of Environmental Partnerships
5. Good Environmental Decisions

Each of the criteria above has a set of indicators that allow for the measurement of the criteria. Each criterion and its indicators are presented as a table (see Table 3.1). Therefore each project was ranked according to the indicators identified for each
criterion. The social sustainability indicator table with the ranking of each project is presented in chapter five.

The first criterion of good urban governance was constructed from the literature review in Chapter three. The indicators of good urban governance which are:

1. Sustainability,
2. Civic engagement and citizenship,
3. Equity, effectiveness and efficiency,
4. Transparency and accountability,
5. Subsidiarity and security

These were used to measure the kind of governance that is being practiced by the Urban Renewal Programme Team. If a project for example displayed sustainability then it received 1 point and so forth. The assessment here is the presence or absence of these indicators.

Secondly the different forms and functions of public participation as well as outcome measures of empowerment were generated from the literature review in Chapter three and used as part of the framework constructed to analyse the data. This was done to evaluate the level of participation of interested and affected parties in the five projects identified as well as the level of empowerment. The indicators used to measure participation are nominal, instrumental, representative and transformative participation. These indicators were ranked from 1 to 4, as participation is weakest when it is nominal and strongest when it is transformative. Therefore for example the Muthi Traders Market displayed transformative participation and therefore accrued 4 points.

Thirdly the indicators identified for the criteria of empowerment are:

1. Strong community-controlled Institutions
2. Increased direct control of local resources
3. Power structures genuinely open to influence
4. Equity is a demonstrable central principle
5. Material gains achieved for disadvantaged people
6. Strong but accountable and representative local leadership
7. Professionals reflect values of empowerment
8. Equal opportunities principles for oppressed minorities are upheld
9. Decentralisation and democratisation of services
10. Personal development of citizens

The assessment in this case is whether these outcomes of empowerment were present or absent in the five projects.

Fourthly, a table was constructed from the literature to identify four different types of environmental partnerships. Preemptive, coalescing, exploration and leverage environmental partnerships were the indicators used to identify the types of partnerships that have formed in the course of the five projects identified for this study. Preemptive partnerships represent the weakest type of environmental partnerships and leverage partnerships represent the strongest type of environmental partnerships. Therefore these indicators were rated 1 to 4 respectively.

Lastly, indicators of good environmental decisions were identified from the literature review and relate to:

1. Efficient balancing of costs and benefits
2. Fairness of outcomes for various groups
3. Scientific and technical soundness
4. Reduction of adverse environmental impacts
5. Protection of human health
6. Technical and political durability and flexibility
7. Wide acceptance by the public as legitimate
8. Legal defensibility
9. Consistency with subsequent final decision

These indicators were used to assess the type of environmental decisions that were taken in the five projects identified in the Urban Renewal Programme in Warwick Junction.

These five themes with their indicators were then amalgamated for easy identification and for the purpose of ranking the projects according to each indicator. This set of social sustainability indicators was used to rank the projects so as to determine which project was the most socially sustainable. For three out of the five criteria namely the characteristics of good urban governance, outcome measures of empowerment, and
good environmental decisions, it was only necessary to determine whether the indicators of these criterion were present or absent in the five projects. Therefore the indicators for this criterion had one point each. So for example if the Mealie Cookers project displayed sustainability it received 1 point, if it did not, it then received no points and so forth. For the other two criteria namely form of participation and types of partnerships, it was necessary to score them differently as explained previously.

The project with the highest ranking of environmental decision-making was considered to be the most sustainable project in terms of the decision-making process. Each project is discussed in rank order in chapters five and six. By categorising the data in this way it was easier to establish which project was the most successful. In doing this one can critically evaluate the five projects.

The interpretation of data for this study can be classified as a:

"Form of interpretive induction where the researcher begins with a general theory from which research questions and data needs are identified. As the information is assembled, a more grounded theory is developed that arises out of and is directly relevant to the particular setting for the case study" (Freeman, 2000).

For the purpose of the analysis it was necessary to use qualitative data in the form of quotations from the interviews to qualify and justify the conclusions reached. This involves the interpretation of competing versions different groups have of events. This qualitative method of analysis allows individuals to speak for themselves by including their words in the research report (Freeman, 2000).

4.8 Limitations of Study
As with most qualitative studies, the data collected is susceptible to manipulation by the researcher. Guba and Lincoln (1988) stress that the reputation and the integrity of the writer has to be considered when assessing bias with regard to a study. It is suggested by Guba and Lincoln (1988) that the researcher needs to guard against such bias by getting others who are familiar with the subject matter to check the development and results. A feedback session on completion of this study has already been planned for February 2004 with the Urban Renewal Programme team as an aid
for them to assess their environmental decision-making and public participation procedures.

4.9 Conclusion

The methodology for this study was designed so that the aim of this study could be achieved. The aim is to critically assess environmental decision-making for environmental projects in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme.

Primary and secondary data was drawn together and interpreted for the purpose of this study. The qualitative primary data was gained through semi-structured interviews held with city officials and community members and through three focus groups held with community members affected by the Muthi Traders Market, the Bovine Head Cookers Facility and the Badsha Peer Shelter. Secondary data that consisted of various Urban Renewal Programme documents books, journals, papers and theses were reviewed and formed the basis of the theory for this study.

A qualitative methodology was preferred over a quantitative as it was more appropriate considering the small purposive sample of respondents. Qualitative research emphasises intentionality, rationality and reflexivity as characteristics of human action, and therefore positivistic physical science was deemed inappropriate for this research. Intensive research was applied as it sought to understand the underlying causal reasons for human actions.

The data gathering techniques utilized for this study were semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews. Face-to-face semi-structured interviews held with four city officials and two community members were composed of both open-ended questions and closed-ended questions thus allowing for flexibility in the process.

For the interpretation of the data collected, themes were identified from the literature review and used to construct an interview schedule and thereafter a set of social sustainability indicators. This interview guide was styled in such a way as to answer the various research questions. Once the themes relating to good urban governance, forms of participation, outcome measures of empowerment, environmental partnerships and good environmental decisions were identified, a set of social
sustainability indicators were formulated. This set of criteria with their respective indicators was used as a tool to rank the five projects. These were then discussed in rank order. This made it easier to establish why one project was more successful than the other. It was considered appropriate to use a set of social sustainability indicators to rank each project according to criteria that emerged from the literature review. This proved a useful tool of analysis. The ranking of the projects is quantitative but is followed by a qualitative analysis that interrogates the quality of decision-making within each project. This was deemed an intensive and appropriate way of assessing environmental governance and environmental decision-making in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme. It was important to discuss each indicator in relation to each project in order to understand how it contributes to proper environmental decision-making. Due to the similarity between some of the indicators, there is an overlap of the results presented. However this has been kept to a minimum as far as possible.

The limitations to the study itself related to the subjective nature of the research making it open to manipulation by the researcher. The researcher overcame these impediments by ensuring that an objective approach was adopted well. This was also overcome by ensuring that a feedback session be held with the Urban Renewal Programme team on completion of this study in order for them to assess their environmental decision-making and public participation procedures.

This study now goes into the outcomes of the research in Chapter five followed by the conclusion in Chapter six.
CHAPTER FIVE
ENVIRONMENTAL DECISION-MAKING IN THE WARWICK JUNCTION
URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMME

5.1 Introduction
The aim of this study is to critically assess decision-making for environmental projects in the Warwick Junction. In order to achieve this aim, this chapter concentrates on satisfying three key objectives.

1. To determine to what extent the Urban Renewal Team have involved the community and stakeholders of each project in the various decisions made.
2. To determine what types of partnerships have formed to implement each renewal project.
3. To assess what forms of community empowerment have emerged from this process?
4. To evaluate to what extent the environmental decision-making process has been fair and equitable?

In order to assess environmental decision-making in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme, it was necessary to establish criteria that determine good environmental decision-making and ultimately sustainable development. Therefore the table of social sustainability indicators (see table 5.1) that brings together criteria derived from five conceptual frameworks that characterise environmental decision-making will be used to carry out this intensive analysis. This table includes indicators relating to the five themes of good urban governance, public participation, empowerment, environmental partnerships and environmental decision-making.

Supporting evidence for conclusions reached is presented in the form of direct or paraphrased statements from community members, city officials and Urban Renewal Programme leaders.

The table of social sustainability indicators by means of which the projects are ranked are presented in section 5.2 followed by an in-depth analysis based on the themes identified in the indicator table. The set of criteria within each theme is discussed in relation to all of the projects in sections 5.3 through to 5.8. For example the criteria
within the theme of public participation are nominal, instrumental, representative and transformative participation. These criteria are discussed in relation to the five projects. Finally a conclusion to the results is presented in section 5.9.

5.2 Ranking of Environmental Projects
A set of social sustainability indicators was established based on the themes identified for this study which are good urban governance, public participation, empowerment, environmental partnerships and environmental decision-making to evaluate the five projects identified for this study. This is presented in chapter three. These projects namely the Muthi Traders Market (MT), the Bovine Head Cookers Facility (BHC), the Playground Facility (P), the Badsha Peer Shelter (BP) and the Mealie Cookers Facility (MC) have been ranked according to how they satisfy each criterion in the table. The project with highest score is considered to be the most socially sustainable project in terms of the environmental decision-making processes that have occurred. Table 5.1 presents the ranking of the projects. The analysis that follows thereafter on the themes of forms of governance, participation, empowerment strategies, environmental partnerships and environmental decision-making is presented in relation to the five projects.

5.3 Urban Governance in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme
Poor urban governance is “characterised by arbitrary policy-making, unaccountable bureaucracies, unjust legal systems, the abuse of executive power, a civil society not engaged in public life, and widespread corruption” (World Bank, 2002:1). However good urban governance as defined by the World Bank (2002) is “epitomized by predictable, open and enlightened policy-making, a bureaucracy imbued with a professional ethos acting in furtherance of the public good, the rule of law, transparent processes, and a strong civil society participating in public affairs.

The projects analysed all display good urban governance to varying degrees. The voices of the poorest were heard, however a more involved engagement is needed with some of the projects. As represented in Table 5.1 good urban governance is characterised by sustainability, civic engagement and citizenship, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, transparency and accountability, subsidiarity and lastly security (UN-
HABITAT, 2002 and GDRC, 2002). Each of these criteria will be applied to each of the projects to determine the level of governance.

Ranking of Projects

Table 5.1 Social Sustainability Indicators Shown

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEME A: CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD URBAN GOVERNANCE</th>
<th>Points</th>
<th>MT</th>
<th>BHC</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>BP</th>
<th>MC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sustainability</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Civic engagement and citizenship</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Equity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Effectiveness and Efficiency</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Transparency and Accountability</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Subsidiarity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Security</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| THEME B: FORMS OF PARTICIPATION                  |        |    |     | 1 |    |    |
| 8. Nominal                                      |        |    |     |   |    |    |
| 9. Instrumental                                 | 2      |    |     |   |    |    |
| 10. Representative                              | 3      | 3  | 3   | 3 |    |    |
| 11. Transformative                              | 4      |    |     |   |    |    |

| THEME C: OUTCOME MEASURES OF EMPOWERMENT         |        |    |     | 1 |    |    |
| 12. Strong Community-Controlled Institutions    | 1      | 1  | 1   | 1 |    |    |
| 13. Those institutions must have real influence  | 1      | 1  |     | 1 |    |    |
| 14. Increased direct control of local resources  | 1      |    |     |   |    |    |
| 15. Power structures genuinely open to influence | 1      | 1  | 1   | 1 |    |    |
| 16. Equity is a demonstrably central principle   | 1      | 1  | 1   | 1 |    |    |
| 17. Material gains achieved for disadvantaged people | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 18. Strong but accountable and representative local leadership | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 19. Professionals reflect values of empowerment  | 1      | 1  |     | 1 |    |    |
| 20. Equal opportunities principles for oppressed minorities are upheld | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 21. Decentralisation and democratisation of      | 1      | 1  | 1   | 1 |    |    |

92
services
22. Personal development of citizens

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEME D: TYPES OF PARTNERSHIPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23. Preemptive partnerships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Coalescing partnerships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Exploration partnerships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Leverage partnerships</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEME E: GOOD ENVIRONMENTAL DECISIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27. Efficient balancing of costs and benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Fairness of outcomes for various groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Scientific and technical soundness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Reduction of adverse environmental impacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Protection of human health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Technical and political durability</td>
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<tr>
<td>33. Flexibility</td>
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<tr>
<td>34. Wide acceptance by the public as legitimate</td>
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<td>35. Legal defensibility</td>
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<tr>
<td>36. Consistency with subsequent final decision</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>SCORE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
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<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
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**KEY:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MT</th>
<th>BHC</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>BP</th>
<th>MC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muthi</td>
<td>Traders Market</td>
<td>Bovine Head</td>
<td>Playground Facility</td>
<td>Badsha Peer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cookers Facility</td>
<td>Facility</td>
<td>Shelter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mealie Cookers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Facility</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three out of the five projects displayed truly good urban governance. The Mealie Cookers Facility, the Muthi Traders Market and the Badsha Peer Shelter projects all displayed some measure of good urban governance. The Bovine Head Cookers Facility and the Playground Facility Project were not as successful. There are just a few areas in which governance in these two projects can improve, however they are not characteristic of poor governance either. Before going into a detailed discussion about urban governance in relation to the projects, it is necessary to identify key characteristics of the Urban Renewal Programme’s management style that has enabled good urban governance.
The establishment of area-based management for the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme has been instrumental in ensuring good urban governance for the projects identified as well as for the programme on a whole. It has created an atmosphere of trust, transparency and accountability. The Urban Renewal Programme operates from a project centre that is situated on Wills road in Warwick Junction (see appendix 2, plate 9). As discussed in the theoretical chapter, the accountability of local authorities to their citizens is a fundamental tenet of good governance (UN-HABITAT, 2002, GDRC, 2002). This project centre thus facilitates this and promotes interaction between programme leaders, the local residents and traders.

For good urban governance it is also necessary that appointed officials and other civil servant leaders set an example of high standards of professional and personal integrity (UN-HABITAT, 2002, GDRC, 2002). It was evident from interviews held with the various city officials that they are passionate about their tasks at hand (Nyandeni, 19/09/02). They also displayed a work ethic that was commendable and spilled over from programme leaders down to city officials involved in various projects. “Thobias Mkize and those other people you have met spend at least the mornings of Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday basically in community service, no-one’s actually paying them” (Dobson, 19/09/02). Thobias Mkize, a senior environmental health officer with the City Health Department who was instrumental in the implementation of the Muthi Traders Market and the Bovine Head-Cookers Facility devoted much of his time outside of working hours to the community of Warwick Junction (Mkize, 30/08/02). Raj Hooplall, also working for the city health department and specifically involved with Mealie Cookers Facility displayed much enthusiasm for the job that he was tasked with.

“I believe my health education process is not just based on improving the food quality, I believe it goes a lot deeper than that. Its not just health education, I would call it a developmental process, where the skills I would put forward to you are not just health education skills but it’s the improvement of the person. It is the upliftment of the person in its entirety” (Hooplall, 20/08/02).

Richard Dobson, the overall Urban Renewal Programme leader displayed a great deal of commitment towards the role that he plays in the Urban Renewal Programme. There are numerous comments from him and various other city officials that attest to this.
“A lot of my colleagues have been saying ‘listen forget about this Bovine -head cookers’. But I’m resisting that because if we can work through the problem which we don’t fully understand we will actually get a lasting solution to it” (Dobson, 19/09/02).

Nonhlanhla Nyandeni the public relations officer for the Warwick Junction project centre is also very committed to her job. She is known on the streets of Warwick Junction on a first name basis and is well respected by the local traders. This is evidence of her familiarity with the people of Warwick Junction. Members of the Urban Renewal Team have a deep sense of commitment to their duties and to the community of Warwick Junction. The management style of professionals in leadership has created an enabling process for good urban governance in Warwick Junction.

In all spheres of urban development cities must balance the social, economic and environmental needs of present and future generations. Leaders and the public must set a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such development. An understanding of the historical and social complexities in which this perspective is grounded is also needed to ensure sustainability (UN-HABITAT, 2002).

The Mealie Cookers project displayed all the characteristics of good urban governance. It is considered to be a sustainable project because as part of its commitment to the Urban Renewal Programme it has balanced the social, economic and environmental needs of present and future generations in Warwick Junction. The very history of the project provides sufficient information to justify this point. The purpose for Raj Hooplall, a senior environmental health officer joining this project was because “there was a potential for food poisoning in the manner in which food was being prepared and cooked on the streets and sold, so it was a foregone conclusion that I had to do something to improve the conditions” (28/08/02). The Mealie Cooker Facility that was eventually implemented was a recommendation of Raj Hooplall and various other city officials and proved to be a very rewarding project not just for the cookers themselves but also for the city.

“So together with improving the food quality, we also empowered the people to improve their business, and ultimately it was a win-win situation. The city won in that
we did not have filth around the areas where the mealie cooking was actually going on, and the people won in that they were having safe food available, and the traders won in that they were making more money” (Hooplall, 20/08/02).

The Muthi Traders Market has provided a lucrative trade for the people working there. The traders have been moved to a place that is far more conducive for them to sell their herbal medicine. The site that they are now located in is also beneficial to the city in that it is more hygienic and aesthetically pleasing compared to the previous pavements that they were located on (Mkize, 30/08/02).

Adequate consultation was held with the traders. They had the opportunity to voice their opposition against a proposed site that was put forward by the municipality and were consequently allocated a site that they preferred. Suffice to say that the traders themselves had a lot of complaints about the place.

The main complaint from all seven respondents was that the market was not a proper market and that it was used as a thoroughfare for pedestrians, yet they (the traders) had to pay rent to use the place (Respondent A, B, C, D, E, F 26/08/02). It was their perceptions that the city did not value the medicine (Muthi) that they were preparing enough to build their market like a proper market where the only purpose for it was to sell Muthi.

It is important to weigh the complaints of these traders against the benefits that they now have plying their trade in this location than in the previous areas throughout which they were scattered. When the municipality put forward proposed plans to relocate the traders to a market just outside of the city, they cried out. “We didn’t want to be away from our established customers some from Cape Town and some from Johannesburg” (Respondent B, 26/08/02). As a result of these complaints, the traders were relocated to an old disused section of a highway that was also used as a thoroughfare for pedestrians. When respondents were asked if they were able to work more successfully here than in any other place one respondent stated, “If we had to go to any other place, we would not have been so successful, as we would have lost our customers” (26/08/02). All respondents agreed with this answer.
Therefore it can be concluded that this project is sustainable in that adequate consultation was held with affected communities. The environmental and economic needs of all stakeholders were met in that a far more aesthetically pleasing and hygienic site was built which promoted the trade of the traditional healers despite their many complaints. It is also effective and efficient as a Muthi Traders Market.

The Badsha Peer Shelter is a project that was started by the Muslim community in Warwick Junction. It is seen as a very beneficial project not only to the Muslim community but also to the traders and the city. The Brook Street fruit and vegetable sellers were provided with a shelter over their trading spot and in return have to move out of that area once a year for the Muslim community to celebrate their cultural event. The city benefited in that the traders operational area received a shelter, and was designed to become aesthetically pleasing. The shelter is regarded as being sustainable however, the traders feel that they were not adequately consulted and felt that the Municipality and the Muslim community put forward these plans and only then consulted with them regarding the shelter. As one trader who sells cosmetics states:

"Let me say that the management board meets and the development task team and it is presented to them. Then they meet Mr. Nkomo from development and then we, the committee is informed about the plan. They do not discuss it with us like sit down for twenty or thirty minutes to discuss the plan" (Respondent BA, 30/08/02).

When asked if they were happy with the resultant shelter however, most respondents stated that they are happy with it even though they were not informed about it.

In order to achieve sustainability, there must be an understanding of the historical, cultural and social complexities. Therefore, the Urban Renewal Team needed to look at the interests of all the stakeholders involved. The Muslim community needed this shelter to facilitate the annual cultural event that they celebrate, and they offered to finance the construction of the shelter. The Brook Street Traders would never have had any shelter above their place of trade if it were not for the Muslim community’s offer to finance the shelter.

Therefore the Urban Renewal Team saw this project as an opportunity to benefit two groups of stakeholders, the Muslim community and the traders. According to the
Urban Renewal Programme leader Richard Dobson, “this is a long-standing cultural event that was not only cultural, it has religious values attached to it as well and is very bankable in terms of what it represents” (19/09/03). Owing to these conclusions, this project was considered to be sustainable in terms of governance.

The construction of the playground brought with it many political confrontations and personal conflict. It was left to two parties to decide on where to locate this much needed facility for the local children in the area. According to Richard Dobson this project was “one of the very overt, political battlegrounds if anything. It was the political struggle between the Organisation of Civic Rights (OCR) in essence and the Warwick Avenue Triangle Residents Association (WATRA)” (19/09/02). As a result of the tensions that arose that stemmed from the need to be recognized by the community of Warwick Junction this was a project in which urban governance was poor.

It was difficult for the Urban Renewal Team to deal with the parties conflicting opinions. Richard Dobson stated that:

“The one group was saying well surely the park is better in the middle of the community and the other was saying that surely it’s going to make a lot of noise so it’s better to be on one side out of the community and two that the area is bigger and three being next to the road logically that was not going to be the best place for houses” (19/09/02).

The Urban Renewal Team had difficulties with this project. Besides the general issues that are faced when implementing a project, there were added political tensions. Eventually, the Urban Renewal Programme team had to allow these parties to dictate where to place the park.

“We have the park there and it won’t always remain there and that’s what we were trying to tell everyone- ‘look you are not making a lasting decision because in terms of the refiguring of this whole area that is not the preferred place for the park anyway’” (Dobson, 19/09/02).

People were adequately consulted but it was not an effective and efficient project due to underlying motivations for political recognition by the OCR and WATRA.
The Bovine Head Cookers project was considered the most unsuccessful in terms of governance and in terms of all the other social sustainability indicators. It has many embedded issues and tensions that have led to this project taking a long time to be implemented. The Bovine Head Cookers project is still so contentious that Thobias Mkize states:

“There are many dynamics within the cookers themselves that the officials have not uncovered. Another reason for the failure of the participatory process is that the project team have not identified the right leaders, people who have influence amongst the cookers” (30/08/02).

There are also many political tensions between the cookers. As a result of the cookers belonging to different political parties, an issue of territory has been brought to the surface. Therefore relocating the cookers who are already situated in places where they belong to the same political party, to another place has proven to be quite contentious. Therefore these tensions arose as a result of impending relocation to a site that was smaller and could not be exclusively for one politically affiliated party.

It was therefore very difficult to facilitate adequate civic engagement with the cookers due to these embedded political issues. Many meetings have been held with the Bovine Head Cookers in the past three years. However due to the underlying tensions within the cookers themselves, this relocation process has not been as successful as that of the Muthi Traders or Mealie Cookers. This project has a different dynamic and therefore a unique approach should be taken by the Urban Renewal Team in order to be successful.

Richard Dobson together with his team has made numerous attempts to sort this problem out as he states:

“You never know when one is actually going to get stuck like the relocation of the Bovine Head Cookers and what do you do in the meantime to sit and actually wait until this takes its course and often it has taken it’s course just through community dynamic ”(19/09/02).

The persistency by the programme leader shows that a great deal of effort was put into making this project effective and efficient.
However the security of the project in terms of creating a culture of peace and encouraging tolerance of diversity was an issue that had to be overcome in order to achieve a sustainable project.

Good urban governance was displayed in the Muthi Traders Market, the Badsha Peer Shelter and the Mealie Cookers Facility. These projects show sustainability, adequate civic engagement, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, transparency and accountability and subsidiarity. The area of weakness in all these projects is security. The Playground Facility and the Bovine Head Cookers Facility are projects in which there was inadequate urban governance. The areas in which governance can be improved in the Playground Facility relates to sustainability, effectiveness and efficiency and security. The Bovine Head Cookers Facility displayed the same weaknesses as well as inadequate civic engagement and citizenship.

5.4 Forms of Participation

The five projects will be described in terms of the four forms of participation as proposed by White (1996). The Urban Renewal Team has developed a strategy for involving the public adequately into decision-making. Due to the vast number of traders in the Warwick Junction area, it was necessary for the team to put together street committees through which participation is carried out with affected parties. A District Work group was also put together in order to liaise with various line function departments of the city. This will be discussed under the issue of environmental partnerships. It is necessary however to understand how these street committees operate in order to unravel the forms of participation that are apparent in the five projects.

Two out of the five projects displayed a transformative form of participation. White (1996: 8) notes that “The idea of participation as empowerment is that the practical experience of being involved in considering options, making decisions, and taking collective action to fight injustice is itself transformative”(White, 1996: 8).

The Playground Facility and the Muthi Traders Market were the two projects that displayed a certain degree of this form of participation. The function of participation for two of the other projects namely the Mealie Cookers Facility, and the Bovine...
Head Cookers Facility was to allow the people to have a voice in the character of the project. This is known as a representative form of participation. The Badsha Peer Shelter displayed an instrumental form of participation.

Section 5.4.1 presents the particular participatory techniques of the Urban Renewal Programme and sections 5.4.2 to 5.4.4 discuss the various forms of participation occurring within the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme.

5.4.1 Participatory Techniques of the Urban Renewal Programme

According to the programme leader Richard Dobson, there are two ways in which street committees can develop. Firstly they can be assembled geographically city block by city block or they can be assembled sectorially, by putting the cookers together, the traders together and so on (Dobson, 19/09/02). Thereafter a street committee of some sort is formed, however sizes vary. Trade markets and the early morning market are one of the biggest street committees. Each street committee elects a chairperson who will represent that group in the umbrella organization which represents all the traders in Warwick Junction. This is the Informal Traders Association. Dobson states,

"So when they speak about their area managers coming to talk to them we are now talking mainly in terms of the informal sector economy. Area managers are the elected chairperson or executive. For example Patrick is the area manager in and around the project centre in Wills Road and up to Grey Street. The projects immediate line of communication is probably through Patrick" (19/09/02).

City officials deal with developmental issues that are raised by area managers in monthly meetings that are held at the project centre hall. Thobias Mkhize and Raj Hooplall who are senior environmental health officers with the city health department are part of that team. According to Richard Dobson, “if one is approaching the likes of cookers, anyone dealing with perishable foods or in the case of herb traders, Raj Hooplall and Thobias Mkize are the people to see” (19/09/02). When there are operational issues involved, Hoosen Moolla and his operations team will deal with that issue (Dobson, 19/09/02).
This is the type of participatory methodology that is employed by the Urban Renewal Team. The form that participation took in the five projects will be discussed further.

5.4.2. Transformative Participation in the Playground Facility and The Muthi Traders Market

These two projects rated as being transformative in the table of indicators according to the criteria outlined by White (1996). The Playground Facility brought with it many political tensions. It became a battleground for political argument.

The issue was where to locate a Playground Facility for the local children. Numerous attempts were made to try and defuse the situation. The decision to locate the park in its present space was taken by one of the politically motivated parties, the Warwick Avenue Triangle Residents Association. Even though the Urban Renewal Team did not approve this location, it was eventually decided to construct the facility in Syringa Avenue. As stated by Richard Dobson,

"We have the park there and it won't always remain in that spot and that's what Sue and I were trying to tell everyone, look you are not making a lasting decision because in terms of the refiguring of this whole area that is not the preferred place for the park anyway. It's in fact a slightly different place" (19/09/02).

(Sue Wilkinson, an employee of the then Durban Metropolitan Council was previously involved with the Urban Renewal Team). The Urban Renewal Team did not intentionally allow this community and its two political parties to make the decision on their own. It was done this way, to prevent further hostilities and because it was not going to cost the Urban Renewal Team a great deal.

Therefore, participation in this instance ended up being transformative, even though the decision that was taken by the community was not considered to be sustainable. The community and the two politically affiliated parties representing them namely the Warwick Avenue Triangle Residents Association (WATRA) and the Organisation of Civic Rights (OCR) eventually had to decide on where to locate the park. The resultant site was chosen by WATRA.

A councilor with the eThekwini Municipality, Trevor Prince who was instrumental in bringing about the location of the Playground Facility was very complimentary about
the Urban Renewal Team. When asked if the Urban Renewal Team informed the various stakeholders adequately about proposed plans for the playground, Prince emphatically stated that, "yes they did, 100% and further to this we meticulously strategised with them. Richard Dobson and the district called up public meetings in the project centre hall and gave out circulars and formal invitations to people" (29/08/02). In the light of this it was concluded that the Urban Renewal Team practiced a transformative form of participation that led to the community taking decisions and having great confidence in them.

The Muthi Traders Market is one of the most socially sustainable projects. One of the factors contributing towards its success is the participatory process that was employed by the Urban Renewal Team. The Urban Renewal Team together with Thobias Mkize were commendable in their efforts to bring about a change in the way that Muthi was being sold on the streets of Warwick Junction. The issue was moving these traders from various sidewalks of Warwick Junction to a more permanent structure where they could conduct their trade. Therefore like the Mealie Cookers and the Bovine Head Cookers Facility, this project involved relocation. Proposed plans were put forward to the traders through area-managers at numerous on-site meetings. The traders did not accept these plans; therefore another site was located for them. Therefore the form of participation in this instance is transformative.

The participatory strategies for this particular project started a long time before its actual implementation. Research had to be conducted to establish just how many Muthi Traders there were in the city. Thobias Mkize in his capacity as the senior environmental health officer with the City Health Department was tasked with conducting this study. Mkize's findings showed that, "There were a lot of people who came from the rural areas into Durban to sell the bags of the indigenous medicines. They were from numerous places like Swaziland, Maputo and right down to Transkei" (30/08/02). Previously there were herbal chemists and traditional chemists who were practicing, however once the influx control laws were abolished, rural blacks could now enter freely into the urban areas. As a result the number of herbal and traditional chemists increased in the city. Therefore these healers began living on the pavements of Leopold Street and Russell Street (Biles, 2001). This situation needed to be controlled therefore, Thobias Mkize and his team had to relocate all of
these traders to another venue where they would not be an eyesore to the rest of the public and so that they could practice their trade in a far more hygienic place.

Numerous on-site meetings were held with the Muthi Traders. This was done through an umbrella body that was assembled by Thobias Mkize. He successfully established an organisation through which adequate participation could be facilitated. He was able to do this by identifying various associations that had been formed by the traders themselves. Once the presidents of each association were elected, they were brought together to identify their objectives and establish their mission. Mkize also helped them to formulate their constitution and thereafter an umbrella organization (30/08/02).

Meetings were held with the Muthi Traders and then with all stakeholders involved. As Thobias Mkize states,

"We had much consultative meetings with them that I had to hold. The first meeting we had was with them, and then we had the meeting that included, involved them as well as the officials from various departments and sections and stakeholders. Hence we had the Nature Conservation section, we had the department of Agronomy, we had the informal traders section, we even had our Architectural section with Sue Wilkinson and Richard Dobson present at the meetings" (30/08/02).

In this meeting the then metropolitan council identified two sites that the traders could be relocated to. The current site was chosen and preferred by the Muthi Traders, as it was an area where they had developed a lot of customers already. This new site was located on a disused section of highway that serves also as a thoroughfare for pedestrians.

Owing to the Muthi Traders being able to decide on where they wanted to be relocated to and making the eventual decision on which site to go to, the function of participation here was the empowerment of the traders. It is evident that empowerment in this instance can be identified as the interest in participation from above, when outsiders are working in harmony with the poor (White, 1996).
5.4.3 Projects Displaying Representative Participation

In the case of the Mealie Cookers Facility, the affected parties only had a voice in the character of the project. This facility had to be implemented by the municipality as soon as possible to avoid a public health crisis (Hooplall, 20/08/02). The cookers were made aware that the aim of creating this facility was to improve the food quality without destroying the cookers livelihoods.

With this aim in mind, Raj Hooplall and the Urban Renewal Team had to propose better sites that they found for the Mealie Cookers. The participatory strategies that were employed by the team to inform them was actually an undocumented process and this is an indication of the informal approach that the renewal team took to involving the cookers in the project. Richard Dobson together with Raj Hooplall adopted an ‘on the ground’ approach to tackling this problem. As a result of the method of participation that was used, the Mealie Cookers were allowed to influence the final outcome. Therefore participation was representative.

Richard Dobson and his team identified that there was a really huge problem with the many cookers all over the city. He refers to this project as “his real baptism of fire” (19/09/02). And this is clearly apparent when he explains why, “These guys were actually really roasting out the pavements, huge problems either they come or they go. Colleagues of mine were saying man we can turn them onto gas ramps” (19/09/02). The Urban Renewal Team were contemplating encouraging the cookers to use gas cylinders to heat the water for the mealies rather than the fire. The cookers were boiling their mealies in huge drums of water, which was problematic, as they were doing this in a very unhygienic way and thus causing the temperature for those particular areas to be exceedingly above the normal temperature. Due to this problem, Dobson decided to have a cookout with one of the Mealie Cookers.

“The Health Department even conducted an experiment on gas cylinder (because they do not produce smoke), that may be we could change from using fire to gas cylinder, but then gas cylinder was not effective enough in a way that it could not heat up a drum full of mealies. Then we were allowed to continue to use our old method of cooking” (Mealie Cooker, 27/08/02).

As a result of this experiment, Dobson decided that it was not going to be practicable to change the way that the cookers were making the mealies. “That was ridiculous,
that was never going to work. So we had to then keep the idea of fires and create a facility for them” (Dobson, 19/09/02).

There were two things that could have been an obstacle to the relocation of the cookers. Firstly, the cookers had no formal education and did not understand the issue of health standards, and secondly the fact that manager was Indian and all the cookers were African. Nevertheless the manager adopted the right approach in overcoming these impediments. As a result of this, he had informal talks with them, sitting on bricks and eating mealies with them while trying to inform them of proposed plans (Hooplall, 20/08/02). When one Mealie Cooker was asked whether the cookers were consulted she responded affirmatively saying that,

“They did not just decide that they were to build this place, it was either we stopped working for good or they relocate us and provide a better place for us to cook. They couldn’t stop us because that’s our way of living and getting by. We had discussions and we were able to put our ideas forward participating together” (27/08/02).

Raj Hooplall and the Urban Renewal Team displayed a keen sense of commitment to working with the Mealie Cookers.

“How do you put these forward to a group of people- the whole thing is adapting the fancy logistics to that particular person- that’s where the difficulty actually lies, but I enjoy doing it, I thrive on it” (Hooplall, 20/08/02).

As a result of the renewal team’s commitment to this project and the fact that the affected parties contributed to the final outcome, participation in this instance is interpreted as having been representative.

Participation for the Bovine Head Cookers Facility is also considered to be representative as the affected parties were consulted with; and their input was used. Meetings were held with the cookers through their area-manager, Patrick Mncube or through their management board. They also met at the Project Centre Hall to discuss issues with the project team. One respondent positively stated that, “In those few meetings we had they did give us platform and some of the issues raised were discussed” (Bovine Head Cooker A 21/08/02). Another respondent concurred by saying, “Yes we were satisfied with the way they ran the meetings”(Bovine Head-Cooker B, 21/08/2). Another stated that, “We are grateful and acknowledge that the
municipality is working with us now instead of abusing us as before" (Bovine Head Cooker C, 21/08/02).

The Urban Renewal Team has allowed the cookers to influence the character of the project. However the cookers had grievances pertaining to inadequate shelter and having to cook with a primus stove.

It was also apparent that there was one group of these cookers that were positive about the efforts being made by the renewal team, whilst another group remained negative. This was an interesting observation as there are inherent political tensions between the cookers themselves. These differences seemed to have emerged through their differing opinions about the participatory techniques of the Urban Renewal Team. “At the end we end up with what they want us to have. This is because they never do what we ask them to do” (Bovine Head Cooker D, 21/08/02). Some cookers were very grateful about the site that they are now in compared to the previous place “Before all this projects, this place we were working on used to be very dirty. We are happy that we are here, things are much better than before, though they don’t do what we request all the time” (Bovine Head Cooker B, 21/08/02). Raj Hooplall aptly sums up this situation when he states:

“You’re dealing with a completely different dynamic of person amongst the Bovine Head Cookers than say the Mealie Cookers. Amongst themselves you will find, that there is a lot of bickering and moaning” (Hooplall, 20/08/02.)

This has led to the lengthy implementation time for this particular project.

The Badsha Peer Shelter displayed a different dynamic. The project encountered two groups of affected parties, the Muslim Community of Warwick Junction and the Brook Street Traders. The Brook Street Traders are further sub-divided into two groups namely Brook Street A and Brook Street B. These traders have had a long-standing good relationship with the Muslim community.

“...but I detect in that side of town the kind of religious values rub off onto that side of the city. So the traders have been dealing with that group now for years and understanding has developed ” (Dobson, 19/09/02).

The Brook Street Traders had many complaints about the final shelter. They were not happy with its structure and the fact that they were not consulted adequately.
Therefore participation in this instance has been transformative for the Muslim Community and instrumental for the Brook Street Traders. The Muslim Community were empowered in the process whilst the Brook Street Traders were merely informed of the proposed plans.

The focus of the complaints from all of the Brook Street Traders interviewed was the issue of not being allowed to have a say in the project. The traders are happy about the shelter however they feel it is a bit useless because the problem is it does not protect them from the sun or the rain (Brook Street Trader BA, 21/08/02).

Another problem that prevented adequate participation was the fact that the traders themselves were broken up into two groups, the Brook Street A traders and the Brook Street B traders (Brook Street Trader A, 21/08/02). Due to the Brook Street A and B traders located away from each other, bringing the two groups together for participatory meetings was difficult. Separate meetings were held thus leading to misinformation and confusion to some degree.

"The truth is that Muslims built this shelter but they did talk with the umkhlandlu (municipality). It was unfair of the municipality because they were suppose to consult us and ask us if it was alright if they build the shelter like this, because it is now not built properly and we are not satisfied"(Brook Street Trader E, 21/08/02).

The form of participation for this particular project is considered to be instrumental as it was only the ideas of the Muslim community that were used to implement the project.

The Playground Facility and the Muthi Traders Market were the only projects where transformative participation took place, whereas a representative form of participation was evident in the Mealie Cooker Facility and Bovine Head Cooker Projects. The Badsha Peer Shelter Project displayed the weakest form of participation being instrumental. Transformative participation enables empowerment. This theme of empowerment will be discussed next.

5.5 Outcome Measures of Empowerment

Barr (1995) interprets empowerment as, "at its most basic, the degree to which or process by which disadvantaged communities define their own needs and determine
the response that is made to them.” He also elaborates on this concept by saying that it is a continued dialogue with the community. Barr’s outcome measures of empowerment which has formed part of the social sustainability indicator table will be used to assess the empowerment practices of the Urban Renewal Team. The techniques used by the Urban Renewal Team to enable empowerment will be discussed here followed by a detailed discussion of each measure of empowerment in relation to all the projects.

5.5.1 Techniques used by the Urban Renewal Team to Enable Empowerment

It was found that the Urban Renewal Team adheres to most of these measures. They have been instrumental in allowing the disadvantaged community in Warwick Junction to become a part of and involved in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme. However, more emphasis needs to be placed on using input from the traders and providing feedback to them on their ideas. Area-based management and the commitment of the people involved in the Urban Renewal Programme have created an adequate setting for empowerment.

5.5.2 Community-Controlled Organisations in Warwick Junction

There are two community-controlled forums in Warwick Junction. According to Nonhlanhla Nyandeni, the public relations officer for the project centre they are the Informal Traders Management Board (ITMB) and the Self-Employed Woman’s Union (SEWU) (19/09/02). She states that, “There are many other little groups like the Traders Against Crime group, but they all are affiliated to the ITMB” (Nyandeni, 19/09/02).

The Informal Traders Management Board is very embedded in the community and all respondents from the five projects for this study made reference to the Management Board. The cookers and traders are very aware of the ITMB and know that their area manager reports back to the ITMB who in turn reports to the District Work Group, the pivotal stakeholder forum of the Urban Renewal Programme.

Another influential community organisation is the Self-Employed Woman’s Union (SEWU). Many traders in Warwick Junction are women and some of them belong to SEWU. This union has enabled women to become independent, confident and has
allowed them to improve their business skills. One of the Muthi Traders interviewed known as Madlamini belongs to SEWU (Mkize, 30/08/02). She has flown overseas and developed her Muthi business rapidly due to her association with SEWU. This union aims to improve the conditions for women traders by empowering them and by imparting business acumen (Mkize, 30/08/02).

These two community-controlled organisations have been very influential in Warwick Junction. This can be seen by the representation of the ITMB in the District Work Group, which is the platform in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme within which to voice opinions and needs within the community. SEWU has influenced many women to improve their business skills through their various programmes. This influence is clearly seen by the number of women who are running informal trade stalls compared to men (Grest, 2001).

Therefore in Warwick Junction the two main community-controlled groups in the area, the ITMB and SEWU play a big role in contributing towards the empowerment of people in the area.

5.5.3 Increased direct control of local resources
This is very evident in Warwick Junction, as all the traders and cookers own the stalls and stands from which they operate. For example the Muthi Traders have taken ownership of their stalls and so too with the Mealie Cookers, the fruit and vegetable Brook Street A and B sellers and the Bovine Head Cookers. Each vending table that they operate from belongs to them.

5.5.4 Power structures genuinely open to influence
The Programme team encourages input from various groups. This is seen by the way they ensured the systematic organisation of street committees through which to facilitate participation. This would not have been done if the programme team did not want to be open to influence. This shows their earnestness in allowing affected parties to contribute towards the decision-making process. Dobson noted that, “They have a lot of influence in terms of design, I think they have a lot of influence in terms of how we eventually conceive the scheme from its ongoing management point of view” (19/09/02).
5.5.5 Equity is a demonstrably central principle

The Urban Renewal Team displayed equity by ensuring that whoever was involved or affected by a particular project was allowed to participate in decision-making surrounding the project.

The Mealie Cookers involved mainly two parties, the Zulu-speaking cookers and the Xhosa speaking cookers. Neither party was favoured over the other. The eventual area that was provided for the cookers showed that consideration was given to the tension between the two groups. A fence was built in between the two zones for the cookers and the same amenities were also supplied to each group.

There were many Muthi Traders that were present in the city, however not all the traders could have been housed in the market that was to be constructed. The Urban Renewal Team allowed traders to be housed in the market on a first come first served basis.

The Playground Facility however had a different dynamic. The Urban Renewal Team had great difficulty with this project, as the two organisations involved were politically motivated. The two community organisations that were involved namely WATRA and the OCR displayed a great deal of animosity towards each other. This hampered the whole project. Due to political motivations of each group, the Urban Renewal Team had to decide which was the most feasible option presented to them by each group. Eventually the project team chose the WATRA option. This choice however was not an indication of favouritism on the part of the project team; it was rather an indication of the need to quell political rivalry and to get the project going. The OCR was becoming a more contentious group to deal with. The team had to put aside any political agenda, and use the option that was considered best for the Urban Renewal Programme on a whole. The option presented to them by WATRA made logistical sense as it was in a secure area (Prince, 28/08/02).

The Bovine Head Cookers project is a similar example to that of the Playground Facility. Both projects have a political nature. This particular project displayed political tensions between Inkatha Freedom Party supporters and African National
Congress supporters. Due to this tension, the Urban Renewal Team was taking a very long time to implement the project. It is this very delay that demonstrates the Urban Renewal Teams desire to ensure equity in this project.

The Badsha Peer Shelter is the only project that did not display equity between the two groups involved. The Brook Street A and B Traders felt as though the Muslim Community was consulted with about the shelter, and they were not, even though they are happy with the shelter. Therefore this is the one project where equity was not a demonstrably central principle.

The Urban Renewal Team demonstrated equity within four out of the five projects. The Badsha Peer Shelter was the only project in which equity was not demonstrated.

5.5.6 Material gains achieved for disadvantaged people
The material benefits that the Urban Renewal Team has brought about for the people of Warwick Junction can be broken up into tangible and intangible gains. Greater earning potential and better facilities refer to the former whilst, community spirit, vibrancy and the determination to develop and succeed refers to the latter.

Traders have benefited tangibly from the cleaner stalls that they have and the greater earning potential from these improved stalls. As a result of being moved to a better facility, they were able to earn more. The Urban Renewal Team helped traders to take full advantage of the place from which they traded. “We were taught where to put our food stands so that we can make maximum profit. Before then we were satisfied with the little money that we got” (Bovine Head Cooker A, 21/08/02). The Playground Facility that was provided also brought about tangible benefits especially for the youth and children in Warwick Junction. It became a place from which to host sporting events as well as a facility for children to play in (Prince, 28/08/02). The new facilities provided for the Mealie Cookers, the Muthi Traders and the Bovine Head Cookers have all contributed to the greater earning potential and an environmentally friendly site from which to ply their trade.
A price tag cannot be placed on the community spirit that is evident in Warwick Junction. Warwick Junction has an atmosphere of a close knitted family. Traders have a sense of loyalty to each other and look out for each other as well.

"I was told the other day by someone who has a domestic who has a fulltime job on the Berea that she runs a table here and she runs it with an assistant, but if her assistant does not arrive then the neighbour will actually run that stall as if it was there own" (Dobson, 19/09/02).

The communities in Warwick Junction has gained resources such as stalls and are gaining a greater income whilst also benefiting from the ‘amazing pathos’ as stated by Richard Dobson (19/09/02) in Warwick Junction.

5.5.7 Strong but Accountable and Representative Local Leadership

Local area managers are able to manage the various projects together with the Urban Renewal Team through street committees and the District Work Group. The area managers are Thobias Mkize, Patrick Mncube, Hoosen Moolla, Madlamini Khumalo and are responsible in some way for the projects under review. Thobias Mkize assists with projects relating to city health, Patrick Mncube is involved directly with the traders, Hoosen Moolla is involved with operational issues and Madlamini, is a Muthi Trader and heads SEWU.

Every area manager is responsible for a different sector ensuring that all community members are represented. These area managers have the District Work Group to which they are accountable. This strong leadership has been a contributing factor that has led to the empowerment of the Bovine Head Cookers, the Mealie cookers, the Badsha Peer Brook Street Traders, the Muthi Traders and the affected communities for the Playground Facility specifically and for the project on the whole generally.

5.5.8 Professionals reflect values of empowerment

A further measure of empowerment is that professionals need to reflect values of empowerment. This characteristic is clearly evident in most city officials that were interviewed.
It was very evident that the team from the project centre and the city health department are very keen on bringing about a change in the lives of the Warwick Junction community not just through development but also through skills development of the citizens. The effort made by most members of the Urban Renewal Programme is commendable as they sometimes go beyond the call of duty to ensure that they succeed in their mission. The Urban Renewal Team shows a deep sense of commitment.

Raj Hooplall believes in developing the person as a whole rather than just developing a project. “It’s my responsibility to change the behaviour of the individual in order to improve the environment”(28/08/02). His belief in holistic environmental health caused him to go about changing the behaviour of the Mealie Cookers by instilling in them new ways of conducting their business and preparing their mealies (Hooplall, 28/08/02).

He went about teaching them banking skills, business management skills, how to separate the capital amount from the living expense. His aim in uplifting the citizens of Warwick Junction was to see them building themselves up from “selling vetkoek in a bucket to ultimately occupying a formal food shop near where they started” (Hooplall, 28/08/02).

Richard Dobson, aptly explains the values that the team hold in high esteem when he states that:

“This is their home, we not meant to do it but if someone wants some minutes typed for a meeting or an agenda or something we will do it. Okay, kind of a light touch in terms of screening out the opportunists, dealing with the guys who are kind of serious, every now and again to bend the rules a bit, but first making a judgement call as to where is Councils narrow line in terms of policy and what are we going to do here to kind of fulfill the community” (19/09/02).

5.5.9 Decentralisation and Democratisation of services

Another outcome measure of empowerment is the evidence of decentralised and democratised direct public control of local resources, affairs and services to enable citizen’s ability to know, analyse and understand so they could forge new realities and
legitimise claims (Barr, 1995; Schuftan, 1996). It is suggested that the control of resources is in the hands of the local community however with much direction from the municipality and people in authority.

“There’s either an arrogance or humility with which you can actually operate. I think our default maybe is because we acknowledge that we were so short of resources that we were actually totally dependant on the community helping us” (Dobson, 19/09/02).

The Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme pioneered the concept of area-based management in the city’s development strategies. Thus the project centre from which the team operates is based in the heart of Warwick Junction. An old shed was converted into the current building which also has a hall that is frequently used for stakeholder meetings and other educational workshops.

“This hall has been incredibly useful, quite often all that is necessary is that people are given almost dignified means in which they can meet and actually conduct their business and they can conduct it with a sense of independence. The research that Council did in terms of this hall for two months 1500 people coming through the place, for nearly 100 meetings, but interestingly only 40 of those meetings were with council officials, the other 60 were within the community themselves” (Dobson, 19/09/02).

The facility of the hall has enabled the community to know, analyse and understand so that they could forge new realities and claims.

Another factor that has created a setting for the community to take ownership of their resources is the open-door policy by which the project centre operates. The Urban Renewal Team could have decided to use heavy surveillance and security cameras at the gates of the project centre, however a very different approach was taken.

“...I said forget all your TV monitoring and all that stuff, we will go for a guy at the gate and I want the guy at the gate to be someone who knows everybody, so I want a highly personable service at the gate and that’s the person I can rely on”(Dobson, 19/09/02).

This proved to be highly successful as people were free to come into the centre without “having to sign pieces of paper and books and so on and so on but I can assure you that 90% of the people that come through the gate are exactly who they are
and in the five years that I’ve been here we’ve only had one trickster” (Dobson, 19/09/02).

Therefore the location of the project centre in the heart of Warwick Junction, the facility of the hall and the open-door policy by which it operates has led to the decentralisation and democratisation of services.

5.5.10 Personal development of citizens

The final outcome measure of empowerment is the personal development of citizens. Some of the representatives of the affected communities that were interviewed displayed an improvement in their skills and abilities. They also displayed greater economic prowess that enabled them to develop themselves and their children. The project centre has been instrumental in bringing about some of these changes through the various educational and Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV) workshops that were held at the project Centre hall. Project leaders have also inculcated various skills into the community of Warwick Junction. Evidence of this is seen in the great success of two of the traders interviewed.

Thobias Mkize one of the area managers ran HIV workshops with the Muthi Traders in the project centre hall to teach them how to ensure safe medical practices as is reflected in the following statement,

“They meet at the Warwick Junction Project Center, we give them the lectures on our side, what we would expect from them, say for instance because of this problem of HIV we help to use the clean razor or rather a new razor blade or sterilize things because they do the incisions to their patients…” (Mkize, Senior Environmental Health Officer, 30/08/02)

The city official involved with the Mealie Cookers believes in holistic environmental health and this is evident in the various skills that he taught the Mealie Cookers (Hooplall, 28/08/02). When a Mealie Cooker was asked whether they were taught anything new, she responded by saying, “Yes they taught us how to use our money” (27/08/02).
Informal conversations with the traders revealed that many of them are saving money to be able to educate their children. The Mealie Cooker that was interviewed made enquiries about sending her child to study abroad. Evidence of the personal development of citizens is clearly seen in Madlamini Khumalo, a Muthi Trader who belongs to the Self Employed Women’s Union and has already traveled overseas on business trips and is in the position of leadership amongst the traditional herb/Muthi sellers (Muthi Trader Khumalo, 30/08/02).

As a result of the Urban Renewal Programme, affected communities for the Mealie Cooker and Muthi Trader Projects in Warwick Junction are being empowered through various skills development. They are developing themselves personally. However, this has not yet occurred in the Badsha Peer Shelter, Playground Facility and Bovine Head Cookers Project.

The Urban Renewal Team has been a tool of empowerment for the stakeholders in Warwick Junction. This has been accomplished through their work ethic, area-based managerial style and skills development, strong and accountable leadership, power structures being open to influence, material gains achieved for disadvantaged people, equity as a demonstrably central principle, increased direct control of local resources by the community and strong community controlled institutions has resulted in the personal development of the citizens of Warwick Junction. This has enabled the community to contribute towards environmental decision-making.

5.6 Partnership Formation

The fourth theme is that of environmental partnerships. This section aims to describe the type of partnerships that have been established through the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme. There are four types of partnerships as posited by Long and Arnold (1995). Long and Arnold (1995) describe partnerships as voluntary collaborations between two or more organizations with a jointly defined-agenda focused on a discrete, attainable, and potentially measurable goal. Many partnerships have formed in the course of this Urban Renewal Programme. Partnerships range from collaborations between the Urban Renewal Programme and various line function departments of the city to collaborations between traders to partnerships between the Urban Renewal Team and affected communities within each project. The projects are...
ranked in the indicator table according to the types of partnerships that formed between the Urban Renewal Team and affected parties of each project.

This section will outline the primary partnership of the Urban Renewal Programme, the District Work Group, partnerships that have formed within each project and partnerships between the Urban Renewal Team and the affected communities of each project.

5.6.1 Primary Stakeholder Committee of the Urban Renewal Programme

The formation of the District Work Group is an example of a win-win partnership or leverage partnership in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme that was aimed at a commonly defined agenda, which is the upliftment of Warwick Junction.

The District Work Group brought together city officials, community members, councilors, line function department representatives and various other interested and affected parties. This collaboration formed to create a body of stakeholders that would be instrumental in participating in decision-making for development initiatives in Warwick Junction. According to Trevor Prince, a councillor who was involved in the Playground Facility Project, the District Work Group has made a great impact on the Urban Renewal Programme.

"We meet at 2:30 pm every first Wednesday of the month...we deliberate an issue. Each one has an equal opportunity, then Richard Dobson and two other officials give us presentations of recent developments in the area and whatever we are not satisfied with, we comment on. The different departments are present here, water, metro, electricity, roads, storm water and drainage, street lighting, you name it, Durban Solid Waste, metro police, all the senior officials from 25 departments sit in the boardroom and disseminate information and do post mortems" (Prince, 29/08/02).

This body of stakeholders plays a very important role in the smooth running of this Urban Renewal Programme. It was this leverage partnership that was instrumental in bringing about the changes in Warwick Junction.

Explorative partnerships form as an attempt to explore environmental issues that are of joint concern. An example of this would be the voluntary collaboration that formed
between the Urban Renewal Team and various other line service departments. Examples include the Keep Durban Beautiful Association (KDBA), Durban Solid Waste (DSW), and Traders Against Crime (TAC).

"I mean KDBA, and particularly the street cleaning committee is an example of an explorative partnership...they got together work crews who actually go around and clean the sites and educate. I mean that little group which was raised from here is an educating group that goes to the fellow traders and educate" (Dobson, 19/09/02).

This partnership formed as a result of the District Work Group.

The voluntary collaboration of stakeholders in the form of the District Work Group that has come together is very instrumental in decision-making in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme. The District Work Group has been a vital part of the Urban Renewal Programme, as it has set the wheels of change in motion in the area. The modest investment of R35 million by the city into this vibrant area of eThekwini has yielded a great social, economic, ecological and political return.

5.6.2 Partnerships within the Five Projects

Coalescing partnerships those that bring together groups that depend on each other to accomplish a goal formed between affected parties in the Badsha Peer Shelter, and the Mealie Cookers Facility to a certain degree. Here the two parties are competitors contesting for projects and resources and although rivalry exists between the two parties, the challenge is to create a common vision that both parties can support (Long and Arnold, 1995).

The Muslim Community and the Brook Street Traders were the two groups contesting for resources in the Badsha Peer Shelter Project. In the case of the Mealie Cookers Facility, the two groups were the Mealie Cookers and the illegal hawkers selling mealies.

When Richard Dobson was asked whether any partnerships formed to bring together groups that depend on each other in order to accomplish some goal, he responded by saying, "I mean Badsha Peer would be one. That's a clear example... the mealie cookers, they've had to get together to bring together two sorts of different groups..." (19/09/02). For the Badsha Peer Shelter to be constructed, a partnership had
to be formed between the two groups that were affected. This partnership can only be described as coalescing as it brought two groups that are dependant on each other to accomplish their goal. However this was not without conflict. The Brook Street Traders still feel that the municipality have only listened to the views of the Muslim community and not taken their views into account (Brook Street Trader A, 21/08/02).

Raj Hooplall maintains that partnerships such as these formed within the Mealie Cookers Facility.

"... you had the mealie cookers having to push trolleys from certain sections where the illegal hawker was selling mealies on the side of the road and traversing long distances and cooking it in a specific spot and sending it through. So we created a niche between the supply and the consumer" (28/08/02).

A coalescing partnership formed between the Mealie Cookers and the illegal hawkers in order to prevent their business from declining. This had elements of conflict. The hawkers were at first not keen on changing their practices which aggravated the mealie-cookers who were legally selling their mealies (Hooplall, 28/08/02).

Explorative Partnerships formed between traders in the Warwick Junction Area to combat crime. The crime rate in Warwick Junction is very high, therefore the traders themselves decided to take action by forming a Traders Against Crime (TAC) group in the area. Therefore the partnership that formed between these traders came together to explore social issues that are of joint concern.

5.6.3 Partnerships of the Urban Renewal Team

The Urban Renewal Team formed various types of partnerships with affected community members of the five projects. The Mealie Cookers Facility, the Muthi Traders and the Muslim Community in the Badsha Peer Shelter Project are examples of leverage partnerships with the Urban Renewal Team. The partnership between the Renewal Team and the Badsha Peer Brook Street Traders can be described as coalescing because it brought together two groups with the aim of accomplishing a goal being the construction of the shelter. Preemptive Partnerships formed between the Renewal team and the Bovine Head Cookers as it formed to defuse a hostile situation.
Win-win partnerships were formed in the Mealie Cookers Facility and the Muthi Traders Market Projects where each party involved made a modest investment in environment improvement for a relatively high political, social or financial return. The community’s investment can be measured in terms of time and cooperation while the Renewal Team’s investment is considered in terms of time and money.

However Hooplall also asserts that with regards to the Mealie Cookers leverage partnerships did form.

“You look at the financial implications of it, nobody realised it, that 28 tons of mealies can be cooked in one particular facility per morning and the financial implications taking the average mass of each mealie is 1.069 million rand per week. It’s a partnership that has fabulous implications” (Hooplall, 20/08/02).

Another example of a leverage partnership is between the Renewal Team and the Muthi Traders. When Richard Dobson was asked whether any leverage partnerships formed in the Urban Renewal Programme, he stated,

“I think the herb traders are perhaps an example of that. If you think where they came from. I mean that group had serious ambition. They regrouped themselves now in a way where they now start to be self-organizing in terms of how they run their business and so yes some of them has had to make some concessions to each other ...now that’s almost the epicentre of Africanness in the city.”

The partnership between the city and the traditional healers brought about great benefit not just for the traders but also for the city. The city sidewalks were now cleaner and amenable for pedestrians. The money generated by the market in terms of tourism has also boosted the economy of the city.

Preemptive partnerships form as a result of attempting to defuse a situation that is already hostile. Initially in these types of partnerships, opportunities for success are constrained. This was evident in the Playground Facility Project. The opportunities in the partnership between the Urban Renewal Team and the two community organisations namely WATRA and OCR were constrained due to political tension between the two organisations. Therefore the eventual partnership that did form between the Urban Renewal Team and just one of the organisations namely WATRA, formed to alleviate the tension that was already present in order to find a way forward.
There is a similarity between the Playground Facility Project and the Bovine Head Cookers Project as both displayed preemptive partnerships that formed to defuse political tension within the groups involved. The ANC affiliated Cookers were in constant conflict with the IFP affiliated Cookers over who was going to occupy the new space that they were going to be relocated to. This tension constrained the partnership with the Urban Renewal Team from becoming a win-win partnership therefore preventing a successful project.

Partnerships formed between the Urban Renewal Team and stakeholders such as the eThekwini Municipality and its various line function departments as well as with community members. There were also various types of partnerships that formed within the specified projects. The Urban Renewal Team also formed various types of partnerships just between themselves and affected community members in the five projects.

The District Work Group is the most pivotal partnership in the Urban Renewal Programme as it is the platform from which decisions are made. This has contributed greatly to the success of the programme.

The coalescing partnerships between community members in the Mealie Cookers Facility and between the Muslim Community and The Brook Street Traders also brought about a benefit for all involved and thereby led to good decisions being taken.

The Urban Renewal Team formed leverage partnerships with the Mealie Cookers and the Muthi Traders. The Cookers and the Traders in this case made an investment of time and cooperation while the Urban Renewal Team invested money, time and effort into bringing about a highly profitable Market for the Traders and a cleaner Facility for the Cookers. A coalescing partnership formed between the Urban Renewal Team and the affected parties in the Badsha Peer Shelter Project, as they needed to bring together parties that depend on each other to accomplish a goal being the construction of the shelter. Partnerships between the Renewal Team and the Playground Facility stakeholders and with the Bovine Head Cookers were not as successful. This led to preemptive partnerships forming as a result of trying to defuse political conflict.
5.7 Good Environmental Decisions

This section examines the fifth and final theme of environmental decision-making.

"Environmental decision-making occurs whenever a decision must be made that affects the present or future quality of the environment" (Chechile and Carlisle, 1991:4). Petts (1999) states that the decision-making environment is made up of an array of actors, with varying roles, powers and perspectives, and interlinked by various procedures. This is true in the case of the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme. The array of actors includes the Urban Renewal Team, the eThekwini municipality with its various line function departments, the community that includes residents, traders and commuters and various community organisations. If the Urban Renewal Team aimed to ensure proper environmental decision-making, this vast array of actors needed to be included in its decision-making procedures.

Good and bad evaluations of decisions are dependent on the perspectives of those affected by the decision. A good decision could lead to a bad outcome or vice versa, depending on perspective. Criteria for judging the value of a decision or its outcome might include a range of things such as technical durability and so forth. These criteria can all be measured in the context of the values of those participating in or affected by the decision or by the prevailing environmental paradigm. It was with this in mind that Schweitzer (1997) characteristics of good environmental decisions that are used in the sustainability indicator table (Table 5.1) were used to analyse each project to judge the value of the decision or its outcome. The indicators which relate to the efficient balancing of costs and benefits, fairness of outcomes for various groups, scientific soundness, technical and political durability, reduction of adverse environmental impacts and protection of human health, flexibility and wide acceptance by the public as legitimate will be used in sections 5.8.2 to 5.8.8 to assess the projects to determine whether good environmental decision-making has taken place in the five projects.

5.7.1 Efficient balancing of costs and benefits

The first indicator of good environmental decision-making is whether the benefits of the project outweigh the costs. Every project brought a great improvement in environmental, economic, social and political quality after investing a fair amount of money into it. A total of R35 million was spent over a period of three years on the
entire programme, and the Mealie Cooker project alone brought in a revenue of almost R40 million in one year (Dobson, 19/09/02). This is just one of the 96 projects initiated in the area. The results of the entire project attest to the proper and efficient use of the money that was invested in the programme. The results that were achieved by the Urban Renewal Programme reflect proper financial management (eThekwini Municipality, 2002). The success of the project thus far is seen in the following results it has produced:

1. The structure and approach taken by this project has provided the municipality with a successful working model which is being adapted for other areas.
2. A creche that can accommodate 70 children has been established.
3. Four additional taxi ranks have been built each with the capability of holding in excess of 40 taxis.
4. A project centre has been built to act as an administrative hub for the junction.
5. Adequate cleaning and cooking facilities for food vendors have alleviated wastewater and drainage problems.
6. Improved urban management of the area translates into 1200 bags per day of refuse being collected.
7. A street lighting upgrade of R600 000 has led to a documented reduction in incidences of criminal activities, motor vehicle theft in particular (eThekwini Municipality, 2002:25).

The Mealie Cooker project is the most outstanding of all the projects researched, bringing in a much greater turnover for the city and for the Mealie Cookers themselves. For Raj Hooplall, this project was beneficial for everyone involved.

The Muthi Traders Market also yielded a greater benefit than the cost incurred for the project. The traders had a market that was fully operational and that drew customers from all over KwaZulu-Natal. They were previously scattered all over the city in unhygienic conditions. The consolidated Muthi Traders Market that has been placed on a disused section of a highway brought much benefit to the traders, their customers and the city.

Just R60 000 was invested in creating a Playground Facility for the residents in the Warwick Avenue Triangle. The social benefit that this park has created is testimony
to the fact that this project was also efficient in balancing its costs and benefits. It has created a much-needed facility for the children living in the area (Prince, 29/08/02). Therefore the benefits of this project far outweighs the money invested in this project, even though it was not considered a sustainable location for the playground by the project team.

The Badsha Peer Shelter also displayed efficient balancing of costs and benefits. The Muslim community of Warwick Junction formed a partnership with the city to construct this shelter. Therefore the funding for the project came from both sources as Hoosen Moolla stated,

"The Muslim community approached the city with the idea of creating a much needed shelter that would benefit them during their yearly celebration in the Brook street area. They were willing to foot some of the cost incurred, while the city would cover the rest of the amount"(26/08/02).

Therefore the resultant shelter benefited the Muslim community and the Brook Street A and B traders. The money that was invested in this project has been used efficiently.

The Bovine Head Cookers project has been a troublesome project for the Urban Renewal Team because the implementation time for this project was very long. Due to this reason, this project has not balanced the costs (in terms of time and effort) and benefits efficiently.

Four out of the five projects have efficiently balanced its costs and benefits.

5.7.2 Fairness of outcomes for various groups

The main groups involved in most of the projects were the Urban Renewal Programme team, the eThekwini municipality and the different groups of traders, cookers and sellers. The Urban Renewal Team was successful in most of the projects under review to ensure that there was a fairness of outcomes for all groups involved. However there were many disgruntled traders who thought otherwise.

Most of the projects had either two or more groups involved and affected by the project. The Muthi Traders Market is the only exception, where all the traders form one group. The Mealie Cookers project involved the Zulu-speaking cookers and the
Xhosa-speaking cooks. The Muslim community and the Brook Street A and B traders were involved in the Badsha Peer Shelter project. The Playground Facility brought conflict between two community organisations, namely the OCR and WATRA. Tension was also displayed between two political groups belonging to the African National Congress party and the Inkatha Freedom party respectively in the Bovine Head-Cookers Facility Project. Fairness of outcomes for various groups was only displayed in the Muthi Traders Market project and the Mealie Cooker facility. The reasons for this will be discussed further.

It is important to take into account all the complaints that were mentioned by the various groups in order to evaluate whether the resultant project was an equitable one for all parties involved. Underlying tension did exist between the Xhosa speaking cooks and the Zulu-speaking cooks over territories, however the project team was able to overcome this obstacle by meeting the needs of both groups. They did this by providing the same amount of space and access to amenities to both groups. A fence was also constructed between the two groups to abate any conflict. (See appendix 2, plate 8).

The Playground Facility was decided on by one of the community organisations namely the Warwick Avenue Triangle residents Association (WATRA). After much political tension between the two groups, the project team found it much easier to negotiate with WATRA. The OCR preferred to have the park located in another area (which was considered dangerous in terms of traffic) by the Urban Renewal Programme Team. In the light of this, WATRA eventually chose a location for the Playground Facility that was approved by the project team. However, this was not a decision that the OCR was apart of. This decision was therefore deemed to be inequitable for the OCR.

Many obstacles lay in the path of the Bovine Head Cookers Facility Project. The disagreement between the two factions led to most of the problems experienced in the course of this project. The two political parties had to be satisfied with the final project. However most cooks interviewed, both ANC and IFP affiliated were not satisfied and had numerous complaints ranging from inadequate cooking facilities to
inadequate storage place were given. The resultant project however was considered overall to be fair and equitable for both groups.

There was little fairness in the resultant Badsha Peer Shelter for the one group involved namely the Brook Street A and B traders. This group felt that the shelter provided was as a result of consultation between the municipality and the Muslim community only. The traders were unhappy with the shelter as they felt that it did not work effectively as reflected in the following statement, “The shelter is too high up and long” (Brook Street Trader B 1, 21/08/02). Most traders felt this way about the shelter, however there were some who were happy with it.

Fairness of outcomes was displayed in four out of the five projects. The Badsha Peer Shelter was the only project in which this criterion was not apparent.

5.7.3 Scientific Soundness, technical and political durability
This is a further indicator of good environmental decision-making. Each project will be assessed according to its scientific soundness and technical and political durability.

The infrastructure that has been put in place for the Mealie Cookers Facility, the Muthi Traders Market, the Badsha Peer Shelter and the Bovine Head Cooker Facility Projects is deemed to be technically and scientifically sound. Out of the five projects studied, the Mealie Cookers Facility, the Muthi Traders Market, and the Badsha Peer Shelter are politically durable. The technical and political durability of the Playground Facility is low. The Bovine Head Cookers Facility is not politically durable.

The decision to place the park in Syringa Avenue in Warwick Triangle was considered to be an unsustainable solution by the Urban Renewal Programme team. However the project team agreed to place the park in that location because a sum of only R60 000 was to be invested in its construction. This playground is therefore not durable technically. Furthermore, the two politically affiliated parties (WATRA and OCR) that wanted the park had opposing views as to the proposed location of the park. This tension is a factor that contributes towards this project not being politically durable.
The Bovine Head Cookers Facility represents another project that is not politically durable. This facility is however technically durable in that it is constructed properly and has created better working spaces for the cookers than the previous place they were located in. The political tension between the cookers is likely to cause problems in the future. This underlying political strain between these two groups contributes to the instability of this project and ultimately makes this project politically non-durable.

The Mealie Cookers Facility, the Muthi Traders Market and the Badsha Peer Shelter all represent projects that are scientifically sound, technically and politically durable. Raj Hooplall states “research into the problem of the mealie cooking was done quasi-scientifically”(28/08/02). The extent to which food poisoning could pose a threat was established, and thereafter solutions were proposed that were tested first before deciding on the best way forward. The new location of the Mealie Cookers was finally decided upon, and drums were provided as well as techniques that could be used when boiling the mealies. Therefore this project is considered to be the most scientifically sound. It is also technically and politically durable.

The Muthi Traders Market was built on a bridge that acts as a thoroughfare for pedestrians. The traders themselves think that they were just placed on this bridge for the convenience of the municipality. However the Urban Renewal Team believe, that they accomplished two goals when they renovated this disused section of an old highway. Pedestrians can use the bridge and the traders can sell their medicinal herbs in a clean, hygienic environment that is technically durable. This particular site does have its disadvantages as many of the herb traders mentioned such as the sun and rain causing damage to the herbs because of the absence of adequate shelter. However, this current location for the traders is far more sustainable than the previous locations. Politics is not an issue amongst the traders, so this project is therefore durable in that aspect. Scientifically, the construction of this site has been far more conducive to the trade of medicinal herbs. The area is decontaminated, hygienic and sanitized, which is very important when dealing with medicinal products. Richard Dobson went about measuring the space that these traders were occupying on the pavements of Warwick Junction, and came to an accumulated estimate of the size that the new market needed to be (19/09/02).
The construction of the shelter over the Brook street area has provided shade for the many traders who sell fresh fruit and vegetables there. It also benefits the Muslim community once a year when they have their annual celebrations. This shelter is technically durable. There are good relations between the Muslim community and the traders as they have a longstanding historical relationship that spans 115 years (Dobson, 19/09/02). However the only point of concern is the fact that the traders felt excluded from the decision-making process. Politically however, this shelter is durable.

Therefore four out of the five projects were scientifically and technically sound. The Playground Facility was the exception. Both the Playground Facility and the Bovine Head Cookers Projects are non-durable politically.

5.7.4 Reduction of adverse environmental impacts and protection of human health

The unhygienic and contaminated conditions under which traders, residents and commuters lived and worked in Warwick Junction was one of the reasons for the initiation of the Urban Renewal Programme. As a result of this programme, there has been a vast improvement in the environment of the area in terms of four out of the five projects reviewed. The Playground Facility was the only project that did not indicate a reduction in adverse environmental impacts.

The Muthi Market that the traders are now housed in represents a reduction in the unhygienic unsanitized conditions that the traders previously found themselves in. This place of trade is now conducive to the sale of medicinal herbs (Dobson, 19/09/02).

The new Mealie Cookers Facility similarly prevented food poisoning and reduced the negative impacts on the environment.

The process of cooking Bovine-heads in Warwick Junction was becoming not only an eyesore but also a very unhygienic process. The blood and other remains of the Bovine heads flowed down nearby streets where the fat clogged the drains and eventually was deposited into the Umgeni River (Dobson, 19/09/02). This unhygienic
way in which this ‘delicacy’ to the people of Warwick Junction was being prepared and sold was causing a major environmental threat. The new premises that was selected by the Urban Renewal Team for the cookers has definitely lowered the impact on the environment and the food that is prepared here does not pose a health risk to the people consuming it.

The Badsha Peer Shelter provides protection to the traders who are there almost seven days a week selling their fresh fruit and vegetables. This construction has helped the traders in that it provides protection for them and the perishable goods that they sell from the sun. This particular project has contributed to reducing the negative impact on the working environment and more importantly it has protected the traders health by shielding them from the sun that they were previously exposed to before the shelter was built (Moolla, 26/08/02).

The construction of the Playground Facility has contributed to the social well being of the residents in Warwick Junction. It has provided a much-needed playing area for the children in the area, who could have found other destructive things to do with their time. This Playground Facility has been used for various activities such as tournaments; fundraising drives as well as a park for the local children (Prince, 29/08/02). This has therefore contributed to a decrease in adverse social impacts. It has also contributed to the social well being of the residents, which in turn can be a factor in protecting human health and quality of life.

5.7.5 Flexibility
This indicator of good environmental decision-making is the ability to make compromises and change. The only two projects that displayed flexibility are the Muthi Traders Market and the Mealie Cookers Facility. Flexibility involves being pliable and adaptable. There is room for adaptability in both the Muthi Traders Market and the Mealie Cooker facility. The Badsha Peer shelter, the Bovine Head Cookers Facility and the Playground Facility do not allow for any changes. As needs change, a project can change to meet those needs. Therefore flexibility within a project implies that good environmental decisions were taken.
Hooplall made it clear that if the two groups of Mealie Cookers were able to ply their trade harmoniously, then he will consider providing a shelter for their facility (28/08/02). This implies that there is room for change for this particular project. The Muthi Market is currently undergoing a change. Rooms are being built for traders who want to stay overnight (Nyandeni, 19/09/02).

The structures for the other three projects are secure and there are no intentions on the part of the Urban Renewal Team to change anything. The Badsha Peer Shelter does not allow for any change to the structure likewise with the Bovine Head Cookers Facility and the Playground Facility.

5.7.6 Wide acceptance by the public as legitimate
The Urban Renewal Programme has brought much acclaim for the city of Durban. This is due to the programme being very successful in reaching its goals. The public is made up of residents, traders, commuters, city officials and the Urban Renewal Team. The area of Warwick Junction had a desperate need to be uplifted, and there was therefore wide acceptance by the public particularly residents and traders of the Urban Renewal Programme that was initiated in the area as being legitimate.

This programme of development has received wide acclaim, by winning the Nedbank Green Award in 1997 and being the model of development for a citywide urban renewal initiative known as iTRUMP (Inner Thekwini Urban Renewal Management Programme). This credibility is indicative of good environmental decision-making.

5.8 Conclusion
This section will sum up the contribution made by the Urban Renewal Team through their good urban governance, proper participation, adequate empowerment, beneficial partnerships and good environmental decision-making, to foster sustainable development.

The Urban Renewal Team has created an enabling setting for good environmental decision-making through various factors. Firstly area-based management has allowed the programme to be a visible presence and engine of change. Secondly the open-door policy by which it operates has created transparency and a sense of accountability thus
facilitating good governance. Thirdly the values that the professionals involved in the programme uphold have led to the upliftment of the community in its entirety. Fourthly, the Urban Renewal Team by creating channels of communication through the various street committees, area managers and the District Work Group has enabled transformative participatory strategies. Finally the importance that was placed by the Urban Renewal Team on the formation of partnerships with all stakeholders involved through the District Work Group has facilitated the development of good environmental decision-making mechanisms in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme. The wheels of sustainability have thus been set in motion and this process leads to sustainable development.
CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

'Across the world, environmental decisions are constantly being taken. Their settings vary, as do the people and groups involved...There is a constant need for understanding the various processes, actors and preconditions of decision-making processes for environmental management' (Global Development Research Center, 2003:1)

Introduction

The broad aim of this study was to critically assess decision-making for environmental projects in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme.

In order to satisfy this aim, the following objectives were established for this study:
1. To determine to what extent the Urban Renewal Team have involved the community and stakeholders of each project in the various decisions made?
2. To determine what types of partnerships have formed to implement each renewal project.
3. To assess what forms of community empowerment have emerged from this process?
4. To evaluate to what extent the environmental decision-making process has been fair and equitable?

The purpose of this chapter will be firstly to provide a brief summary of the research process. This will be followed by a comprehensive summary of the data analysis, and recommendations will be provided based on the conclusions reached in the findings.

Warwick Junction represents a rich and diverse ethnic place that has been upgraded by the implementation of an Urban Renewal Programme. It has a rich history that spans decades. It is also known as a major regional transport and trade node.

As a result of the area deteriorating into such decay, an Urban Renewal Programme was initiated by the city of Durban in June 1996. The purpose of this programme was
to uplift and improve this inner city area in order to make it conducive for the numerous trade and transport activities in Warwick Junction.

The five projects that are the focus of this study have been reviewed and are the Muthi Traders Market, the Bovine Head Cookers Facility, the Playground Facility, the Badsha Peer Shelter and the Mealie Cookers Facility. These projects are quite diverse in that each has a unique set of cultural, political, ecological, economic and social dimensions to them. It is for this reason that they are classified as environmental projects.

The Urban Renewal Team adopted a style of management that moved away from traditional forms of management. Area-based management that seeks to administer a project within the problematic area has been implemented through a project center that is situated within Warwick Junction. It is from here that the Urban Renewal Programme is managed.

The conceptual nature of sustainable development and the principles underpinning it were presented in section 3.1. Sustainable development is defined as development that meets the needs of present generations without compromising the needs of future generations. Local Agenda 21 that informed the sustainable planning practices in South Africa was also explained and elaborated on. This is an important tool used to achieve sustainable development. The concept of sustainability is also defined and described. It is seen as a pathway leading to sustainable development. A vital aspect of strong sustainability is its focus on equity, social justice, community participation and empowerment. The theories of good urban governance, public participation, environmental decision-making and environmental partnerships were thereafter discussed in this context. All of these theories emphasize the importance of and benefits from adequate engagement with stakeholders and how this leads to good environmental decision-making. The literature was used to form a set of social sustainability indicators that were used to interpret the data.

Good urban governance was explained and formed the first part of the conceptual framework for the study.
“Good urban governance is “inextricably linked to the welfare of the citizenry. It must enable women and men to access the benefits of urban citizenship. Good urban governance, based on the principle of urban citizenship, affirms that no man, woman or child can be denied access to the necessities of urban life, including adequate shelter, security of tenure, safe water, sanitation, a clean environment, health, education and nutrition” (UN-HABITAT, 2000:1)

The indicators or characteristics of good urban governance were presented in section 3.3. The following table as presented in section 3.3 provides the characteristics of good urban governance. These characteristics formed the first set of social sustainability indicators.

**Table 6.1 The Characteristics of Good Urban Governance (UN-HABITAT, 2002 and GDRC, 2002)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD URBAN GOVERNANCE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sustainability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Civic engagement and citizenship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Equity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Effectiveness and Efficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Transparency and Accountability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Subsidiarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Security</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This section in the literature goes further to identify ways of achieving these characteristics of good urban governance.

The next part of the literature review focused on public participation. Meaningful public participation upholds many of the characteristics of good urban governance by ensuring that interested and affected parties are actively involved in the decision-making process. There are numerous definitions of this concept as many practitioners in the field dismiss the importance of meaningful participation. The definition can also vary depending on the context. The definition used within the context of this study is accepted as “a mechanism by which the public is not only heard before the decision, but has an opportunity to influence the decision from the beginning to the end of the decision-making process” Creighton (1993, as cited in Glavovic et al., 200:20). This section also dispelled with some myths surrounding this concept and
went on to explain Arnstein’s ladder of participation (1969). This ladder that describes the different degrees of participation is similar to the different forms and functions of participation as explained by White (1997). However, the conceptual framework that will be used, as the second set of sustainability indicators will be the four forms of participation presented by White (1997), as Arnstein’s ladder is shown to have shortcomings. The following table represents the four forms of participation that were used to analyse the type of public participation that is taking place for this study.

Table 6.2: Interests in Participation (Source: after White, 1996:8 in Freeman, 2000:35)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominal</td>
<td>Legitimation and inclusion with the main function of display</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Government funding for infrastructure and services reduced leading to public involvement for efficiency and cost sake, in order to instrumentally achieve a local facility or service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative</td>
<td>Public ensured a voice to provide sustainability and support, and where people are able to express their own interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transformative</td>
<td>Empowerment takes place, where the public have the practical experience of being involved in considering options, making decisions and taking collective action to fight injustice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ideal form of participation is transformative as it results in the empowerment of people. The concept of ‘empowerment’ is thereafter explained in order to reveal its importance in contributing towards proper environmental decision-making. The World Bank (2002) definition of empowerment is the accepted definition: “the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives.” Many models of empowerment exist, however it is important to rather create outcomes of empowerment as explained by Barr (1995). His outcome measures of empowerment are finally presented in this section and they are as follows:
Table 6.3 Outcome Measures of Empowerment (Adapted from Barr, 1995)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OUTCOME MEASURES OF EMPOWERMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12. Strong Community-Controlled Institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Those institutions must have real influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Increased direct control of local resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Power structures genuinely open to influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Equity is a demonstrably central principle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Material gains achieved for disadvantaged people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Strong but accountable and representative local leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Professionals reflect values of empowerment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Equal opportunities principles for oppressed minorities are upheld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Decentralisation and democratisation of services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Personal development of citizens</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These measures form the third set of social sustainability indicators.

Section 3.6 presented a brief understanding of environmental partnerships. The way in which these partnerships form together with the type of partnerships that form are outlined here to show the value of partnership formation and its contribution towards attaining proper environmental decision-making and ultimately sustainable development. Environmental partnerships can be defined as a “constructive and voluntary collaboration among different stakeholders in environmental protection and natural resource management” (Long and Arnold, 1995:5). The four types of environmental partnerships that are defined and explained in this section form the fourth set of social sustainability indicators for this study. The following table provides a list of these four types of partnerships.

Table 6.4 Partnership Types (Long and Arnold, 1995)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPES OF PARTNERSHIPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pre-emptive partnerships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Coalescing partnerships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Exploration partnerships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Leverage partnerships</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section 3.7 provides definitions and meanings of environmental decision-making as well as a figure illustrating decision-aiding tools. “Environmental decision-making refers to the many processes of consideration that affect the capacity of the
environment to provide for human needs and desires.” Schweitzer’s characteristics of good environmental decisions that form the fifth and final set of social sustainability indicators is presented in section 3.7 and is as follows:

Table 6.5 Good Environmental Decisions (Schweitzer, 1997)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOOD ENVIRONMENTAL DECISIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Efficient balancing of costs and benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fairness of outcomes for various groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Scientific and technical soundness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Reduction of adverse environmental impacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Protection of human health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Technical and political durability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Flexibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Wide acceptance by the public as legitimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Legal defensibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Consistency with subsequent final decision</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It follows that good urban governance, proper public participation, empowerment, environmental partnerships and good environmental decision-making formed the appropriate conceptual framework for this study and thus were used as the foundation on which this study was built. The following figure 6.1 represents a summary of the concepts that were used as part of the research to meet the aims and objectives of this study.

Figure 6.1 Conceptual Framework for the Study
The methodology for this study was designed to achieve the goals of this study, which were to assess environmental decision-making for environmental projects in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme.

Primary and secondary data was drawn together and interpreted for the purpose of this study. The qualitative primary data was gained through semi-structured interviews held with city officials and community members and through three focus groups held with community members affected by the Muthi Traders Market, the Boviné Head Cookers Facility and the Badsha Peer Shelter. Secondary data that consisted of various Urban Renewal Programme documents books, journals, papers and theses were reviewed and formed the basis of the theory for this study.

A qualitative methodology was preferred over a quantitative one as it was more appropriate considering the small purposive sample of respondents. Qualitative research emphasizes intentionality, rationality and reflexivity as characteristics of human action, and therefore positivistic physical science was deemed inappropriate for this research. Intensive research was applied as it sought to understand the underlying causal reasons for human actions.

The data gathering techniques utilized for this study were semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews. Face-to-face semi-structured interviews held with four city officials and two community members were composed of both open-ended questions and closed-ended questions thus allowing for flexibility in the process.

For the interpretation of the data collected, themes were identified from the literature review and used to construct an interview schedule and thereafter a set of social sustainability indicators. This interview guide was styled in such a way as to answer the various research questions. Once the themes relating to good urban governance, forms of participation, outcome measures of empowerment, environmental partnerships and good environmental decisions were identified, a set of social sustainability indicators were formulated. This set of criteria with their respective indicators was used as a tool to rank the five projects and thereafter discuss each criterion within the theme in relation to the projects. This made it easier to establish why one project was more sustainable than the other. It was considered appropriate to
use a set of social sustainability indicators to rank each project according to the
themes that emerged from the literature review. This proved a useful (although
somewhat quantitative) tool of analysis. The ranking of the projects are quantitative
but is followed by a qualitative analysis which interrogates the quality of decision-
making within each project. This was deemed an intensive and appropriate way of
assessing environmental governance and environmental decision-making in the
Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Programme.

There are many limitations to qualitative research. The limitations to the study itself
related to the subjective nature of the research making it open to manipulation by the
researcher. The researcher overcame these impediments by ensuring that a very
objective approach was taken. This was also overcome by ensuring that a feedback
session be held with the Urban Renewal Programme team on completion of this study
in order for them to assess their environmental decision-making and public
participation procedures.

In order to justify the rank that each project attained, it is considered appropriate to
identify the strengths and weaknesses of all the projects. This would allow the
researcher to make comparisons between projects in order to fully understand why
certain projects were successful whilst others were not and to satisfactorily answer the
research questions.

The Muthi Traders Market
The Muthi Traders Market is one of the biggest gatherings of Muthi Traders in
KwaZulu-Natal (see appendix 2, plate1, 2 and 3). These traders were previously
scattered on the sidewalks of Warwick Junction in squalid conditions. The new space
that they occupy has brought numerous benefits to the traders and to the city. This is
evidence of sustainable environmental decisions being taken.

Many factors have led to the success of this new market. The way in which this area
has been governed, the empowering participatory strategies of the Urban Renewal
Team, the win-win partnerships that formed and the resultant environmental decisions
that were taken are all factors that have led to a sustainable development project.
Figure 6.2 Strengths of the Muthi Traders Market

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strengths</th>
<th>Weaknesses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good Urban Governance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper Empowerment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Environmental Decisions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transformative participation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leverage Partnerships</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This project was considered to be sustainable because it satisfied two strands of thought on the management of human activities. Economic, social, cultural, health and ecological needs of the environment were satisfied whilst focusing on, controlling and limiting the harmful impact of human activities on the environment thus ensuring that there is no depletion or degradation of environmental capital. The Urban Renewal Team should now find ways of helping these traders move from being mere survivalists to becoming astute business people. This can be done by identifying areas outside of Warwick Junction that can be home to an even larger market of traders as only 200 of the 600 Muthi Traders were accommodated at this new place of trade (Grest, 2001).

Mealie Cooker Facility

This project according to the table of social sustainability indicators is as sustainable as the Muthi Traders Market. If the Urban Renewal Team did not take action in providing a cleaner, hygienic area for the cookers to boil their mealies, the city could have had a major food-poisoning catastrophe. However due to appropriate action being taken by the District Work Group that is the body of stakeholders for the Urban Renewal Team, this crisis was avoided by the construction of a cleaner facility for the cookers to boil their mealies (see Appendix 2: plate 7 and 8). This was not the only benefit of this project. There were many beneficiaries of this project namely the cookers, the consumers and the city of eThekwini.
The Urban Renewal Team has involved the stakeholders in this process in a very equitable way. It was a combination of factors that has led to a fair process of decision-making and ultimately the sustainability of this project. Good urban governance and adequate empowerment of stakeholders are the major factors influencing this outcome. Seeing that governance involves an array of actors, all these actors have to contribute to understanding the political, social and economic priorities. Ensuring that all participants contribute towards decision-making requires appropriate empowerment. This project has achieved great success and credibility and this is only attributable to the role that the Urban Renewal Team played in ensuring that stakeholders are involved adequately and sufficiently enough to be able to make a substantial contribution towards decision-making. The openness of the Urban Renewal Team to the community and their dedication was another factor that contributed towards the success of this project.

Conflict did exist amongst the Zulu-speaking cookers and the Xhosa speaking cookers. The Urban Renewal Team recognised this conflict and planned their project in such a way as to mediate in the conflict between these two groups. They did this by providing a facility that provided the same amenities to each group. Each group was in the same space however a fence separated them thus limiting the chances of any conflict arising.

Mealie Cookers were further consulted with and empowered thus enabling them to contribute towards the decision-making process. The critique of this project is that the
people affected by this project (cookers) were told about proposed plans after discussions were made. They were not involved in overcoming the problem. Their ideas and input was used however in the project. For example, the Urban Renewal Team retained the use of drums to boil the mealies in after experimenting with an alternative way of boiling mealies. The reason for this is possibly that the city was sitting on a potential food-poisoning threat and therefore had to act quickly in finding solutions and therefore did not have the time to engage with the public in a transformative way.

Playground Facility
The Playground Facility Project displayed a different dynamic than those previously discussed. The difference lies in the fact that there were political tensions that delayed the implementation process. As a result of this, inadequate environmental decisions were taken.

The two politically motivated parties namely WATRA and the OCR used this project as a battleground for their own agendas. Each party had a different location for the construction of a playground and reasons to justify their choice. However, eventually WATRA was the only party that the Urban Renewal Team could participate with as the OCR presented unfeasible locations for the park. The decision to locate the park in Syringa Avenue was a decision taken by WATRA. Therefore participation in this instance was transformative therefore allowing WATRA to be empowered. The partnership between the Urban Renewal Team and WATRA can be described as preemptive as it formed to defuse an already hostile situation.
This project is not considered to be sustainable, as the conflict that arose in the course of the project put constraints on the process thus preventing meaningful partnerships from forming that would have led to good decisions being taken.

**Badsha Peer Shelter**

This project was fairly successful. Two parties benefited from the shelter that was constructed above Brook Street (see appendix 3: plate 4). The project is considered to be sustainable as there was appropriate governance that led to good environmental decision-making taking place.

**Figure 6.5 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Badsha Peer Shelter**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strengths</th>
<th>Weaknesses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good Governance</td>
<td>Coalescing Partnerships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adequate Environmental Decision-Making</td>
<td>Representative Participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adequate Empowerment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participation was instrumental in this project as the one party being the Brook Street Traders did not feel included in the participatory strategies. However they were not unhappy with the resultant shelter. The partnerships that formed brought together the Muslim Community and the Brook Street A and B traders who depended on each other to accomplish the construction of the shelter.

The Urban Renewal Team needs to acknowledge that there was inadequate consultation with the Brook Street A and B traders. The many complaints received from the traders attest to this. They felt as though only the Muslim community was consulted with. In spite of this though most of the traders were happy with the benefits of the resultant shelter.

The decisions taken by the Urban Renewal Team although not entirely taken with the one group (Brook Street Traders) were beneficial and technically sound. These mechanisms have produced a sustainable project.
Bovine Head Cookers Facility

This project like the Playground Facility had many political impediments to its development. The cookers were not very keen on being relocated to another site from the squalid pavement that they were occupying for two reasons. Firstly they did not want to leave their established customers and secondly, the cookers themselves were divided into different political factions and therefore they did not want to occupy the same space as those from an opposing party.

The Urban Renewal Team had to overcome these obstacles in order to find a lasting solution. This problem lengthened the implementation time for the project. Therefore the conflict that arose between the cookers was not addressed adequately in the early stages of development thus causing this to ‘bedevil participation’ (see figure 6.5). As Thobias Mkize elaborated, the Urban Renewal Team did not initially find the right person to liaise with regarding the relocation of the cookers (30/08/02). This affected the environmental decision-making mechanisms and thus the place that the cookers now occupy is considered to be unsustainable.

Figure 6.6 Weaknesses of the Bovine Head Cookers Facility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bovine Head Cookers Facility (Rank=16)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bovine Head Cookers Facility</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strengths</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Weaknesses</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improper Governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative Participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalescing Partnerships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate Empowerment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate Environmental Decision-making</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Urban Renewal Programme has therefore been a vehicle where adequate participation and interaction with the community was the driving force. From the management style of the team through to the appropriate partnerships with the community as well as the skills development, the Urban Renewal Programme has enabled sustainable environmental decision-making in Warwick Junction.
The Urban Renewal Team in Warwick Junction has overcome many obstacles to achieve great success. There were many impediments to development in this area due to apartheid-inflicted mismanagement. Through this, however, the Urban Renewal Team together with the community of Warwick Junction were able to arrive at sustainable environmental decisions.

This process of sustainability began with an emphasis on the part of the Urban Renewal Team on proper management (pioneering the concept of area-based management), transformative public participation strategies, good skills development and community based organizations, win-win partnerships and ultimately sustainable development.

The success of the Urban Renewal Programme in Warwick Junction lies in the fact that the various processes, actors and pre-conditions of the decision-making process were appropriately understood. The changes that took place in the area due to apartheid and its subsequent abolishment were also acknowledged and taken into consideration when making decisions that affected the people, economy and ecology in Warwick Junction.

There are areas, though few, where the Urban Renewal Team can improve their strategies and suggested recommendations are presented in the final section to address these.

**Recommendations**

The Urban Renewal Team together with the eThekwini Municipality can be commended for the effort they have put into making this Urban Renewal Programme such a success. It has already won The Nedbank Green Award in 1997 and has been used as a model for the now running Inner Thekwini Renewal Urban Management Programme (iTRUMP). With the great achievements that this programme has achieved, few recommendations are put forward.

1. The Renewal Team needs to move away from creating projects that have been initiated by them. In order for the community to start taking ownership of the projects they are involved in, they need to be engaged with in such way that
the community themselves must begin to feel empowered. Empowerment as White (1996) explains is usually seen as an agenda controlled from below because it must involve action from below. This would lead to better environmental decision-making and ultimately greater sustainability.

2. Conflict that arises within projects is something that will always happen. The reaction to the conflict is what determines the outcome. Therefore the Urban Renewal Team need to acknowledge that conflict in public participation is important. Reaching consensus isn’t. As Hindson, King and Peart (1996) explain that deep divisions in communities need to be acknowledged and ways found to overcome their destructive effects early in the process so that they do not bedevil participation at critical moments. This rings true for the Bovine Head Cookers Project.

3. The Urban Renewal Team together with the eThewini Municipality need to start making greater avenues open for the traders in Warwick Junction to move from being mere survivalists on the lower rungs of the cities economic ladder to being active participants higher up the ladder.

4. Ensuring that environmental decision-making for development projects in the Warwick Junction area are sound and allow the voices of all affected parties to be heard can facilitate this. This would ultimately lead to greater sustainability where the people become empowered to be able to contribute towards the economy of the city. This creates a win-win situation for the ecology, the people and the economy of the city.

5. The Urban Renewal Team should see the spaces in Warwick Junction as belonging to its citizens as much as it belongs to the city, in a new way. As Grest in Bouillon et al (2002:175) suggest, “The use of space is invariably contested, and there needs to be a greater congruence between the administrative or regulative view of the space and its social purposes, which may have changed over time.”
REFERENCES

1. Primary Sources

Magazines:

eThekwini Municipality Urban Renewal Programme Brochure (January 2000)

eThekwini Municipality Portfolio of Sustainability Best Practice (June 2003)

Reports:


Newspaper Articles:


Interviews:

Focus Group Interview: Brook Street Traders, 21/08/02

Brook Street Trader AA

Brook Street Trader AB

Brook Street Trader AC

Brook Street Trader BA

Brook Street Trader BB

Brook Street Trader BC

Focus Group Interview: Bovine Head Cookers, 21/08/02

Bovine-Head Cooker A

Bovine-Head Cooker B
Bovine-Head Cooker C
Bovine-Head Cooker D
Bovine-Head Cooker E
Bovine-Head Cooker F

Focus Group Interview: Muthi Traders, 26/08/02

Muthi Trader A
Muthi Trader B
Muthi Trader C
Muthi Trader D
Muthi Trader E
Muthi Trader F
Muthi Trader G
Muthi Trader H

Semi-Structured Interviews:

26/08/02, Hoosen Moolla, Team Leader, Operations

27/08/02, Mealie Cooker

28/08/02, Senior Environmental Health Officer, Raj Hooplall

29/08/02, City Councillor, Trevor Prince

30/08/02, Senior Environmental Health Officer, Thobias Mkize

19/09/02, Public Relations Officer, Nonhlanhla Nyandeni
2. Secondary Sources


Haricharan, S. (1995): The different approaches to community participation have different implications for development, Social Work Practice, 3 (95) pp 13-16.


Appendix 1:

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Demographics:

Details to assist in the analysis of the data as a whole:

1. What is your age?
2. Gender?
   Female
   Male
3. Home language?
   English  Zulu  Afrikaans  Other (Please specify)
4. What is the highest level of education that you have completed
   Primary school
   High School
   Matric/Senior Certificate
   Post Matric Diploma
   Technikon Diploma
   University Degree
   Postgraduate Degree
5. What is your main occupation?
6. Where do you live
7. What is your gross income per family per month (before tax)
   No income
   State pensioner
   Under R1000
   R1000-R2999
   R3000-R4999

General Questions
8. How did you hear about the urban renewal programme?
   A) How did you hear about this proposed project?
9. How long have you been part of this project?

10. Did you receive any documents for meetings?

11. Is this by:
   A. Post
   B. Personal delivery
   C. Some other way

12. In your opinion were these meetings relating to this project well organised with regard to:
   A. Time
   B. Venue
   C. Dates
   D. Facilitation
   E. Procedure followed
   F. Equipment used like overhead projectors?
   G. Translation available? Was it adequate and accurate
   H. Other

13. Did these meetings provide you with enough information?

14. Did the information enable you to give the input you are required to for this whole process?

15. Was this information available to you in the language of your choice?

16. In your opinion was the terminology used understandable?

17. From all the meetings that you attended, what have you learnt?
   A. Are there any skills that you have learnt?
   B. What relationships have you formed?
   C. Have you learnt anything about the other people attending?

18. Have you as an individual/organisation been strengthened in any way. Give examples

19. Did you find any of the following useful in terms of improving your skills:
   A. minutes
   B. documentation
   C. newsletters
   D. reports

20. Did you find any of the following useful in terms of developing relationships with others.
21. Did you find any of the following useful in terms of improving your knowledge and information:
   A. minutes
   B. documentation
   C. newsletters
   D. reports

Questions for the District Work group only.

22. In your view which stakeholders/people dominated the meetings?

23. In your opinion were all the important stakeholders represented?
   A. Have any partnerships formed and how would you describe these partnerships:
      - did they form as an attempt to defuse an already hostile situation
      - did it form to bring together groups that depend on each other to accomplish their goals
      - did it form as an attempt to explore environmental issues that are of joint concern
      - did it form to allow each party to make modest investments in environment improvement for a reasonably high social, financial or political return.

24. Should there be more of one group than another? Why?

25. Do you know of any stakeholders who have left the process?
   A. Who are they?
   B. Do you know why they left?
   C. Have they been replaced?

General questions

26. How were the decisions arrived at during meetings?

27. Do you feel that you have any influence on the decisions being made:
   A. At the meetings
   B. In the overall process
C. Informally among the other stakeholders that you talk to?
28. What in your opinion has made the process fair or unfair?
29. What is your opinion of the facilitation of the meetings?
   A. Did the facilitator give everyone a chance to speak and be heard?
30. What did you think of the venue?
   A. Was it accessible and neutral?
   B. Did you feel the atmosphere was constructive and allowed a learning process to occur?
   C. Did the atmosphere enable you to ask about things you were unfamiliar with?
30. What do you think was the purpose for the proposed project?
31. The South African Constitution says that:
   - Everyone has the right to an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being.
   A. Do you think that the purpose of these proposed projects was to fulfil this legislation of protecting people’s rights to a healthy environment?
   B. Did the facilitator give everyone a chance to speak and be heard?
   C. Did the facilitator give everyone a chance to speak and be heard?
   D. Did you feel the atmosphere was constructive and allowed a learning process to occur?
   C. Did the atmosphere enable you to ask about things you were unfamiliar with?
30. What do you think was the purpose for the proposed project?
31. The South African Constitution says that:
   - Everyone has the right to an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being.
   A. Do you think that the purpose of these proposed projects was to fulfil this legislation of protecting people’s rights to a healthy environment?
   The South African Constitution also says that:
   - Everyone has the right of access to any information held by the state or another person that is required for the exercise or protection of rights.
   B. Have you been able to get information that you needed at some point with relation to the project?
32. Legislation also says that the public must be involved from the earliest planning stages?
   A. In your opinion have the public been involved in the planning stages of this project from the beginning?
   - Legislation also states that the public must be informed and empowered so they can contribute effectively to the decision-making process.
   B. In your opinion have stakeholders been sufficiently informed so that they can make sound decisions?
   - Information on which decisions are taken must be adequate (sufficiently detailed, accurate and understandable).
   D. Has the information provided been adequate and clear, so you can make decisions?
33. How do you think the public-participation process has benefited you as…
   A. A member of the public
   B. A representative of a group/committee
34. Have you received any feedback relating to your participation in this project?
35. Which option best describes the type of public participation you think has been evident in the course of this project:
   A. Limited public participation with authorities and government making all the decisions.
   B. Authorities and government requesting public participation but still making most of the decisions with limited attention paid to public inputs
   C. Joint decisions taken by the public, authorities and government
   D. Public taking all decisions which are fully accepted by authorities and developer.
Plate 1: New Mealie-Cookers Facility

Plate 2: Mealie-Cookers
Plate 3: Entrance to Muthi (Herb) Traders Market

Plate 4: Muthi Trader at Work
Plate 5: Mrs M Khumalo- Muthi Trader and Leader of SEWU

Plate 6: Urban Renewal Project Centre
Plate 7: Badsha Peer Shelter

Plate 8: Brook Street Traders and the Muslim Community
Plate 9: Mural depicting the Cultural Diversity in Warwick Junction

Plate 10: Passersby View of Warwick Junction